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Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth]
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(WITH ADDENDA, 1565-1654.)

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ROBERT PENTLAND MAHAFFY, B.A.,

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CORRIGENDA.

- Page 53, "In list" column, Captain T. Rand, *for* 101 *read* 100.
- " 53, "Sick" column, Captain E. Digges, *for* 73 *read* 23.
- " 53, "Dead-pays" column, Captain Ra. Bingley, *for* 7 *read* 9.
- " 55, line 8 from foot, *for* "Davers" *read* "Guest."
- " 60, line 7 from foot, *for* "17th of August" *read* "18th of August";
and *for* 146*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* *read* 166*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*
- " 171, line 9, *for* "Bere" *read* "Bert."
- " 180, second entry, line 4, *for* "20th September," *read* "20th
November."
- " 267, line 2, *for* "Donagh" *read* "Dunnamanagh."
- " 269, line 16, *for* "pike" *read* "piece."
- " 355, second entry, line 1, *for* "the 20th" *read* "the 26th."
- " 374, eleven lines from end, *for* "with O'Neale" *read* "with Neale."
- " 406, in list of merchants *for* "Martin Springham" *read* "Mathias
Springham."
- " 424, line 22, *for* "26th April" *read* "26th June."
- " 442, line 35, *for* "fortress" *read* "fastness."
- " 465, second paragraph, line 1, *for* "Setuhal" *read* "Setubal."
- " 472, line 2, *for* "1652" *read* "1602."
- " 474, eleven lines from end, *for* "Setuhal" *read* "Setubal."
- " 481, line 9, *before* "buonies," *insert* "his."
- " 487, five lines from end after "Arbowe" *delete* "(sic)," and *read*
"Ardboe."
- " 500, line 27, *for* "the manner" *read* "this manner."
- " 528, line 7, *for* "stories" *read* "stones."
- " 557, six lines from end, after "evil" *insert* "affected."
- " 600, line 11, *for* "Phipstown" *read* "Philipstown."
-

PREFACE.

The story which is told in this volume begins in September, 1601, and ends in March, 1603. It opens at the moment of the Spanish descent on Kinsale and closes at the moment when Hugh O'Neale finally submitted to the old Queen whom he had so often offended and who did not live to receive his submission. It would perhaps be an exaggeration to say that the eighteen months which intervene between these two dates were the most important in Anglo-Irish history: but they certainly were not the least important. The English domination in Ireland had never before been so seriously challenged. Never, either before or since, did it receive so complete a vindication.

The story of these eighteen months has been told in ample detail elsewhere, and an Editor who sets out to summarise the original documents which are calendared in this volume has little to say which those who are familiar with the existing histories do not already know. Fynes Moryson, who was secretary to Lord Deputy Mountjoy, has left an elaborate record of that great man's doings in Ireland. Stafford's *Pacata Hibernia* contains a great deal of valuable information, and, like Moryson's *Itinerary* includes copies of many original documents. The "Four Masters," who wrote the history of the period from the standpoint of the Irish tribesmen and ecclesiastics, have drawn an elaborate picture of the scenes of the time as they saw them. The *Calendar of State Papers (Carew)*, has long since brought the treasures of Lambeth Palace within reach of students. These and many other sources, including the documents in this volume, have been used with scrupulous care by a recent historian, Mr. Bagwell, whose history of Ireland under the Tudors contains a full

account of the period with which these documents deal. Many of the originals which are now preserved at Chancery Lane were copied by Moryson before they were despatched to London. Copies of others are to be found in *Pacata Hibernia*. The Carew Calendar contains others which originated from or passed through the hands of Sir George Carew in his capacity as President of Munster. Thus it was that when I commenced working at the original documents I found that many of them had been published in works easily accessible to the public,* and the question arose as to whether these should be set out *in extenso* or merely mentioned, and the reader referred to the place where he could find them in print. With the approval of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, I decided on the second course, but subject to this, that where the letter in question is not given in full by Fynes Moryson or Stafford, I should give that part of it which does not appear in their works. The result is that all the information which these papers give is at the disposal of the public in one place or another, that the expense of republishing what is already accessible to students is saved, and that this volume covers twice as much ground as its immediate predecessor.

At the moment when this volume opens, affairs in Ireland were in a most critical condition. The English cause had not altogether recovered from the discredit of two great defeats, one in Armagh in 1598, another in Sligo in 1600, and from the disgrace of Essex's discomfiture and flight. Two things had, however, happened in 1600 which tended to restore, and ultimately did restore, the credit and the cause of England. The first was the appointment of Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, as Lord Deputy; the second, the planting of Sir Henry Docwra and his sturdy garrison on the banks of the Foyle. I should,

* The latest edition of Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* was brought out by Messrs. Maclehose of Edinburgh in 1907. I have used it for reference. The 1810 edition of *Pacata Hibernia* is to be found in many public and private libraries. The *Carew Calendar* is also quite accessible though some volumes of it are out of print.

perhaps, not call these two separate events, for, in point of fact, the occupation of "Loughfoyle"* took place in May, 1600, when Mountjoy was already responsible for the government of Ireland. The idea had been often mooted. Mountjoy carried it out. His military genius grasped instantly a fact which, to us, seems obvious enough, but which had been overlooked by half a dozen less competent predecessors. To "bridle Tyrone" it was essential to interrupt his communications with Spain and Scotland and to harass him by raids upon his rear. For this purpose the garrison at Loughfoyle was planted and its command entrusted to an old soldier, Sir Henry Docwra, who had seen service both in Spain and Ireland.† In August, 1601, the Loughfoyle garrison had been raised to just under 3,000 men, a respectable force, which enabled Docwra to hold the mouth of the Foyle, to detach companies in support of Neal Garve O'Donnell at Donegal, and to make raids into Tyrone whenever transport, supplies and ammunition could be got together in sufficient quantities to fit out an effective flying column. As the story of the campaign proceeds, it becomes clear that the garrison at Loughfoyle had a most important influence upon it. O'Neale like all timid generals, was perpetually in fear for his rear and communications. It required the most urgent exhortations of the smaller chieftains, combined with the strongest pressure of the Spanish general, to make him cast loose from his own country and set out for the South. A single defeat, and he bolted back to Dungannon like a rabbit to its burrow. But, had it not been for Docwra's presence at Derry and for the smaller garrisons at Newry and Carrickfergus, his chief house and territory would have been safe for many weeks, even after the humiliating defeat at Kinsale.

* "Loughfoyle" and "Derry" are used indifferently in these papers for the fortified place referred to.

† I assume that students of this volume are familiar with its predecessors; and therefore make no introduction of the *dramatis personæ* of these nineteen months of history.

Would the Spaniards invade Ireland in the autumn of 1601? This was the question which Mountjoy and his officers were asking themselves as the summer drew to a close; and the disposition of the English army at the end of August shows how skilfully the Lord Deputy had prepared to "keep Tyrone short in his country"* and at the same time to keep an effective mobile force ready to march south if or when the Spaniards should arrive. The garrison at Loughfoyle was about 3,000 strong, but little over 2,000 effective.† Of these, 650 had been detached to hold Donegal. Sir Arthur Chichester had 750 men at Carrickfergus, whence he could operate on the Bann or against the O'Neiles of Antrim and Down. Sir George Carew had about 2,100 men‡ at Cork, and other garrisons elsewhere in Munster; and shortly after the Spanish landing this force was increased by 2,000 men sent from England.§ In Connaught there were 2,600 men under Sir John Barkeley, Lord Clanricarde, and other officers.|| This force was confronted by O'Donnell himself, Bryan O'Rorke and the rest of the Connaught rebels; and O'Rorke and O'Donnell were the very men who but a year before had defeated Sir Conyers Clifford in the Curlews. The rest of the army—it is stated to have been 5,800 strong in August, 1601¶—was either with the Lord Deputy about Newry and Dundalk or garrisoned here and there in Leinster. In July they had built and made tenable a new fort at the ford over the Blackwater, which made it difficult for O'Neale to come out of his own country by that way; but late in the month Mountjoy, who had heard from Carew of the probability of a Spanish invasion, withdrew to Trim, so as to be ready to move south, leaving strong garrisons**

* Mountjoy and the Council to the Council of England, 3 September, 1601, p. 49.

† pp. 60-61.

‡ See p. 67 and *Cf. Cal. of S.P. Carew.*

§ Fenton to Cecil, p. 66.

|| p. 18.

¶ p. 18.

** pp. 55-6.

at Blackwater, Armagh, Mountnorris and Newry. Each was under a competent officer, and the whole was commanded by Sir Francis Stafford, who lay at Newry with 450 men.

The Lord Deputy's despatches from Trim* shewed that as late as September 4 he was still in doubt as to whether the Spaniards would really invade. He was uncertain even as late as the 12th of the month,† but refused to commit himself to further action in Ulster until it was settled, aye or no, whether they would come. Two days later he was at Kilkenny and had requested Sir George Carew to meet him there. He and the President of Munster were in conference in Lord Ormond's castle when the news arrived that the Spaniards, "fifty-five sail," had been sighted on September 21 off the Old Head of Kinsale, steering for Cork or Kinsale before a favouring breeze.‡

We have full accounts of the result of this Council of War, and they prove clearly that, in the Lord Deputy, England possessed a general of the greatest ability. His very first despatch shews how fully he realised that attack is the best defence, and that to secure success in a campaign, a general must concentrate his greatest strength at the most important point, leaving less important places and areas to take care of themselves. "If we beat them," he wrote to Cecil, "let it not trouble though you hear all Ireland doth revolt, for (by the Grace of God) you shall have them all return presently with halters about their necks. If we do not, all providence bestowed on any other place is vain."§ This is the secret of Mountjoy's strategy; and it was the first and greatest cause of his ultimate triumph. On the day on which he wrote this historic sentence to Cecil, he sent, in conjunction with his

* pp. 49, 55.

† Mountjoy to Cary, p. 71.

‡ p. 81. The definite news of the effective landing at Kinsale did not reach Kilkenny till the Council of War had broken up and the officers had left the Castle: see Ormond to the English Privy Council, pp. 84-5.

§ Mountjoy to Cecil, 24.9.1601 (Moryson [ed. 1907], vol. II, p. 454).

Council, a long official despatch,* shewing the way in which the principle enunciated in his private letter was to be applied in action. The army in Munster was about 7,000 strong† and to these Mountjoy proposed to add the 2,000 men at Chester, which were to be despatched at once, not to the north, as he had desired before he knew of the Spanish invasion, but to Waterford *en route* for Cork. Two thousand more men must, he wrote, come immediately after to strengthen the Cork garrison. If possible, they should come to Cork, but if Cork were invested by the Spaniards, then to Waterford or Youghal. These reinforcements‡ would bring the army at Cork up to 11,000, and we shall see that when the critical moment came at Kinsale it was much larger. The Lord Deputy further realised a principle which has become a commonplace in our days, but which was understood by few of those who lived in his time. It was the necessity for co-operation between the army and navy. On this the despatch referred to insists with emphasis. Mere numbers of men were useless unless they were effective. They could not be effective unless they were fed; and they must be fed from England, for it was the strategy of the Lord Deputy to destroy all sources of supply in Ireland which he could not immediately control. For transport by ship, command of the sea was essential; and the ships which assured command of the sea would not only secure England's army of its supply of food and ammunition, but could also harass the Spanish lines of communication; which, like those of the English, lay across the sea. This fact must give to the winter campaign at Kinsale a great interest for students of military history. The English army was fighting a defensive campaign in Ireland but, though its fighting area was at Cork and Kinsale, its bases

* p. 81 (Moryson, vol. II., p. 451 *sq.*).

† Carew to Cecil, 24.9.160, p. 85.

‡ The writers of the time always use "supplies" when they mean reinforcements of men. I use it in the modern sense of supplies of material, and keep "reinforcements" for use to signify forces of fresh men.

were not at Dublin or Kilkenny, but at Bristol, Chester and London. The Spanish invader had his bases at Coruna and Lisbon, many miles across the sea ; yet nearer than Bristol, for at this time of the year the wind generally blew from the south-west. While the problem was thus similar for both generals, each attacked it in a different way. Don Juan D'Aquila —“ a cold commander ”— though in command of an invading and attacking army, separated his forces and scarcely did anything but stand on his defence. Mountjoy, though technically on the defensive, concentrated every horse and man he could, reduced the minor garrisons to the lowest possible limit, and staked everything on vigorous attack.

After the Council at Kilkenny, the officers separated. Mountjoy and Carew travelled swiftly and reached Cork on September 27. We cannot tell what words passed between them on the road, but it is impossible not to be struck, at this moment and at others, by the contrast between the two men,—Carew narrow, suspicious and eager to prove that everything that is done well is done by himself, Mountjoy caring only for his command and for the duties which it imposed upon him. On September 24, both men wrote letters to Cecil* and in these the careful reader may see the difference between them. Mountjoy lays down in a pregnant sentence the vital principles which must rule the campaign, and willingly offers his life in the Queen's service. Carew speaks of private inconvenience, declares that if he had not come up from Cork to help Mountjoy the Lord Deputy would have been helpless, craves promotion for a friend and finishes his letter by hinting suspicion of his chief's loyalty. “ Of my Lord Deputy,” he says, in a curious phrase, “ in my next I will write more. He is a noble gentleman and all yours or else he is a devill.” What grounds were there for suspecting Mountjoy's loyalty ? And, if he was disloyal, in whose pay or service was he ? I can only answer these questions

* p. 84 (Moryson, II, 454) and p. 85.

on the evidence in this volume, and, on that evidence, only one answer can be given. There is not the slightest reason to think that the Lord Deputy harboured any disloyal thoughts, and the whole contents of the volume are nothing but an overwhelming mass of evidence in his favour. Of all Elizabeth's servants, none was ever, so far as I can see, more loyal. Very few were so able. Carew, on the other hand, does not, on the evidence contained in this volume, make a favourable impression. He appears as a man loyal indeed, but small-minded and self-seeking, envious of the success of a man much younger and incomparably greater than himself. It is sad to think of the atmosphere of intrigue, suspicion and back-biting with which the old Queen had surrounded herself. We realise what it must have been when we see that it was possible, in such a crisis, for her second in command to cast suspicion on the loyalty of her first officer in a letter to her chief adviser at home. In the Queen's defence, one can only plead her training, the age in which she had lived, and the fact that, only a few months previously, the servant on whom she had lavished her favours had been detected in a treacherous plot against her.

Mountjoy arrived in Cork on September 27 and every day served to render more clear the conditions of the campaign which he had to fight. For the moment the position of the Spaniards was very strong. They had effected their landing and they were in command of the sea* and these facts made much more serious the task of concentration on which the Lord Deputy had decided. His difficulties and the means by which he proposed to meet them are set out in his letters of the first days of October.† In the first place the attacking force had been able to select the point of attack and the English general had had to wait until they had made their choice before

* Moryson, II. 458.

† pp. 104-109, and the references to Moryson.

ordering his concentration. The necessity for deferring concentration until the Spaniards had actually landed had caused delay in the accumulation of supplies and war material. When it became certain that they would land, not at Limerick, Waterford, Galway or Loughfoyle, but at Kinsale, the English general had at once to order a concentration of supplies at Cork in order to supply the army with which he meant to oppose the invader. But, the Spaniards being in command of the Munster seas, concentration of supplies by sea was impracticable. Concentration by land was, in those days of bad roads, and amid a population which, though ill-armed, was unfriendly, a matter of great difficulty. Lord Mountjoy issued his concentration orders at once, but he begged the home government to assist it by large supplies from England. There were a few guns in Ireland, but they were not powerful enough to outrange the Spanish artillery. There was great difficulty in bringing to Kinsale field guns which would be able to develope an effective fire against the 27 pieces which the Spaniards had landed there and some of which had been mounted. In course of time these difficulties were overcome; but they were not the only work to which the attention of the general and his staff had to be given. He had also to protect the loyal Irish or Anglo-Irish population, few of whom were completely trustworthy. Most of them were ready to join forces with the English if the English army was strong enough to defend them. Otherwise they would be no more than neutral; and if the Spaniards or the Irish generals from the North should prove better able to protect them than the English, their weight would be thrown into the scale on that side. In addition to the peaceable landholders, there were large numbers of the armed Irish gentry about the country, people known at the time as "the Swordmen." Their profession was to prey and spoil, and their recreation to fight. The English general decided to take as many of these as possible into his pay, though

somewhat in the spirit in which a gentleman who takes a sporting estate secures himself against poaching by making game-keepers or watchers of the principal poachers in the district.* His confidence was justified. The Irish in his pay served England very well right through the critical time at Kinsale.

By the 12th of October the concentration at Cork was far advanced. On the 3rd, Sir Benjamin Berry arrived in Cork from the midlands with the Lord Deputy's guard and some other companies. Sir Richard Wingfield and Sir John Berkeley came in on the 9th from Leinster and Connaught, bringing with them forces drawn from the garrisons in those provinces.† On the tenth, Sir Henry Davers brought in several more companies drawn from the Ulster garrison, having made a fine march from Dublin in six days.‡ We have not details as to the strength of these reinforcements, but whatever they were, the result was that Mountjoy, when he broke up camp at Cork on October 16 and marched towards Kinsale, had not in all Munster more than 6,900 men.§ It is difficult to see why his force was not larger, for the army in Munster was estimated at 7,000 before the concentration took place. But it was necessary to keep the garrisons in Munster in good strength lest "the country should run at large"|| and to preserve communications with Limerick.¶ The companies which had come from Ulster, too, were very weak, and we must allow something for sickness and for the service of the transport. These garrisons and reductions, in all, took off over 2,500 men from Lord Mountjoy's force. The result was that the fighting strength

* Lord Deputy and Council to the English Council, October 3, 1601 (Moryson, II, pp. 463-4).

† Moryson, II, 464.

‡ From Dublin to Cork is 126 miles.

§ Lord Deputy and Council to the English Privy Council, October 24, 1601 (Moryson, III, 3, &c.), and enclosure on p. 138 of this volume.

|| Carew to Cecil, p. 139. The Cork City militia mustered 1,000 strong on 22nd September, 1601, *see* p. 91.

¶ Moryson, III, p. 4.

of the besieging army which moved on Kinsale on October 16 was only 4,300.*

The Spaniards had thus been a month at Kinsale before Mountjoy got into touch with them. Many different estimates are given of the force which D'Aquila had landed. They vary between 4,000 and 11,000† but, after comparing the several reports, I conclude that there were about 4,000 Spaniards in Kinsale and 1,000 at the other places to be mentioned hereafter. The invaders had brought no cavalry, a fact which greatly handicapped their foraging operations. As soon as Mountjoy arrived, parties of English horse were constantly out foraging and were able to cut off supplies of cattle and corn which might have fallen into the hands of Spanish foraging parties had D'Aquila been able to send these out during the first weeks of his occupation. That the Spaniards expected to supply their army locally is clear from the fact that they brought a large quantity of salt with which to preserve meat and fish. They also brought 400‡ saddles for the horses which their Irish allies had promised to provide. Their anxiety on this point may be gleaned from the very first question they asked of the Sovereign, or Mayor, of Kinsale. "Where," they inquired, are Florence McCarthy and James Fitzthomas? "§ On these two leaders and on O'Neale they had relied for the horses which were to enable them to take the field with infantry and cavalry when, in accordance with their traditional strategy, they had made good their base. As to artillery, the accounts also vary; some saying twenty-seven cannon were landed and others giving the number as twelve. It is possible, of course, that twenty-seven may have been landed and not more than twelve placed in position; for the Spanish commander

* Carew to Cecil, p. 139.

† See Index, *s.v.* Spain, where the reports are collected. Captain Morgan's estimate (p. 125), is, I think, near the truth.

‡ They seem to have told O'Neale they could equip 1,500 horses; so the figure of 400 may be too low. See *infra* p. 186.

§ Dowdall to Cecil (2nd letter), September 23, 1601, p. 84, and note the Mayor's answer.

seems at first to have sat rather lightly at Kinsale and to have thought of moving elsewhere. The occupation of that town was, indeed, an afterthought, and, as events proved, an unsuccessful one. A competent historian says that the Spaniards aimed at Cork but found the wind unfavourable and "may have been more easily turned aside by hearing that a warm reception awaited them there."* The authority for this statement is apparently a letter of Carew of August 6, 1601; but at that date the Spanish general had not completed his plans and did not know himself where he would deliver his attack; so Carew can hardly have known it. Carew was always trying to make out that the place where he was in command was the most important place in the world; and the information in this volume does not justify me in agreeing that the Spaniards really aimed at a landing in Cork harbour. On the contrary, there is evidence at secondhand from one of the pilots of the Spanish fleet that the Admiral, Pedro Çubiaur, intended to land at Galway or Limerick, but was prevented from doing so by northerly winds, and so put into Kinsale.† Apparently the Irishmen with the fleet urged a landing at Cork and hoped that if it were made the McCarthys would rise to join the invaders; but this plan was disconcerted by the arrest of Florence McCarthy and his internment in England, of which the Spaniards were informed, somehow or other, before they landed. Having heard of the arrest the Admiral was in doubt, but was prevailed upon by Father Archer to try Kinsale.‡ When the army landed there, however, the admiral, Çubiaur, was not with them. His ship, the vice-admiral and six smaller ships were driven into Baltimore and one large ship, the *Golden Lion*, was

* Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, III. 398.

† Deposition of Andrew Lynch, p. 129, line 11. I think this evidence more trustworthy than that of Cormack McDermot McCarthy (*q.v.* pp. 159-60), though they do not conflict.

‡ All this from the deposition of Cormack McDermot McCarthy cited in last note. But at the time he was trying to save his skin and may have lied; whilst Andrew Lynch had no reason for not telling the truth.

lost.* The Spaniards ensconced themselves at Baltimore, and their ships and those which had landed the men at Kinsale returned to Spain. They were intended to bring reinforcements, and were confidently expected to be again on the Irish coast by Christmas.†

The task which was set to Lord Mountjoy was, therefore, to strike a decisive blow before that time. He set about it with a zeal and ability which distinguished him from most, if not all, of his predecessors. The town of Kinsale was itself very strong. Lying on the east bank of the Bandon river, but facing east into a re-entrant bay, it had a good wall about it and many strong castles on the wall. There was, apparently, no difficulty about water supply. Across the river and opposite to the south end of the town was a promontory jutting up northward towards the re-entrant bay, and on this was the strong fort of Castle ny Parke. Opposite Castle ny Parke again, but due east of it on the eastern bank and across the re-entrant bay from the town, lay the fort of Rincorran.‡ Both these forts had been occupied and strengthened by the Spaniards who placed guns in them; and so long as they were held, no English ships could come up the river to open on the town. They formed the key of the position. Once they were taken, Kinsale was untenable for any long time against a force having good artillery, for a dropping fire could be kept up from them upon the town. Guns sighted by day could pour an effective fire on to the houses and streets by night.

The Bandon river was not the only navigable stream in the neighbourhood. To the eastward of it and from one to two miles away the estuary of Oyster Haven runs up into the county, curling round to the north of Kinsale. It was navigable as far as the present site of Brown's mills, where the road from inland crossed

* pp. 125, 128.

† p. 160, and Moryson, III, 6.

‡ The reader is referred to Moryson's map (III, facing p. 96), which is fairly clear though not "set" quite true.

its head waters and passed southwards into the town. Mountjoy pitched his first camp athwart the road just north of Brown's mills crossing and later* made a fortified camp just to the south of it. Here the encircling arm of the estuary protected his left flank and rear and the supplies which came to him from England could be brought up the Haven and disembarked in the very area of the siege operations. Guns were at last landed on October 28, emplaced on October 29, and fire opened on Rincorran Castle early on the 30th. The Spaniards sallied across the water on the night of the 29th and tried to attack the guns; but were beaten back by Captain Button, whose ship was in the harbour. For the rest, their defence was weak, and on November 2 the important fort of Rincorran was in the hands of the English. Eighty-six Spaniards surrendered and were sent as prisoners of war under a militia escort to Cork.† Amongst them was Dermot McCarthy, called in Spain Don Dermuchio, who, in the hope of saving his life, gave some valuable evidence. His testimony was taken and, some time afterwards, he was hanged at Cork.‡

Thus an effective lodgment had been made close to Kinsale, and an important position captured, before the native Irish had done anything whatever to help their friends. At this moment, too, reinforcements of 5,000 men were hastening from Rochester, Barnstaple and Bristol,§ 4,000 to be at Mountjoy's disposal and 1,000 to land at Loughfoyle and attack the country of O'Neale and O'Donnell from the rear. But before these reinforcements appeared in Ireland the laggard Tryone had begun to make his presence felt at Kinsale. He spent the six fatal weeks, during which he should have been marching south, in ravaging Louth and Meath, and had wandered to and fro there, afraid to face any enemy more formidable

* See the "journal" at pp. 154, 155 at October 16 and October 26.

† Journal *infra*, pp. 154-5 and p. 158, and Moryson, III, 18, 19.

‡ pp. 159, 160, 235.

§ Moryson, III, pp. 20-23.

than a bullock or a haystack. At length news came that a rendezvous at Holy Cross in Tipperary had been appointed for November 10, and there 4,000 men led my O'Neale himself, O'Donnell, Donell McCarthy and Richard Tyrrell were to meet. On the 7th, Sir George Carew was detached from Kinsale, with all the forces which Mountjoy could spare, to face them. He took with him about 1,000 foot and 250 horse, the majority of whom were Irish. Carew's letter "from Shandon, ready to put foot in stirrup towards the northern traitor,"* shews in what a dangerous position the English force was placed, despite the success at Rincorran. Mountjoy was besieging a force larger than his own and could not commence a general approach to Kinsale without thinning his line until it became very vulnerable. His artillery positions were necessarily far from his camp, and such positions need strong guards. Carew had a small army and one so largely composed of Irish that he could scarcely trust it, whilst he had to meet and head off a force which, at a moderate estimate, exceeded his own by three to one. Fortunately for England, O'Neale still hesitated. He did not appear at Holy Cross on November 10, and in point of fact only left Dungannon, whither he had returned after his raid on the Pale, the day before. To this step he was "goaded by Spanish upbraidings," returning at last an answer that he would adventure his life to break through difficulties and go to their aid. He made a will before starting in which he made his son Hugh his successor in the title of O'Neale, thus estranging his brother Cormack, who hoped to have the title.† O'Neale even went so far as to have his son proclaimed O'Neale in his camp, "himself expecting an higher title—I pray God it may be the gallows."‡ Bryan McCart O'Neale was left to face Sir Arthur Chichester in Clandeboye whilst Cormack,

* pp. 158, 159.

† Stafford to Cecil, p. 168, 169.

‡ Cary to Cecil, pp. 169-70.

O'Neale's brother, and O'Cane were left to defend the country of Tyrone against attack from Loughfoyle.

The laggard chieftain moved slowly through Cavan to the borders of Meath and Westmeath and on the 18th of November pitched his camp a few miles south-west of Kells.* Like all cowardly commanders he inspired neither confidence nor loyalty. Spies brought constant and accurate information of his movements, and some of them, at least, seem to have been people who were close to the Irish leader and intimate with his thoughts and affairs.† His force was about 3,800 foot and 700 horse, but of these only 1,500 foot and 160 horse were his own men. The remainder were McGuires, McMahons and O'Reillys, Mac-Kennas, &c. : but Cormack McBaron and Henry Oge, two other gentlemen of the house of O'Neale, also brought their quotas.‡

For some time after he had left his country, O'Neale still hesitated and allowed the precious days—never to return—to slip by, wavering between the duty of supporting the Spaniards according to his promise and fear of meeting the enemy face to face. Some thought he would only send Maguire and Cormack McBaron to Kinsale and would himself stay in the Pale and devote himself to the congenial task of burning and devastation. On November 3 § O'Donnell, O'Rorke, and other chieftains were told to meet him at Granard, but he was not there. He was engaged in farm-burning, and we are told that “the Spaniards mislike O'Neale's burnings, and say they came to win or lose the country, and all that is in it in one day.”|| His final resolution to go to Munster was not taken till some time between the 18th and 23rd of November¶ and was, as usual, known at once in Dublin.

* *Intelligence*, p. 172.

† See the *Intelligences* on pp. 172-173 and 186.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ p. 183.

|| p. 186.

¶ See the *Intelligence* of November 19, at p. 173, and *cf.* the Lord Chancellor and Council's letter of November 23 (p. 180), and Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Cary of November 24, (p. 187).

O'Donnell, O'Rorke and Tyrell received orders to march (apparently from their rendezvous in Longford) to Tipperary to await him on the edge of Ormond and must have assembled at or near Templemore, about November 16.* but Tyrone, who paused to ravage Westmeath, did not appear. O'Donnell, chafing at the long delay, resolved to wait no longer for a general who would not lead, and moved off south on the 16th, with, at most, 1,500 foot and 200 horse.† O'Donnell's move was, no doubt, correct. His men were seasoned fighters. He had with him Bryan O'Rorke, who, in addition to being the proud chieftain of whom we read so much, had shewn himself at the battle of the Curlews to be a sound tactician and able to defeat an English general. O'Donnell knew that time was pressing and that the Spaniards must be relieved at all costs. On the other hand his force was not large enough to enable him to bring Carew to an action with good chance of success. Accordingly he decided to avoid the English and, instead of keeping east of the Suir and endeavouring to force a passage at Golden Bridge or Cahir, to cross it at some point higher up and make for the mountainous country in the east of co. Limerick. This he accomplished by a sudden change of direction and extraordinary night march which were the wonder of the officers of the day and remained one of the most striking episodes in the campaign. The march, which by its success cast discredit on the English forces, is indistinctly described in our records.‡ So far as I can understand Carew and his force were east of the Suir on November 21, and early on that day for reasons which are not explained, fell back

* Carew to Mountjoy, November 18, 1601, in *Cal. of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3. I have had to refer to this calendar to get the dates as nearly as possible. In the following pages, and in Moryson, the episodes of O'Donnell's march are not described in any detail.

† See Carew to Mountjoy as in preceding note; also Mountjoy to Carew, November 18, and in *S.P. Carew*, 1601-3. On November 22, 1601, Carew wrote to Mountjoy that O'Donnell had about 4,000 foot and 300 horse with him (*Ibid.*, p. 166). If he had been as strong as this he would, I think, have engaged Carew, for he was not a coward like O'Neale: so it is more reasonable to take Mountjoy's as the proper estimate of his force.

‡ *Infra*, pp. 211-12. *Cal. of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3, pp. 165, 181, Moryson, III, 48.

upon Cashel. For two days previously they had been actually in touch with O'Donnell, the English cavalry scouts or patrols being within only four miles of the enemy's main body. In the absence of positive evidence it is for military experts to guess why Carew fell back ; but, for whatever reason he did it, he committed the mistake of losing touch with the enemy whom he had been sent out to watch and oppose. On the afternoon of November 21 O'Donnell turned west and before the evening, when the English outposts discovered his departure, had put many miles between himself and them. Carew tells us that he pursued and would have come up with the enemy "if they had not made an unreasonable march,"* but the truth is that he was completely outmanœuvred and had to learn that it is no principle of generalship to do what your enemy thinks reasonable. On the night of the 21st, a sudden frost helped the Irish general, and starting again after dark he marched all night over the high frozen moors of Slievefelim,† passed Owny abbey (near Cappamore) very early on the 22nd, and that evening reached Crum Castle (Croom) a house of Lady Kildare's in the heart of the county Limerick. From the camp where he had last been located by the English (in O'Magher's country, six miles from Holy Cross abbey in Tipperary) to Crum was thirty-two Irish miles.‡ In English measurement it was about thirty-seven miles as the crow flies from Holy Cross to Croom ; but we do not know from what precise point O'Donnell started. Nor have we the exact times at which the march commenced or ended ; but are told that he made the march "without any rest." In any case it was a night march in winter, and the mountainous part of it, at all events, must have been on nothing better than a frozen mountain track.

* Carew to Mountjoy, November 22, 1601, in *Cal. of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3, p. 165.

† See the account in. The Slievefelim mountains are in the extreme north-east corner of Limerick where the county joins Tipperary.

‡ p. 212.

Under these circumstances it was certainly a great march ; and showed what the Irish could do if properly led.

The way was now open for O'Donnell to move on Kinsale from the north or north-west. There was a danger not only that his force might be thrown into the balance against the English but that he might bring supplies of meat to the starving town.* But as things turned out he never was able to do this. He had outpaced O'Neale, or left him in disgust, and he effected a junction with the Spaniards who a little later landed at Castlehaven ; but he had no great effect on the main operation of the war. At the critical moment on the dawn of Christmas Eve he did not come into action at all.

On the 26th of November Carew, after a rapid march, returned to the camp at Kinsale, bringing with him his own two foot regiments,† his horse and the regiments from Connaught and the Pale which had joined him in his march against O'Donnell. These were commanded by two of the best officers in the army, the young Earl of Clanricarde and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence. They were at once moved off to the new west camp, to prevent a junction between O'Donnell and the Spaniards.‡ They returned, therefore, to Kinsale sooner than O'Donnell could reach it ; and Carew in a letter of December 13, affirms that he must have reached Kinsale before O'Donnell unless O'Donnell would fight him—even after the manœuvre of November 21.§ But this was not the view he took on November 22.||

During Carew's absence, Castle-ny-Parke, the important fort on high ground to the south of Kinsale and across the river, had been taken. It surrendered after several days' battery by the Queen's ships which arrived in Kinsale harbour on the 14th and commenced to bombard next

* Carew to Mountjoy, November 22, 1601, *Cal. of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3, p. 166.

† Moryson, III, 48. Leveson to Cecil, *infra* p. 191.

‡ *Cal. of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3, p. 187.

§ *Infra*, p. 216.

|| *Cal. of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3, p. 166.

day. Their fire does not seem to have been at first effective, but on the 19th a demi-cannon was placed on shore and damaged the fortress very badly.* After the surrender less than 20 defenders came out, which seems a very small garrison to hold so important a fort ; but it is certain that many of the defenders were killed and likely, at least, that many more escaped to Kinsale before the surrender. The ships which arrived on November 14 brought 2,000 men from England.† On the 9th, the Earl of Thomond had landed with 1,000 foot and 100 horse at Castlehaven, having been driven beyond Kinsale by a favourable, but tempestuous, wind.‡ The men had suffered much on the voyage and were so uncomfortable in their temporary camp that they were ordered back to Cork to get fit.§ At the same time 1,000 foot and 100 horse sent from Barnstaple and Ilfracombe landed at Cork, Youghal and Waterford, and moved towards the camp.|| A week earlier a force of, nominally, over 500 men were landed at Culmore, the fort at the mouth of the Foyle below Derry. And so whilst O'Neale was dallying in the midlands and allowing O'Donnell to bear the brunt of the march south, the English force was strengthened by 4,000 men and by a fleet well able to bombard Kinsale. Either by cowardice, or by sheer incompetence, the best opportunity for the Irish had been let slip.

The incidents of the siege from the date of Carew's return (November 26) to December 9, are set out in great detail in the 'journal' which the Lord Deputy and Council sent over to the English Privy Council on December 12.¶ On the 22nd further guns were planted near

* Moryson, III, 39.

† *Infra*, p. 182.

‡ *Infra*, pp. 181-2.

§ Moryson, III, 37.

|| p. 182. They came very quickly. Sir Antony Cooke left Ilfracombe with 300 on November the 7th, picked up the Barnstaple contingent on the 8th, and landed in Ireland on Monday the 9th. Cooke to Cecil, *infra* p. 166, and Mountjoy to Cecil (November 13, 1601), Moryson, III, 33. During this week the winds were strong and very favourable, a most important factor in the problem.

¶ *Infra*, pp. 209-10 and the relevant pages in Moryson there referred to : see also the Journal in *Cal. of S.P. Carew* at end of 1601.

the demi-cannon which had subdued Castle-ny-Parke ; and, after five days' battery Mountjoy on the 28th summoned the town to surrender, but d'Aquila was still strong enough to hold out. The English could, therefore, only proceed with their investment, entrenching about the town, establishing a camp on its western side, where Thomond commanded his own force and the regiments under Carew, Clanricarde and St. Lawrence, and making careful arrangements for reconnoitring patrols and sentries, so as to avoid any possible surprise by the Irish. Approaches on the west side of Kinsale were also commenced after the Council of War held on December 1,* and their commencement shewed the intention of the besiegers to lock up the town altogether ; for the new trenches would fill up the interval between the Lord Deputy's main force and that of the Earl of Thomond, whose extreme right in turn practically rested on the wooded banks of the Bandon river.† The formation of Thomond's camp and of the intervening trenches showed the Spaniards that their last chance to save complete investment was at hand. Their sortie on the night of December 2 was the result. It was skilfully carried out, preceded all day by musketry fire directed against the new entrenchments on the west side. These trenches were, however, pushed on under fire and, so far as made, were comfortable before night. The Spanish sortie commenced an hour after dark on December 3 on a very wet night, about two hours before the rising of the moon, on which D'Aquila may have counted in case his sortie should be successful.‡ A feint attack was made on the new western trenches followed by a very determined onslaught on the eastern. The journal referred to gives a full account of the battle, and readers will find a great deal in it which is interesting from the military point of

* *Journal, infra*, p. 210, and Moryson, III, 52.

† See the map in Moryson, III, p. 96. Thomond was apparently still in the camp called in this map his "first camp." After the victory of December 2 he closed in and formed what is shewn on the map as his "second camp." (*Ibid.* III, p. 56).

‡ The accounts mention the fact as if importance was attached to it. *Infra*, p. 210 (Moryson, III, 53).

view. The Spaniards put one gun out of action in the eastern trenches and entered and occupied for a short time a new fort which had been built the day before on the west side. This success was attributed to the rash (though brave) action of Captain Flower in sallying out of it with a part of his force to deliver a counter attack on a portion of the hostile force which had been repulsed. The determination with which the enemy pressed the sortie shews how anxious they were to succeed. After the action seventy-two dead bodies were found in one place, piled about the dismounted gun on the east side. As to the western we do not know what the losses were, either of the Spaniards or the English. However, figures are so little likely to be true, and the numerical loss is of so small importance compared with the moral effect of defeat or victory, that it is not of much use to make careful inquiry into the losses on either side. The important result of the battle is that a determined sortie had been defeated and the grasp of England on the invader had been closed. The army, too, fought very well as a whole, and though two or three officers, Lord Clanricarde, Captain Rotheram and others, are picked out for special praise, the besieging army, both new and old soldiers, must have done itself credit. The records tell us that the Spaniards brought with them tools "to *pull down* the gabbyons and trenches,"* which looks as if they were erected above the ground level rather than dug below it: and I may notice that the trenching tools which the enemy brought with them and which fell into the besiegers' hands were far better than those supplied to the English army.†

At the moment of this engagement, Mountjoy heard of the landing of a fresh Spanish force at Castlehaven, and the news was confirmed next day. Six ships had come in

* *Infra*, p. 210, at December 1, 1601 (Moryson III, 53).

† "... so massie as they had great advantage of us therein and would have put Her Majesty's Ministers of the Ordnance to shame, who for private gain sent sale ware to us, unfit to be used." Moryson, III, p. 55.

under the command of General Pedro Çubiaur,* and in his ship were large quantities of biscuit and ammunition. Six more ships had, it was added, started from Spain but had been separated by bad weather and had not arrived. The reporter said that the ships had 2,000 men on board ; but later on it appeared from fugitives that there were only 1,000.† Immediately on receipt of this news Sir Richard Leveson prepared to leave Kinsale with his fleet to fight and sink the Spaniards. He arrived at Castlehaven on the 6th and, engaging at 10 a.m., sank one Spaniard in Castlehaven and drove the *Admiral* on to the rocks, whilst two other Spanish ships went aground. The enemy had however, had time to land artillery and gave Sir Richard a warm reception from the shore. On the 7th he could not get out of Castlehaven owing to contrary winds, and seems to have had some losses,‡ but he warped out of the haven in the evening and returned to Kinsale on the 8th, knowing only that he had run the Spanish ships, except two, ashore. Lord Courcy afterwards reported that great damage had been done both to the Spaniards themselves and to the stores which they brought§ ; and in fact the diversion at Castlehaven had no important effect on the campaign. It came too late to loosen the grasp of the English general upon Kinsale ; for unless Çubiaur could have instantly mobilised a flying column and marched to its relief, he could do no good. The Spaniards at Castlehaven remained almost wholly on the defensive. Very few of them took part in the fight on December 26, and they played no real part in the campaign before the surrender of their fellow-countrymen in Kinsale.

Yet this diversion, slight and ineffective as it was, undoubtedly frightened the English general for the

* This officer's name is spelt in many different ways in the MS. "Siriago," "Seriago," "Sir Jago," "Surriago," are a few of them.

† Moryson, III, 56, 60.

‡ Moryson, III, 58.

§ *Cal. of S.P. Cavew*, 1601-3, p. 190.

time. It caused a suspension of the bombardment of Kinsale. For a week after the sortie of December 2, nothing was done beyond work on the approaches of the investing force. The army was constantly engaged in fortifying the main and western camps. The artillery which had been planted on platforms for bombardment was actually dismounted and brought into the main camp. This move had two results. It obviated the necessity of keeping detached forces near the isolated guns to guard them; and it made the camp stronger against the Irish enemy, who were now expected to attack the English rear.* The western camp was also fortified and had small forts built on its extreme right.† These completed the investing line on the west and at the same time made it certain that wherever either the Irish or Spaniards attacked they would meet with men behind trenches. The return of Sir Richard Leveson bringing news of his success at Castlehaven gave some spirit to the English army; but by this time, exposure and disease had begun to make gaps in it far more serious than any that were ever made by the arms of Spain. It was necessary to keep the men constantly in the trenches because Mountjoy did not know when O'Donnell and the Spaniards from Castlehaven might attack. The winter was not only very cold, but very wet, and we hear more than once of great thunderstorms,‡ which are unusual in mid-winter in Ireland. The trenches, where sunk and not built up, were filled with water, which must often have frozen, and the men who had to sleep or watch in them were in many cases fresh from England and not inured to hardship. They died in dozens every night.§ In their letters of December 12 to Cecil, Mountjoy and his officers said that one third of the army was on the sick list, and Carew a day later declared|| that only one-fourth of

* Moryson, III, 61.

† *Journal*, *infra*, p. 211. Moryson, III, 61, and the map referred to above

‡ See e.g. Moryson, III, pp. 74, 76.

§ Moryson, III, 62; and see for further details Index to this vol., s.v. Kinsale.

|| *Infra*, p. 216.

the army, which was now 6,000 strong, was able to fight. Many of the soldiers in our army had deserted, in spite of the execution of some who had been re-captured, "to encourage the others." Hugh O'Donnell and his newly-come Spanish allies were 5,000 strong and were known to be not far off. Sentries froze to death at their posts and men who were well and fit perished in a few days from cold or fever. Two hundred deserters were at one time collected at Waterford ready to be returned to camp or executed,* and the Lord Deputy and Council could not but feel compassion for these unfortunate creatures, who were brought from home, or even from prison, in England to face at once the horrors of war and the hardships of a terrible winter.

In this desperate emergency Mountjoy shewed himself at once humane and resourceful. Though he did not spare his men in action, he knew well that human endurance is limited, and that soldiers, if they are to fight, must be kept fit. Even at this difficult moment he formed a base hospital at Cork, where the sick could be looked after as well as possible, and given their pay in money in order that they might buy whatever could be obtained for their relief. At Kinsale camp a field hospital was also provided† in which many of the sick were kept. The officers subscribed amongst themselves to help their men, and 50*l.* a week, a very large sum, was collected in this way in the early weeks of December. The heroism and self-sacrifice of the general was infectious, and officers who had before starved their soldiers for their own profit now opened their slender purses to help them. But the descriptions of these dreadful weeks recall the sufferings of the English army in the Crimea. It seemed as if Fortune, which had so long smiled upon Mountjoy, had determined to undo him. She had sent him favouring winds during the critical period of reinforcement and concentration in

* Moryson, III, 66.

† *Ibid.* Here "warm brothe, meat and lodging" were given.

November ; and now in December, when trenches must be dug and held, and exposure must be faced, she sent him weather which was severe beyond all precedent in Ireland.

Under these circumstances the Lord Deputy asked* for fresh men. He asked also for the retention at Kinsale of Sir Richard Leveson, whom he regarded as a very capable officer, with his fleet. He asked further for the raising of a force of Scottish marauders who should invade Tyrone. The fresh men were, indeed, necessary if the siege was to continue long, and Leveson must at all costs be kept at Kinsale if, as was reported,† a Spanish fleet under Bertondona was to be at Kinsale with reinforcements in six weeks. As to the plan of employing Scots, it was no doubt strategically sound to attack the sources of O'Neale's supply, but the difficulty of bringing over these men at this time would have been very great, and it seemed almost chimerical to hope that they would collect an effective force in Ulster and march through Ireland in mid-winter, descending in turn on the rear of O'Neale.‡ Be this as it may the Scots were never needed. The Irish leader, by his cowardice and inefficiency, secured his own defeat more effectually than a band of Scottish plunderers could ever have done.

From the 8th of December, when Leveson returned to Kinsale, till the 22nd, nothing was done by the besieged or by the Irish to interfere seriously with Mountjoy's preparations. These went on very quickly. On the 8th, guns which had been brought into camp were emplaced, and on the 9th, 10th, and 11th, two small forts were built between Lord Thomond's camp and the Bandon river. Communication trenches ran between these and Lord Thomond's camp and their completion was an important episode in the siege. The Spaniards made slight but ineffective attempts to stop these works. On

* On December 12 : *infra*, p. 209 (Moryson, III, 63-69).

† See the letter already cited, Moryson, III, at p. 68.

‡ This was what Mountjoy hoped ; see Moryson, III, 68.

the 13th, three guns were drawn into them, with a view to making a breach and covering an attack on the west of the town.* The weather was so bad on the 14th that nothing was done at all, and the artillery was also paralysed by rain and wind, and perhaps darkness, on the 17th and 19th; but on the 15th, 16th, 18th and 20th an effective artillery fire was brought to bear on the castles and parts of the wall of Kinsale from which the Spanish marksmen could pick off the Englishmen working at the trenches and forts. This gunfire was most scientifically conducted, and under its protection the English infantry worked by day and even by night.† On the 20th the weather was fine and a heavy bombardment took place which destroyed a great part of the western wall of Kinsale. It seems evident from Moryson's account that the English general intended to storm the town from the west unless he were prevented by the Irish.‡

O'Neale meantime had done nothing. His advance guard of cavalry§ had shewn itself within two miles of the Lord Deputy's camp on December 8, but although the Irish general had fresh and well-fed men, he did nothing during the long interval between the 8th and the 21st. This was good strategy if O'Neale could really cut off supplies from the English camp; but, though his communications were interrupted, Mountjoy had still food to live on. If he had not, it was chiefly due to the parsimony of the miserly old Queen and her government.|| It is true that at the very last moment before the battle of December 24 Carew tells us¶ that O'Neale had been able to get between

* Moryson, III, 63.

† Moryson, III, 72.

‡ *Ibid*, III, 73-4.

§ Modern tacticians would call them "the independent cavalry," for they were apparently quite separate from the rest of the force.

|| See for evidence of this, Wilson to Watson, December 15, 1601, *infra*, pp. 221-2. At this desperate crisis ship-loads of supplies were being held up at Bristol because the merchants who had supplied food to the army in Ireland could not get their bills honoured. It was reported at Bristol by men who came from the city, that no money would be forthcoming before March. "which maketh men despair and at their wits' end."

¶ To Cecil, *infra* p.234: but the letter must be mis-dated for it says nothing about the great battle which took place at dawn on that day. Could it have been written whilst the English officers were waiting for O'Neale through the tempestuous winter night?

the English army and their source of supplies at Cork and to cut off the vivandiers* who followed the camp; but if this was really effected, communications were only cut for two or three days. The question of transport and supply for the army does not seem to have been either complicated by O'Neale's advance or simplified by his precipitate retreat. The English army could still get supplies by sea and Oysterhaven, and commanded the harbour, though not the town, of Kinsale. So far, therefore, as I can judge from the evidence before me, Mountjoy, though he felt the stress of hunger,† could not have been starved out in a short time. It would have taken a week or more to do it. On the other hand, he had developed his positions and preparations for assault very rapidly after O'Neale's approach and, during the ten days preceding the battle of Christmas Eve, battered down a great deal of the western wall of Kinsale.‡ The Spaniards shewed, by their unsuccessful sallies on the nights of the 17th, 21st and 22nd of December that they were very hard pressed. To my mind it is certain that if O'Neale had hung about and postponed his attack any longer, Mountjoy would have delivered his final assault on Kinsale, and either carried the place by storm or perished at the head of his distressed but devoted army.

The real danger which threatened Mountjoy, so far as I can see, was not O'Neale, but the continuance of west winds in the Channel. After the victory of Christmas Eve and whilst the Lord Deputy was at Cork, both he and Carew insisted on the peril in which its continuance had involved the army; and, feeling the west wind blow for many weeks after New Year's Day, again and again thanked God for their escape. It is difficult to realise that the English army, with its base across the sea, depended absolutely for its support on easterly winds, which in

* p. 234 and note. On the cutting of communications see also the "journal" in *Cal. of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3 at p. 191.

† Moryson, III, 73-4,

‡ See for details *ibid.*, 72, 73 *et seq.*, 89 and above, p. xxxi.

mid-winter are rare in these parts. While the west or south-west winds blew, D'Aquila was nearer to his base than Mountjoy.

On December 23 the Lord Deputy undoubtedly knew that he would be attacked that night or early the next morning. It is not certain how he discovered it. Moryson says that on December 23 one of O'Neale's chief commanders, who was under "some obligations" to Sir George Carew, sent a messenger to him to ask for a bottle of whisky and, in his letter, warned Carew of the impending attack.* I have no confirmation of this story and it is not mentioned by Carew in his letter to Cecil of December 26.† Had it been true, he would surely have told Cecil of it. The "Journal" containing the account of the battle was sent by Mountjoy and the Council to Cecil in their despatch of December 27, but it has not survived. The journal in the Carew papers‡ may be a copy of it; but whether it is so or not, it contains no record of the "bottle of usquebagh" story, which rests on the authority of Mountjoy's industrious and talkative secretary. Taking all the accounts together it is plain, first, that Mountjoy was prepared for attack at night, and that Captain Taaffe somehow or other obtained the news of its approach. The Lord Deputy kept his men under arms all night in both the main and the west camps. Sir Henry Power with a mixed force of 450 mounted men was sent out to get touch with the enemy§ and moved about in the open country between the two camps and to the westward of them in order to get into touch and send back word to Mountjoy if the Irish approached. Power got touch early in the night but according to his account O'Neale gave a signal (which could be seen in Kinsale) that he would not attack till dawn.|| Power therefore selected a place "by which they

* Moryson, III, 76.

† *Infra*, p. 240.

‡ *Cal. of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3, pp. 190-194.

§ See his letter, *infra*, pp. 241-2.

|| See his letter, cited above, at p. 242 *ad init.*

must come"; and, indeed, from the look of the ground it seems that, coming in the dark, they could only have advanced in one direction, *i.e.*, almost directly in rear of the Earl of Thomond's first camp. Taking up a position there, Sir Henry watched. The night was brilliant with lightning. At times the sentries and outposts saw the fitful gleam of torches with which the Irish lancers, probably the guides, tipped their spears. At early dawn the Irish were close up and began to light their matches, but the moment for a night attack was past.*

Mountjoy, indeed, thought the attack would not come off. At daybreak he was in council in his turf hut ("seldom going to bed by night"†) with Carew and Wingfield. A scout came in hurriedly, apparently from Power's force, and brought in word that the Irish were coming on. Sir Richard Graeme, who was in command of the regular outposts, sent in the same message. The movements which followed are told with detail in the various accounts. O'Neale's force was ill-guided and never launched any attack against the main camp at all.‡ His attack—intended to be delivered in three lines, commanded in succession by Tyrrell, O'Neale and O'Donnell—would, if it had succeeded, have struck at the west camp; but O'Neale did not get into action till dawn and then found Mountjoy's force quite ready for him. After considerable skirmishing and a demonstration of infantry which shewed the Irish that Mountjoy would accept battle, O'Neale retreated to some ground which he thought safe. The English cavalry then charged in two brigades, the first under Clanricarde, Graeme, Taaffe and Fleming, the second under Davers, Godolphin and Captain Minshull. The first charge did not succeed, and the cavalry edged off from the Irish

* See foregoing note and Moryson, III, 76.

† *Ibid*, 77.

‡ The nature of the ground, the intervention of the Oysterhaven, and the fact that the main camp was well fortified would have restricted an attack and made it very difficult for a force without artillery. The attack in the west, therefore, may have been made on purpose, and not because the attacking force lost its way in the dark.

foot, but, the second brigade coming up in support, the Marshal (Wingfield) took command of both and swept the Irish away in an impetuous charge. From Moryson's account* it seems that the Irish cavalry "being all chiefs of septs and gentlemen" gave way first and this is corroborated by Power's letters.† In any case, the flight of the Irish was precipitate and disgraceful. They were at least four times as strong as their opponents and must have made a good fight if they had had leadership or discipline of any kind. The English force followed in a bloody pursuit. One thousand dead bodies were found and 800 more men were wounded, whilst 2,000 arms were captured.‡ The execution "continued a mile and a half to the utter shame of the Irish rebels, until the horses were out of breath in running and the horsemen wearied with killing. The dead bodies of the rebels on every side were like the weeds of the field; their calivers, musket, pike, sword, target, headpiece and all left behind to carry away their cursed carcasses."§

And so, after half an hour's inglorious combat the vaunted Irish leader disappeared in ignominious flight and hurriedly returned to Ulster. O'Donnell who had been lost in a mist|| on the 24th and did not come into action, fled shortly afterwards to Spain and Tyrrell, the De Wet of the campaign, made good his escape with a few Spaniards and joined the Spanish force at Castlehaven.

Thus Mountjoy, with an army wasted by disease and exposure, but flushed with victory, was left to finish the siege of Kinsale. D'Aquila apparently saw as soon as light came on the 24th of December that the attack would fail; for he did nothing to co-operate. Carew had been left behind by Mountjoy to guard the main camp, and a great part of the force remained during the action of

* III, pp. 79-80.

† *Infra*, p. 242.

‡ Moryson (III, 82) says that there were killed 1,995 and wounded 76. No doubt many wounded were killed in the pursuit. See the "Journal" at p. 269 *infra*.

§ "Journal" *infra*, p. 269.

|| See Stafford to Cecil at p. 285.

that day in the besieging trenches, so that if D'Aquila had sallied he would have been met by a substantial force. For O'Neale's defeat it had only been necessary to use about one quarter of the English army. The careful Spanish commander evidently estimated the situation with good judgment and saw that a sortie would be of no use. He had tried three sorties in the last week, and with no success. Until he saw at least half of Mountjoy's force distracted by the Irish, it would have been useless for him to have attempted another.

As things stood now, his position was hopeless. Although reinforcements from Spain had been expected, none had arrived at Kinsale. Those which had landed at ports further west could not, it was now known, effect a junction with Don Juan. Provisions in Kinsale were running short and though hunger was also felt in Mountjoy's camp. he could now be supplied from Cork, whereas D'Aquila's beleaguered force could expect no relief. His one hope of supplies had lain in the assistance to be brought by the Irish chieftains. Accordingly the Spanish general very prudently decided not to risk further bloodshed or to put his army to the risk of starvation or assault in the last days of 1601. He offered to negotiate for surrender of Kinsale, proposing that he should be allowed to march out with the honours of war. These terms Mountjoy at first refused to grant,* but, after negociation, he decided not to stand upon stricter conditions, and the Spaniards marched out on the terms which they had offered. For accepting them the English general was severely criticised in London, but we, who know the desperate condition of his army, cannot but approve his conduct. Five or six of his guns were out of action.† His army was only provisioned for six days after December 31, and the fleet under Sir Richard Leveson would very shortly have had

* For the story of the negotiations, see *infra* s.v. Kinsale and the relevant pages in Moryson (III, 88 *seq.*).

† *Infra*, p. 273, Moryson, III, 110.

to leave Kinsale and withdraw to Cork in search of rations for the crews. The town of Kinsale was strongly fortified and though part of the wall had been battered down the castles on the wall were still tenable, and the breaches which had been made would, in the event of an assault, have had many hands to hold them. On these grounds the convention which Mountjoy signed on January 7, 1602, was amply justified.

Don Juan dined with the Lord Deputy on the 8th and on the 9th the withdrawal of the English forces from the trenches and forts commenced. Leveson and Carew went to Kinsale next day to arrange about victualling and transporting the Spanish army. The force there at the time was about 3,200. The town had been greatly injured by the English gunfire—"so torn with our artillery and I think the like hath been seldom seen, and yet hard to make any great slaughter of men by reason of the vaulted cellars in which they lodged securely."* The Lord Deputy and Council returned to Cork on January 9. The siege of Kinsale was over; and the last attempt of the Spaniards to challenge the English domination of Ireland had completely failed. Ill supported from at home, faced with a combination of Spaniards and Irish far more powerful than any which had been seen before, confronted with difficulties greater than those which had baffled his predecessors, Lord Mountjoy had by his prudence and courage extricated Queen Elizabeth from all her difficulties, and settled for ever the question of her sovereignty of Ireland.

A letter of D'Aquila's to his chief of the staff, Pedro Lopez de Soto, is in the Addenda to this volume.† In this letter he says that he was very short of provisions and that if Mountjoy had known the whole truth he would never have agreed to the convention of January or have allowed the Spaniards to march out with the

* *Infra*, p. 276.

† p. 641. It was discovered too late for insertion in the right place.

honours of war. He notices further as an important point, and of course it was vital, that even when Mountjoy had stripped the Pale and the other provinces of men and had concentrated every man at Kinsale the Irish did not rise,—no, not even in the territories of O’Neale and O’Donnell themselves.

The weeks which followed the return to Cork are not of great importance. The arrangements for getting rid of the Spaniards and reducing the English army in Ireland took some weeks to complete, and the departure of the invaders was delayed by a long continuance of westerly winds. In despatches of January 14 and 29 and February 15,* the Lord Deputy and Council dealt with the difficulties of the situation. The last letter contained letters intercepted from the King of Spain and Duke of Lerma to D’Aquila,† which made it clear that Philip intended to reinforce his army in Ireland. Mountjoy and the Council asked accordingly for means to fortify Cork, Waterford, Limerick and the lesser southern ports. Meantime Captain Harvey who had been despatched to take over Castlehaven from the Spaniards, occupied it, and Sir Charles Wilmot with a flying column moved through the valleys in Kerry sweeping away the Irish into the mountains, when and as he could. At length, on February 20, 1,400 Spaniards left Kinsale on their own ships, and the east wind which enabled them to leave brought ships from England with arms, munitions, guns, and tools for fortification.‡ The Spaniards at Castlehaven were now ready to leave and Harvey had supplanted them, but at Berehaven, Captain Flower had no success. O’Sullivan Bere had handed over Dunboy castle, which commanded the haven, to the Spaniards. Not unnaturally he now refused to accept the terms of D’Aquila’s capitulation which included the surrender of all places in Munster garrisoned

* *Infra*, pp. 271, 289, 293 (Moryson, III, 101, 111, 116).

† p. 295.

‡ Mountjoy and Carew to the English Privy Council, *infra*, p. 298 (Moryson, III, 125).

by Spanish soldiers. He re-took his castle from the Spaniards,* declared that he would hold it for the King of Spain, and sent the Spanish garrison away to Baltimore.

This bold action raised a fresh difficulty in Munster, which was shortly to be solved by the historic storming of Dunboy castle. For the moment we need only notice that D'Aquila gave no countenance or help to the resolute Irish chieftain, and even wanted to be allowed to go and suppress him. Mountjoy however did not permit this, knowing that the most important thing was to get the Spaniards away from Ireland. The small garrisons at the western ports embarked and departed independently and Don Juan D'Aquila, with the second half of the Kinsale garrison, went on board ship on March 8 at Kinsale. After waiting in the harbour a week for a wind, he departed with a favouring breeze on the 16th.† Carew mustered the remainder of the Kinsale force at 1,200 "besides boys and women"‡; so that altogether 2,800 men went back to Spain from Kinsale. This, added to the number of those who had been killed or died showed that the original force sent to Kinsale by Philip was over 4,000—or about 4,300, as Dermot McCarthy had informed. In six weeks siege the Spaniards must have lost 1,500 out of 4,300 or more than 33 per cent. of their force. This was not a very rapid rate of wastage considering the time, and we shall find later on that the losses of the besieging army had been proportionally much higher. The smaller Spanish garrisons, so far as we know, suffered very little during their brief visit to Ireland. On the whole, D'Aquila could congratulate himself on having got away very cheaply; and we know that when he was subsequently tried by court-martial for his conduct of the campaign he completely answered all his critics.§ Mountjoy had lost heavily, but he had vindicated the honour of England and won a

* *Infra*, p. 299.

† *Infra*, pp. 343, 351 (Moryson, III, 134 *seq.*, 141 *seq.*).

‡ p. 328.

§ See Index, s.v. D'Aquila.

great victory. O'Neale alone had lost honour, and almost everything else.

Mountjoy withdrew from Youghal to Kilkenny and there bade farewell to Carew, who returned to his charge in Munster. Their last joint letter of the campaign was sent from Kilkenny on March 24, protesting against the reduction of the soldier's rations.* At Kilkenny Mountjoy was taken ill, with symptoms that look like influenza,† and had to be carried from Kilkenny to Dublin in a litter; but nevertheless accomplished the journey in two days. The resident members of the Council and the citizens came out to meet him, testifying to their appreciation of his great services, "but we that accompanied him had but a small part of their joy . . . and yet he continueth making very ill rest and hath no appetite at all, which comforts he never missed before now since he came into this Kingdom. . . . I fear that he will grow worse and worse and be in danger of some shrewd fit of sickness." Here, for a moment, the General lay, recruiting for further efforts: and I leave for a moment to review the story, set out in these pages, of the final campaign in Munster. That Mountjoy's health was not good we know, though he seldom complained, for he died young. It is impossible to read the story of his victory as recorded in the first half of this volume without receiving the impression that as a general and a statesman he was possessed of the highest abilities; was, in fact, a great man. His letters bear the stamp of complete unselfishness and of inexhaustible zeal for the public service. He seems above all personal considerations. The self-assertion, jealousy and intrigue which appear in the letters of his contemporaries were foreign to his nature. Not the least admirable of his qualities was the modesty with which he spoke of his own services; not the least interesting, a curious tone of cynicism which runs through many of his letters and

* *Infra*, p. 351 (Moryson, III, 141-2).

† p. 355 and *Corrigenda* and *Index*, s.v. "Mountjoy."

which may be due to a realisation of the vanity of human effort even in this active age.* His desire for rest and retirement, so often expressed, makes me think that he had some intimation that his life would not be long.

Returning to Cork, Carew, at once began his preparations for a summer campaign at Berehaven. There, in his strong castle of Dunboy, O'Sullivan Bere, with a few Spaniards and his Irish dependents, bid defiance to England.† Carew's chief difficulty was to get "garrons" for men and carriages. He had to make a long march overland and after the events of the last few months we can well suppose that the supply of horses was very low in the war worn province of Munster. He left Cork on April 23.‡ His force was normally 325 foot and 4,400 horse, but was not nearly up to full strength. In one place he states his effective strength is not above 1,800.§ After a week's march he reached Dunnemarke, or as he called it "Carew's Castle," close to Bantry Abbey. Here he had to wait for his victuals, which were coming by sea from Cork and were delayed by head winds. The whole months of May and June were exceedingly wet and wild and we are told that on one occasion the ships off Bantry were in danger even when riding in the harbour. From Dunnemarke Carew decided to cross to Dunboy by sea and not attempt the difficult march round Bantry Bay through a mountainous country full of the enemy. The redoubted Captain Tyrrell was in the field against him and the Knight of the Valley, the Knight of Kerry, O'Sullivan More and a number of other Irish chieftains were in the mountains and might attack him if he tried a land march. We realise how difficult the country was when we read that the journey of twenty-four miles by land from Dunnemarke to Dunboy

* See a remarkable letter to Cecil in Moryson, III, 119 seq.

† His campaign is detailed more fully in the *Calendar of S.P. Carew* and in *Pacata Hibernia*, than in this volume. I refer to these works where necessary, but confine myself as far as possible to my own text.

‡ For the facts, see Index, s.v. *Carew* and *Dunboy*. I do not trouble the reader with constant references.

§ *Pacata Hibernia* (1810), II, 522-4, and *infra*, p. 423.

was estimated to take six days, though that from Kilkenny to Dublin took only two for Lord Mountjoy in his litter. Carew, however, found allies in Donell McCartie, bastard son of the Earl of Clancare, and in Dermond O'Sullivan, brother to O'Sullivan More. These two chieftains, assisted by Sir Charles Wilmot, had robbed O'Sullivan More's country of 500 cattle and thus prevented O'Sullivan More from sending provisions to O'Sullivan Bere at Berehaven. Captain Tyrrell, too, was not very devoted to the service of O'Sullivan Bere. He asked to speak with Carew whilst he was at Dunnemarke, but was dissuaded by the Jesuit Archer* who was at Dunboy and had become the spiritual counsellor and leader of the rebels. Whilst Archer promised help from the Almighty and from Spain, the defenders did their best to make Dunboy defensible. They took down the top of the castle to the level of a strong rampart with which they had surrounded it, and, strongly vaulting the roof, placed their guns either on it, or on the rampart. Their rampart was twenty feet thick and was probably intended to resist Carew's gunfire. As a second defence, however, O'Sullivan's men fortified Dursey island, seven miles to the westward, where they placed some guns, and Carew thought they intended to hold the island if driven out of Dunboy. This castle the Irish thought impregnable, and repeatedly sent word to the King of Spain that they could hold it for a year. As events turned out, it was very easily taken.

The garrison of Dunboy and the Durseys consisted in part of the O'Sullivan's themselves, the clansmen of O'Sullivan Bere, and in part of "buonies" or mercenaries. These were not very loyal to the Lord of Bere and would, probably, not serve him any longer than they were kept and fed.† Their numbers, in all Munster, were about 1,300,‡ but we are not told the number of O'Sullivan's

* p. 394.

† p. 395.

‡ *Calendar of S.P. Carew, 1601-3, p. 254.*

own men. Carew had under him the 1,800 men with whom he left Cork in April, and, at the moment of the storming of Dunboy 1,500 more, sent by Lord Mountjoy, arrived to take part in the final assault. Into the story of the siege and storming of Dunboy, I need not enter. It is fully told in the journal which Carew sent to the Privy Council of England on 28 June after all was over. The letter and journal are already accessible to the public,* so the originals which are preserved amongst these papers are calendared only for reference to works in which they appear. Sir George Carew got back to Cork at the end of June after a complete victory. He had met an enemy braver, indeed, than O'Neale, but scarcely more skilful. The famous Captain Tyrrell had again escaped his English pursuers. He seems to have been anxious to make his peace with Carew at one time, but whether this was so or not, he was still at large. On July 1 the companies sent by Lord Mountjoy to support Carew at Dunboy marched out of Cork.† With their departure the last portion of the Munster campaign comes to an end.

There can be no doubt but that Mountjoy's success was due in a great measure to O'Neale's delay in marching south. That delay, though mainly due to the incompetence of the Irish leader himself, was due also to the fact that when he left Ulster, he left an important and dangerous hostile force behind him. This was composed of Sir Henry Docwra's garrison at Derry, with its detachments at Donegal and Sir Arthur Chichester's at Carrickfergus. It is impossible to say how far Docwra, by creating this diversion in the extreme north, held back O'Neale from going south; but the evidence in this volume shows that the Derry and Carrickfergus garrisons were a very considerable element in the strategical problem of 1601-2, and one to which the historians have not, in my opinion,

* See *infra*, pp. 423-424 and *Calendar of S.P. Carew*. 1601-3, p. 252 *seq.* and *Pacata Hibernia* (1810), II, 525-572.

† *Pacata Hibernia* (1810), II, 581.

assigned its proper importance. I should, therefore, in this preface, refer to the evidence on this point contained in the following pages. It is ample ; for both Docwra and Chichester were long and constant letter-writers.*

In August, 1601, there were 2,900 foot at Loughfoyle and 750 at Carrickfergus, and when Mountjoy was carrying out his autumn campaign in the Blackwater, he looked constantly to the force at Loughfoyle for co-operation. Docwra was, however, not well enough armed† to march across Tyrone to the Blackwater, and before he could co-operate with Mountjoy the threatened landing of the Spaniards caused the Lord Deputy to draw away his forces to the south. When this happened, Docwra and Chichester were left on the defensive. Docwra at once occupied Donegal with 400 Englishmen. The town had been left bare by Hugh Roe O'Donnell's march into Connaught, and Docwra proposed to push on a force to Ballyshannon, in order to hold the ford over the Erne. If this ford and the crossing at Belleek could be held, O'Donnell would find it very hard to get back to his own country.‡ The Donegal garrison was put in command of Neale Garve or Garo, a grandson of Calvagh O'Donnell, the former chief of Tyrconnell, and the husband of Nuala, Hugh Roe's sister. The rivalry between the various branches of the O'Donnell clan has been described by Mr. Bagwell§ and it is outside my province to deal with it. Neale Garve was a claimant to the chieftaincy of Tyrconnell and had been promised a grant of the lands which should be wrested from his brother-in-law. This Neale was a difficult man to deal with ; haughty and exacting, and, in Docwra's opinion, none too loyal. But he undoubtedly did good service in the autumn of 1601, and he and Docwra, between them, made it certain that O'Donnell, if defeated

* For details see Index, s.vv. " Docwra," " Loughfoyle," " Chichester." " Carrickfergus," where the facts are gathered for the reader's convenience.

† See pp. 20, 21.

‡ See Willis to Cecil, p. 165.

§ *Ireland under the Tudors*, vol. III ; see the Index thereto, s.v. O'Donnell.

in the south, would never get back to Donegal. Hugh Roe showed his realisation of this fact by escaping to Spain directly after the defeat at Kinsale. He had already been twice a prisoner in the hands of the English and had twice escaped;* and his experiences in prison may have taught him that it would be wiser not to fall into their hands again.

Neale Garve was furnished by Docwra with all the supplies which could be spared,† and during August, 1601, store houses were put up at Derry and a wharf built for landing heavy goods. The forces both at Derry and Donegal were, however, constantly in want of provisions and the scarcity of which we read in the story of the Munster campaign was not so serious as in the north. The debasement of the coinage, to which I refer more fully later on, was keenly felt. The merchants from England would not sell for it.‡ The English garrisons were mere islands in a sea of hostile country and could only look to England for supplies; and at the end of August, O'Donnell himself returned from Sligo, drove off the few cattle which Neale Garve was able to keep about Donegal and the Abbey of Asheroe, besieged the garrison, and drove Neale's men out of Killybegs castle.§ But he drew off again on hearing of the Spanish landing, and the garrison at Donegal held its own.

Sickness and death were, however, worse enemies than the roving chieftain and his cattle raiders. A "state" of the twenty-five companies at Loughfoyle and Donegal taken on September 4, showed that of a nominal force of 3,000, only 1,539 men were really able to fight. With this small force Docwra did his best to make raids into Tyrone and for that purpose collected stores at advanced posts, nearer to the heart of the enemy's country. One of these was Newtown, now Newtown Stewart, where he collected enough supplies to support a garrison

* Bagwell, *op. cit.* III, 222, 226.

† pp. 23-24.

‡ p. 45.

§ pp. 46, 54.

of four hundred men for three months. In September, he sent out an advance party under Captain Atkinson to make the post comfortable and prepare it for a larger force. The party consisted of fifty English soldiers and a company of Irish commanded by Terlagh Maguylson, an Irish officer who had done excellent service in the English cause,* and was implicitly trusted by Atkinson. Terlagh, however, in some sudden access of treachery, fell upon the English soldiers† and butchered them. He immediately afterwards repented and “offered to redeem his offence by a like murder on the contrary side so he may withal be well rewarded for his labour.” The historians often horrify us with accounts of the cruel treatment of Irishmen by Englishmen at the time. Such acts of treachery and barbarism as this shew that, in that matter, both sides were to blame. We get a flashlight on the state of affairs and of the state of men’s minds at the time when we read Docwra’s comment on this offer of a double treachery: “I do not shut my ears against it, as it gives me an opportunity of being revenged upon him.”‡

The English general also occupied Bert castle, a fortress of the O’Dogherties in Inishowen and managed to make a composition with Hugh boy§ of that clan, by which he got some cattle for his starving soldiers. The garrisons at Donegal, Newtown and Bert were of great importance in keeping the hostile O’Donnells from re-occupying their lands and in depriving the chief himself of supplies for his main army. This lay now at or about Sligo, preparing for the march south. Hugh Roe had levied all the cattle and corn which he could for his march, and the privations which the English garrisons suffered in the winter were due, no doubt, in part to the fact that the country had been stripped by him in the late summer. But the English

* See the details, pp. 92-3.

† On September 17, 1601. See Reynolds to Cecil, p. 102.

‡ p. 93.

§ The uncle of the young chieftain O’Dogherty and for the moment the leading man in the clan.

themselves, in turn kept supplies from O'Donnell and O'Neale, and left those chieftains with nothing to fall back upon when their main attempt at Kinsale had been foiled.

We have full accounts of the fire at Donegal on September 19.* On that day an explosion (accidental or otherwise) in a magazine, blew a great hole in the wall of the town. The explosion was as usual, followed by a fire in which many stores, "utensils," beds and bedding were destroyed, but the castle, fort, provost's house and magazine of victuals were saved and defended with success against the attack by O'Donnell's men which followed the fire.† Twenty-nine men were killed by the explosion and Captain Rande or Raude, one of the English officers, fell in the struggle for the storehouse. Neale Garve and his men, however, proved true to the English cause in this moment of trial. Had they failed, Donegal must have fallen and O'Donnell regained a great part of his territory. A few days later he left his enemy (and brother-in-law) still in possession, and departed for the south. We have already seen how he outwitted Carew in Tipperary and how his presence at Kinsale raised the drooping spirits of the Spaniards. But it was not his fate to succeed in any enterprise. Scarcely a year from the time when he left Donegal, and at the age of only thirty years, he was laid to rest, with all his earthly hopes, in the Franciscan abbey at Valladolid.

After the withdrawal of the O'Donnells, we hear little of the doings of the Derry garrison, until the middle of November, when over 500 men arrived at Loughfoyle from England.‡ This force had been delayed at Chester for want of provisions, but ultimately reached Culmore on November 11. On the 15th, 259 foot and a few horse landed at Carrickfergus. In the middle of the month, Sir Arthur Chichester made a foray into the MacDonells'

* pp. 98, 99.

† O'Donnell was apparently back from Sligo and in the neighbourhood of Donegal at this moment.

‡ p. 173.

country of the Roote in Antrim and penetrated almost to Dunluce. He "spared neither house, corn, nor creature,"* and carried away all the cattle which he could drive.† He found that Randal McSurley MacDonnell of Dunluce‡ had revolted and left his country to join O'Neale, and found also that during Randall's absence, Sir James MacConnell, son of the Lord of Cantire, chief of the MacDonnells of the Isles, who had been kept prisoner by Randal in Dunluce, had seized the castle and expelled Randal's warders. Sir James now offered to hold the castle for Queen Elizabeth, but Chichester had suspicions of his loyalty and did not close with the offer.§ He confined himself to temporising with the young Scottish chieftain and making endeavours to cross Lough Neagh and raid O'Neale's country. But the continuance of stormy weather prevented him from doing much, and the men and arms which were sent to him from England were, he declared, almost worthless.|| His last letter¶ of the year to Cecil, however, spoke favourably of the prospect of employing the Scots, both against Randal and against O'Neale himself when the time came to crush him.

Late in the year Docwra started on a raid along the coast between the Foyle and Bann, but he was prevented from planting a garrison at Coleraine by the non-appearance of a ship which he had sent round with supplies to meet him there.** A garrison at Coleraine would have been very important for it would have closed the O'Neale's last gate to the sea and one of the easiest roads between the O'Neale's of Tyrone and those of Down and Antrim. Docwra had to be content with very large "preys" and we notice that in this time of starvation for the English

* p. 175.

† *Ibid.* We note, as another sign of this unusual winter, that his retirement to Carrickfergus was impeded as early as November 20 by snow.

‡ Afterwards 1st Earl of Antrim and Tyrone's son-in-law. He and his brother James were now chiefs of the Irish MacDonnells.

§ Chichester to the Council, pp. 206-7.

|| *Ibid.*

¶ pp. 244-5.

** See his letters, pp. 261-5.

garrisons he speaks of the country through which he passed, now the county of Londonderry, as incredibly rich. Turning south he endeavoured to penetrate into O'Neale's country and to "spoil as high as Dungannon," but a sudden thaw raised the rivers, and he was compelled to fall back to Derry. Later he himself marched to Donegal, garrisoned the abbey of Asheroe with 450 men and caused Neale Garve "to make a cutting on the country for cows with which the garrison was plentifully relieved." Ballyshannon Castle was, however, still held for O'Donnell and Docwra could not take it, for he had no artillery or materials for trenching.* At the end of the year he sent Captain Willis from Lifford over the Foyle to raid Tyrone, and himself prepared as many men as he could to do the same. It appears, however, that his garrison had been gradually spread out into about a dozen different strong places in Londonderry and Donegal, no doubt with a view to collecting provisions and preventing the Irish from assembling in any of them.† It was the "blockhouse policy" which became familiar to so many Englishmen three hundred years later. It seems to have been very effective in Donegal, and had already been tried, and was frequently advocated, by Mountjoy. It was the policy which finally brought O'Neale to his knees.

On January 10 that defeated and humiliated chieftain reached Dungannon. He had made a very rapid march across Ireland,‡ getting from Kinsale to Dungannon through the heart of Ireland in deep winter in seventeen days. But when he got home his army had disappeared. Spies reported at Dublin that when he reached the house of his relative, Henry Oge O'Neale, on January 8, he had only twelve horsemen and four boys with him. Large numbers of his men were drowned on the way home at the crossing of the flooded fords of the Maigue, the Inny

* p. 263.

† See the return on pp. 266-7.

‡ See, as to his retreat, the references gathered in the Index, *s.v.* "Tyrone."

and elsewhere, more, we are told, than were killed by the English, "and as a herd of swine would take the water, so for fear they did, and were drowned in great numbers more than can be known." The fear-stricken fugitives threw their arms away at every ford or difficulty and many of the country people that would "kiss them at their going forward did both strip them and shoot bullets at them on their return."* However, O'Neale was now once more in his own territory, and, whatever the Irish of the midlands might do, or think, he was, when amongst his own people, a force to be reckoned with. What was the best way to crush him? Dungannon must certainly be taken, and a cordon of troops gradually drawn and tightened round the territory in which he could rely for food and support. In an able letter† from Carrickfergus, Sir Arthur Chichester set forth the problem which now confronted the English army. Tyrone must be surrounded; and to this end much had been done. Docwra's winter manœuvres and work had closed the gates of his territory which opened seaward (except Coleraine), and also the western gates at Derry, Lifford, Newtown-Stewart, Enniskillen, and Belleek. In Connaught the English Governor had made good progress, but had yet to crush O'Rorke, who was ready to assist O'Neale as far as he could. Chichester himself, by his boats on Lough Neagh and his guard at Toome, closed Tyrone on the east. Finally the Lord Deputy was to come from the south, and reinforcing the garrisons at Newry and the Blackwater, to press in to Dungannon.

But the work of spreading a net round O'Neale and driving him gradually into the sea was no easy one; and from the defender's point of view, his country was very strong. The sea, the Foyle and its streams, Lough Erne, the Blackwater, Lough Neagh, and the Bann surrounded it with a long and an almost continuous natural water-barrier,

* p. 285.

† To Cecil, January 15, 1602, pp. 286, 287.

which must have been much more effective three hundred years ago, before the days of conservancy and drainage, than it is to-day. The strategy of Mountjoy and of the officers who worked under him was to establish positions like bridges across this water-barrier, and gradually to get control of the barrier itself. Once controlled, it would be as useful to the attackers in preventing the defenders from getting out as it had formerly been to the defenders in preventing the attack from getting in. Chichester proposed to do his share of getting ready boats on Lough Neagh which could bring men and supplies across the lake and thus assist the main attack unless it was delivered from the south. Docwra was to invade from the west and meet Mountjoy at Dungannon.

This gradual concentration in the North was, however, impeded and delayed by the fear of a fresh Spanish invasion. That invasion never took place. It was prevented, if ever seriously contemplated, by the presence of an English squadron on the coast of Spain; and we know that neither Cecil or Mountjoy thought it would take place. Carew feared it, or said he feared it; but he was wrong. Yet, even though Mountjoy did not believe in it, he had to be prepared for all possibilities. The mere chance of a fresh Spanish invasion, greatly delayed work in Ulster right through the summer of 1602.

Early in March, Chichester had effected a lodgment on Tyrone's side of Lough Neagh, apparently at or near Charlestown, and had detailed Captain Phillips to command it.* Mountjoy was, unfortunately delayed after his return to Dublin by illness, by the necessity of refitting his army and by the difficulties caused by the debasement of the coinage. These made the payment of men and purchase of supplies no easy matter. The mobilisation for the Northern campaign was thus delayed

* Phillips to Cecil, p. 325. The letter seems to shew that this new place was to be an advanced base for an attack on O'Neale, but I have not been able to locate it with certainty.

till the first of June. On the 6th the Lord Deputy wrote from Mellifont that the campaign had commenced that O'Neale was suing for mercy, but that he should not be listened to till the garrisons which were to ruin him had been lodged in his country. Before the 20th Chichester had crossed the Bann at Toome and seized O'Neale's fort on the west side. O'Cane and Brian McArt O'Neale had been detailed by O'Neale to resist him, but failed to do so.* Docwra was also pressing in from the east and had a post at Omagh. On the 10th of June Mountjoy reached Newry and, after four days spent in getting his transport into order, moved on the 14th towards Armagh and advanced to the Blackwater. Here he halted at a point about five miles east of the Blackwater Fort†, threw a bridge over the river and built a fort which, after his own christian name, he called Charlemount. Thus pressed on all sides, O'Neale on Sunday, June 20, burnt his house at Dunganon, and all his fortified houses or "loaghs" between that and the Blackwater; and, with his children, people and goods, struck north and then went into the mountainous district called Clancumkyne or Glenconkein "the greatest fastness of Ireland.‡ Mountjoy sent Sir Richard Moryson's regiment to occupy the charred houses of the O'Neale's "capital" if such it can be called, and, on the 23rd, drank the health of his absent friends amid the ruins of the vanquished chieftain's cabins. Thus, within a week, fell Dunboy and Dunganon, two fortresses at opposite ends of the country in which the Irish hoped to resist the conquerors to the last.

The enemy, driven from his "chief house" and "turned woodkerne," must now be hunted down in wooded mountains and glens where it was by no means easy to find him. For the mobile sweeping forces which alone could accomplish

* p. 414.

† Moryson, III, 166. It was four miles from Dunganon, *infra*, p. 417.

‡ Now the south-western portion of Londonderry and originally, it seems, composed of the parishes of Ballinascreen, Desertmartin and Kilcronaghan; see Bagwell, *op. cit.*, III, 130, 131 *note*.

this task, and for the capacious blockhouses which were to guard important passages, large supplies were necessary. After the occupation of Dungannon, Mountjoy's active operations paused whilst the various blockhouses were occupied and the columns separated and refitted. Docwra was ordered to garrison and provision "the Omey" [Omagh] and to move to Dungannon at the end of July with a sufficient force to close in O'Neale on the south.* Chichester was to operate from a new blockhouse on the west side of Lough Neagh and close to Dungannon which was large enough to hold 1,000 foot and 100 horse.† Mountjoy himself was to move between the other two forces "and invade him by Killetroe that doth next border upon Tyrone."‡ The blockhouses were intended to contain garrisons which should not only take the offensive against O'Neale but should also be able to keep him from ever again coming down on to the cultivated or pasture lands of his territory. Furthermore, it was a condition of each one of them that the garrison in it should be strong enough to resist alone any force which O'Neale could bring against it. This last condition was important, for if the imprisoned chief could attack and destroy even one blockhouse, he would be able to capture its supplies and to sweep the adjacent cultivated and pasture lands. The various garrisons would also do police duty, and their presence would induce waverers to come in.

All these considerations are set out at length in the long letters which the Deputy and Council wrote from Monaghan on July 19.§ Here Mountjoy planted a new and important garrison.|| On the day on which the Lord Deputy and Council wrote their despatch, Mountjoy himself wrote to Cecil that he had received letters from the Queen shewing that the Spaniards would not invade

* Docwra to Cecil, 14.7.1602, *infra*, p. 442. Moryson, III, 177.

† This was, I think, the new post referred to in the note above p. li.

‡ See *infra*, p. 444.

§ *Infra*, pp. 444-6. Moryson, III, 178-80.

|| See *infra*, p. 458.

Ireland in 1602.* This news came to him as a great relief. Yet even now the task assigned to the English army was not easy; and in point of fact was not accomplished before the close of the year. O'Neale had 900 foot and 30 horse still with him and Brian McArt had 400 foot. Such a force, if well led, could break out between the blockhouses, and even so bad a general as O'Neale was probably a better man on his native heath than when conducting a march through the midlands or a night attack on well prepared forces at Kinsale. Coleraine, at the mouth of the Bann, was either not occupied at the time or was not strong enough to prevent his moving down the Bann below Toome; and in July he sent his wife to parley with Randall McSurley, probably to try to raise more men. He thought of breaking out into Maguire's country in Fermanagh, but we hear that his people would not go with him "hoping yet to reap their corn."† After planting the garrison at Monaghan, Mountjoy placed some isolated wards in the "islands of greatest strength" in the neighbourhood,‡ and burnt those which he did not care to hold. He also ravaged McMahon's country—the barony of Dartry—and by so doing, finally detached from O'Neale's cause a number of local chieftains who had hitherto adhered to it. Thus, with garrisons at Derry, Lifford, Newtown Stewart, Omagh, Enniskillen, Monaghan, the Blackwater Fort, Charlestown, Charlemount, Armagh, Dungannon, Toome and Dungiven, Mountjoy might well say that he had walled up O'Neale and his 1,300 woodkerne. The ravaging of Dartry made it impossible for a force breaking through the line at Monaghan to live on the country whilst prosecuting a raid towards the Pale, and the number and names of the Irish chieftains who surrendered in July shews how effective must have been the means taken to break their resistance. Amongst them were Art McBaron

* p. 446.

† Phillips to Cecil, 27.7.1602, *infra*, pp. 454-5.

‡ *Infra*, p. 458. The use of the term "island" is comprehensible to those who know the low-lying valley of the Blackwater and the country round Monaghan and can realise what it must have been before there had been any attempt at drainage.

and Henry Oge O'Neale who had been with O'Neale to Munster, various other O'Neales, MacKenna and McCann, Sir Oghie O'Hanlon's sons and many others,* each of whom had a train of followers. They took a very ample oath of allegiance, and forswore all dependence on or alliance with "the King of Spain and the archtraitor the Earl of Tyrone."

Having thus set a ring of blockhouses about his enemy, Mountjoy withdrew to Newry to rest and refit before starting upon a final raid on the centre of his territory. Though they had not had any fighting, the soldiers had had a heavy task of spade work. The new forts at Monaghan, Dungannon, and Charlemont were to their credit. The rumour of a Spanish invasion continued during July, but, as I have already noticed, Mountjoy always disbelieved it and had recently received an assurance that it need not be feared. This assurance was renewed in letters which he received from England whilst resting at Newry.† In the middle of July, indeed, the Council in London were not so confident as they had been earlier in the year of the immunity of Ireland from invasion. Carew wrote constantly in alarming tones from Cork and sent more or less explicit "examinations" of well-informed persons, tending to show that the Spaniards might yet make an appearance in Munster.‡ Everyone agreed that if they came at all, they would come in such force as to be independant of any help from the Irish chieftains, who had proved so untrustworthy in the previous winter. A merchant of Waterford arrived at Duncannon, outside Waterford, on August 2, having left the neighbourhood of Lisbon in the middle of July, and brought very explicit news§ of naval and military preparations in Spain and Portugal. These, according to the statement of captains with whom he had conversed,

* Only the names of the chief lords of countries are given, *infra*, p. 459.

† Moryson, III, 193.

‡ See the evidence collected in the Index, *s.v.* "Spain," and "Carew"; see also Carew's letters in *Calendar of S.P. Carew* at this time

§ See p. 465.

were being made with a view to landing a large force in Ireland. On August 9, Mountjoy, acting under orders from London, sent back Sir Samuel Bagnall to Carew with the infantry (save three companies) which had come from Munster earlier in the year. He sent also a squadron of 50 horse. At the same time he wrote hopefully of the results of the campaign in the North.* O'Cahan, the chieftain who ruled the country on the west of the Bann and east of Loughfoyle, and north of Tyrone, had submitted, promising to surrender all his territory except a small reserve about Dungiven. The land between the Faughan and the Foyle—the low-lying country on the right bank of the Foyle, immediately opposite the site of the modern Londonderry—was specially mentioned as absolutely ceded to the Crown. This surrender, considerably strengthened the positions at Loughfoyle Enagh and Dungiven and would in time enable the Crown to make leases. For the present it added to the military security of the blockhouses at these points by diminishing the danger of sudden attack.

O'Neale was much weakened by the secession of O'Cahan and the other men who submitted after the ravaging of Dartry, but he was not yet crushed; and the short campaign which Lord Mountjoy ordered to commence on August 10, did not succeed in finishing the war. On the 14th, before he actually started, the English commander knew that O'Neale would leave his own country and join MacMahon and Maguire on the borders of Monaghan and Fermanagh. He accordingly delayed a few days and, on August 20, moved out from Newry to penetrate by Armagh and Charlemont into Tyrone “utterly to waste the country of Tyrone and to prevail the garrisons there of some corn to keep their horses in the winter.”† If this movement succeeded, and the blockhouse commanders

* p. 467 (*Calendar of S.P. Carew*, 1601–3, p. 298 s.g.); see also p. 469.

† Moryson, III, at p. 200.

were able to keep their horses fit during the winter, the war could, he thought, be ended in the following spring. The value of cavalry or mounted infantry for the winter was of course obvious. They could keep constant watch over a wide area and get news from a distance of O'Neale's movements or of his intending return. Every acre of corn reaped diminished the resisting power of the Irish chieftain by so much, and increased the independence and efficiency of the blockhouse garrisons which were gradually to lay waste his country. Horse patrols could prevent the saving of the crops and feeding of the cattle which were the sinews of war. Already the Lord Deputy thought of peaceful settlement of Tyrone's lands by Englishmen* and mentioned Sir Richard Trevor as an early and probably a useful settler. As to the wealth of the land to be conquered, there could be no doubt; "for, ill-inhabited as it was, I can assure you the Earl of Tyrone in the time of these wars did raise upon Ulster above fourscore thousand pounds by the year."† Mountjoy speaks, of course, of the whole of Ulster and I do not know how much O'Neale raised outside his own country; but those who wonder how it was that he was able to provide and arm an army of 5,000 men to march across Ireland in mid-winter, may find some assistance in this interesting statement.

From August 19, when the Lord Deputy left Newry on this wasting or foraging expedition, we hear nothing from him till September 13, an unusually long interval. We know that he took away the civil population of the districts which he visited and settled them for the winter either south of the Blackwater‡ or east of the Bann, dividing the land allotted them between two submitted sons of Shane O'Neale. The people so brought away were ordered

* See his letter of August 19 referred to in last note.

† *Ibid.*

‡ "Injoining such of them as would become subjects to live on the south side of the Blackwater, so that if Tyrone returned he should find nothing in the country but the Queen's garrisons." Moryson, III, 202; and see as to the policy of concentration farms south of the Blackwater, *ibid.* III, 207.

to sow their corn for next year in the plains.* We know that he got submission from Maguire and destroyed the stone chair on which the O'Neales were "created" and made a large and important fort at Augher. From thence, it seems, he turned south, trying to hunt down O'Neale and his men who were in hiding amongst the islands and bogs of Upper Lough Erne. But here once more superior knowledge of the country helped O'Neale. We are told that Mountjoy "came not within twelve miles of them"† and that the Irish knew their way across the islands into O'Rorke's country, a way which the English army could not follow. What Upper Lough Erne must have been like three hundred years ago at the driest time of the year, but before the days of conservancy work, is an interesting speculation for those who knew that curious country. One thing at all events is certain, that it was a country in which a general who had competent guides and knew which parts of the shallows were fordable, must have an immense advantage over one who did not. Attempts to win battles on unfavourable ground had more than once led English generals in Ireland into defeats which nullified months or years of patient and laborious achievement. Mountjoy refused the risk when defeat was possible and victory unnecessary, and drew back (apparently from some point near Maguire's bridge) on or about September 7.‡ Leaving orders for good garrisons at Omagh, Augher and Mountjoy fort on the Blackwater, he settled the Irish non-combatants in their concentration farms and reached Newry on September 11 with fourteen companies of foot and 100 horse. The campaign of 1602 was over; and Mountjoy was never to fight another.

The "list of the army and its lands on September 30, 1602," was probably completed when the Lord Deputy

* *i.e.* where it could be got at and burnt if they misbehaved, *ibid.* III, 207.

† Moryson, III, 206.

‡ *Ibid* pp. 207, 212.

got back to Dublin some days later.* It shows that, even after all the reductions of which we hear during the year, the force kept in Ireland during the winter was close upon 18,000 men. Of these a very large number was in the long line of blockhouses which Mountjoy had established and running from Lough Foyle and Enagh round by Ballyshannon, Monaghan and Charlemont to the eastern line of Dundalk, Newry and Carrickfergus. Some of the garrisons were large. There were 1,100 men at the new Mountjoy fort, over 1,000 at Monaghan, 400 at Ballyshannon, 600 at Belleek, 1,850 at Lough Foyle; Newry, Dundalk, Dungannon, Armagh and Blackwater had smaller garrisons. In Leinster and about the borders of the Pale, there was a garrison of 300 horse and over 2,100 foot whilst Sir Oliver Lambert commanded 2,000 men in Connaught and Carew about 4,400 in Munster. This large force had to be supplied with clothing and provisions during the winter and the task of holding it efficient kept the Lord Deputy and his Councillors in Dublin constantly busy. After his return, too, the Lord Deputy discovered many other matters requiring attention,—the fortification of Limerick, disputes between different officers, promotions and reductions and many questions of general administration. On October 12 he writes saying that all is as he left it in the North, O'Neale is living in a corner of Feramanagh† and consuming the country. O'Rorke may, he hopes, become a loyal subject; and if he does so, O'Neale will be deprived of his last retreat. The Moores and Connors have been crushed in Leinster. "If there were but little keeps of stone," he says "in those garrisons I have planted and some others, I am confident the country might be reduced, or the war might be made with very few." That there were castles in some of his forts we know; but he wished them everywhere, to be used, of

* The documents do not say when; but before September 27; see Moryson, III, 217. The list is below at p. 486.

† Before December 17 he was back in Glenconkein, see p. 533.

course, as places for retreat and safety, where the horse and foot might be safe between their raids, and the danger of surprises and need for arduous sentry duty be diminished.

The records of the next few weeks call for little introduction. The coinage question which I deal with hereafter, came up for a discussion. There were, as usual, proposals by this or that officer for fortifying or planting this or that particular place, which was represented as being the real key to Ulster or Connaught as the case might be. Apart from the question of the coinage, Mountjoy and his Councillors were chiefly occupied with the prospect of O'Neale's surrender and the relevant topic of the conquest of Connaught. Whilst O'Rorke was unconquered, O'Neale would probably not surrender, and the Deputy and Council had some fears as to what might happen if O'Neale escaped to Spain.* Some members of the Council, at all events, were in favour of making terms with him and Secretary Fenton, who is the cleverest letter-writer of the time, was amongst them.† Mountjoy's view was that, at all events, Connaught must be conquered; and for this purpose he prepared to set out on a journey to the west, to receive submissions if they came and, if not, to fight.‡ He started on the last day of November for Athlone and Galway and Fenton expected that as soon as he crossed the Shannon, O'Rorke, O'Connor Sligo, and Rory O'Donnell, who was now the chief O'Donnell§ would submit. This prediction was not fulfilled as to O'Rorke, but the other two chieftains met and submitted to Mountjoy on the 14th of December at Athlone. Thence he passed to Galway, which he inspected during the Christmas holidays. Its commanding position impressed him and he gave orders for completion of the fort there. He found affairs in Connaught "going better than he had expected." The Flaherties and Mac-

* p. 515.

† See pp. 516-7.

‡ See his letter to Cecil, November 18, 1602, pp. 518, 519.

§ His brother Hugh died, as already mentioned, in Spain, about September 10. see p. 499.

Dermotts of the Curlews surrendered. Sir Oliver Lambert of whom complaints had been made to him, had made a successful campaign* in the summer and had driven the pretended McWilliam out of Mayo; and the Lord Deputy makes favourable mention of him in a despatch of January 8.† At this moment he was on his way back to Dublin, harrassed by many requests from the Council in London, but chiefly by the repeated and urgent demands for retrenchment. O'Rorke was apparently on the point of surrender in December‡ but changed his mind when he heard that the English army was to be reduced. Calling to him "Tyrone's Maguire," from across Lough Erne and the ubiquitous Captain Tyrrell, who was still at large, that "proud, insolent, and faithless rebel" withdrew his offer to submit. Mountjoy was determined not to allow him to remain in rebellion till the spring arrived with its hopes of foreign help. He instructed Lambert to prepare an expedition at Athlone, which should surprise O'Rorke in his lair of Leitrim, at the head of the Shannon. Sir Henry Folliott was to co-operate from Sligo and with him would come Rory O'Donnell, newly received as a subject, whose dead brother had fought side by side with O'Rorke when, little more than two years before, they had routed Sir Conyers Clifford in the Curlews. A third army would be assembled at Longford and co-operate from thence. Stores were ordered up the Shannon from Limerick to Athlone and the Lord Deputy and Council wrote to London asking for further provisions to be sent at once to Limerick, Galway and Ballyshannon. From thence they could be concentrated on the area of the new campaign.§

At the same time as they announced these preparations, the Deputy and Council begged that they might not be expressly ordered to persist in the proposed reduction of

* See Index, *s.v.v.* "Lambert" and "Connaught." To save space I have not referred to this campaign in detail.

† p. 552.

‡ p. 551.

§ See p. 554 (Moryson, III, 258, *s.g.*).

the army. The cashiering of soldiers in distant places led to great hardship, for the discharged men had far to go to their homes and no means of getting there. They were often robbed and maltreated by rebels. To keep the Irish companies in pay was the best way to keep them employed until O'Neale and O'Rorke could no longer be assisted by them. In the meantime they should be so employed "as they shall not be idle, but shall be still exposed to endure the brunt of the service" on every occasion.* Whatever may be thought of this statement, it is interesting to see that the Irish soldiers in the English army could be trusted, even at this time, to fight well against their own race. There was, indeed, a small class of men, the "swordmen" whose profession was war, and who did not care on whose side they fought. At the moment when Mountjoy made his appeal for the retention of the Irish companies, he approved a request of Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, one of his own officers, who desired leave to enlist some of the Irish swordmen and carry them abroad for service.† "If we could but get rid of 2,000 Irish," he said, "we should save the Queen 100,000*l*."

From Athlone the Lord Deputy moved back by Trim to Dublin. On March 20 he sent to London a long despatch in which he announced that steps had been taken to reduce the army to 12,000 foot and 1,000 horse—a reduction of some 5,000 men. At the same time he again emphasised the difficulty of cashiering men at a moment when the enemy was scattered in many isolated garrisons, and the inexpediency of doing so when the war was not over. In a remarkable passage at the end of the despatch‡ he protested against the revival of the Ecclesiastical Commission by Lord Chancellor Loftus and the other members of the Council, who had been left in charge of affairs in Dublin. I have set out the passage *in extenso*. It shews that

* Moryson, III, 259.

† p. 554. Sir Christopher St. Lawrence served abroad afterwards; see *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. I, p. 161

‡ pp. 556-7.

Mountjoy at all events was far ahead of his time in the matter of religious toleration. He followed this protest with an admonition to Cary, the Treasurer in Dublin,* in which, after detailing his labours in preparing for a campaign in O'Rorke's country he insisted on the wisdom of toleration. The Council were evidently not desirous, he said, that he should want work, for they had taken a course which was bound to revive rebellion if anything could do it. "I think you have stirred in this matter so hotly because you would have something to do. If you did not walk up and down in the cold with us you would not be so warm in your religion."

At the end of January, Mountjoy reached Dublin and during the next month we hear little from him. The tale of universal and abject poverty brought about by the long war and the debasement of the coinage, is continued, and is summarised in a long despatch of February 24. The civil and military servants of the Crown suffered acutely by being paid in base coin. The need of money made the obtaining of supplies extremely difficult, and O'Rorke was strengthening his position in Leitrim. The army, ill-paid and exhausted, shewed signs of disaffection. Mountjoy himself was deeply involved in debt and prayed for leave to receive part of his pay in sterling.† At Cork there was news of preparations in Portugal for setting forth an army for Ireland and the King of Spain was reported to have said that he would not lose all he had begun to spend there. These alarms, the difficulties brought about by the base coin, and the discovery of a scheme for coining false coins at Duncannon in which Sir John Brockett, the Governor of the fort there, was implicated, occupied the Deputy and his Council until March 15,‡ when the Deputy left Dublin once more for the North, to direct the final driving operations against O'Neale.

* p. 562.

† p. 570.

‡ Moryson, III, 283,

We do not know the causes which led to the Irish chieftain to make his final submission at the very moment when the Queen, whom he had so long defied, was on her death-bed ; but may easily infer that he was driven to it by starvation.* Mountjoy was at Drogheda on March 23, waiting for pack horses, to move his transport when he received a written submission. It reached him almost at the moment when, in the old palace at Richmond, Whitgift was offering up his prayers at the side of the dying Queen. Mountjoy moved to Mellifont on the 25th and there on March 30 received O'Neale's personal surrender. The story of the "taking to mercy," of the swift messenger who brought news of the Queen's death from London to Mellifont in three days, of the concealment of the news till O'Neale had actually come to the Viceroy's camp, of the tears with which the Irish chief heard of Elizabeth's death, of the fresh submission to King James, is elaborately related by Moryson. It does not appear in the following documents. The tale told here ends, dramatically enough, with O'Neale's letter. It found the Lord Deputy at Drogheda, weary indeed and impatient, yet now, as ever, zealous in preparations to further the cause in which he served.

The task of exhibiting the main narrative of these documents has brought this preface beyond the allotted limit, and many of the secondary episodes and events of these crowded twenty months have, of necessity, been passed without notice. The operations of Sir Oliver Lambert in Connaught, the action of Carew in Munster in 1602 at and after the taking of Dunboy, the conduct of affairs in Leinster by the Lord Chancellor and Councillors in Dublin during the Lord Deputy's absence in the field, the trouble over army contracts and over mustering at Lough Foyle, the long despatches from Chichester on affairs in Antrim, the treachery, real or alleged, of Lord Delvin,

* See the frightful account of Ulster—women eating children, and children eating their dead mothers—in Moryson, III, at p. 282.

the details of O'Neale's march south and retreat to the North—all these are matters on which something might be said did space permit. The reader will be guided to them by the references in the Index, which is, I think, full enough to afford a complete table of the subject matter of the volume. This preface would, however, be incomplete without some reference to the many documents here calendared relating to the debasement of the coinage.

In September, 1601, the government in Dublin and the officers in the provinces were already feeling the results of the dishonest proclamation of the previous May,* by which the Queen had sought to make threepence pass for a shilling. The first complaint which we have is from Sir Henry Docwra, who found it impossible to buy provisions for his men. Merchants would not sell goods for the base money, even when they had prospect of exchanging it at a loss of five per cent. for good money to be paid in England. The nearest exchange was at Carrickfergus, which was a long way off, and the exchange master there had apparently already taken a step which was afterwards followed by others in his position. He demanded that every merchant who brought in a sum of money and wanted a bill payable in England, should bring in at least half of his money in sterling silver. This, said Sir Henry, it is not possible for one man in a hundred to accomplish; and the consequence was that merchants simply would not sell at Lough Foyle and left the garrison to spend its base shillings in any way it could.† In Dublin Sir George Cary, the Treasurer, who was chiefly concerned in the introduction of the new currency, found himself in other difficulties. His duty was to give bills of exchange to merchants who brought in money, and these bills were to be honoured with $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. premium if the merchants had brought in old sterling to the exchange in Dublin, and at 5 per cent.

* The proclamation is printed in *Calendar of Patent Rolls (Ireland) Elizabeth*, (1862), pp. 578–82. See as to it, Bagwell, *op. cit.* III, 395–7.

† Docwra to the Privy Council, September 2, 1601, pp. 45–6.

discount if they had brought in the new base coin. Cary's difficulty was, of course, no new one. The old and good coins* were hoarded and the bad coins brought in large quantities to the exchange in order that they might be exchanged for good money in England. The merchants had been promised by the proclamation of May that they should have 19 shillings in English money for every 20 shillings of the new base coin, which they brought in. In fact, 20 shillings of the new base coin could be bought in the market for 5 shillings of the old coin, or for goods of the value of 5 shillings. The merchants shipped goods to Dublin, sold them for 100*l.* in old sterling or for 400*l.* of the new base coin, brought the 400*l.* to Cary and demanded according to the terms of the late proclamation, a bill on London for 380*l.*—an easy way to make a fortune. But they never brought in the old sterling. If they got this into their hands they knew better than to take it to the Treasurer, who would only give them a bill for 20*s.* 6*d.* English for every 20 shillings of it which they brought in. By the simple process of holding it, they could buy either the new base coin, or goods which they sold for new base coin, to the value of 400*l.*

Under such circumstances it is scarcely to be wondered at that Cary should, in a few months, have given bills for 18,000*l.* in England and not received more than 20*l.* of the old sterling.† In an endeavour to stop the run on the exchange, he refused to give bills in England unless the payees would bring in "some portion of sterling"—he does not say how much. This was flatly contrary to the terms of the proclamation, and Cary begged that he might not be condemned for not complying with it. It was very easy for the officials in London to condemn him; and it was easy for him to condemn the merchants for their "greed and treacherous courses"; but it is difficult for

* The "old sterling" seems from the evidence to have been well up to its face value.

† p. 58.

us to see how either Cary or the merchants could have done otherwise than they did. The blame for this impossible situation and for the miseries to which it led, must be laid at the door of the Queen and her advisers.*

Every sensible person in Ireland saw that it was hopeless to try and keep up this state of affairs and that, if it were to be done at all, it could only be done by force. Fenton told Cecil so in a letter of September 11, 1601, in which he stated plainly the facts noticed above. One thing, he said, was certainly necessary, namely to prevent silver from being imported by private persons into Ireland, since by changing it into the new base coin and then (by bills of exchange) back into silver, they could, in a few days, make 280 per cent. upon it.† In doing so, they left the exchange master with a mass of new base coin which could purchase nothing. The same story is told everywhere—in Dublin, at Lough Foyle and at Cork, where the Mayor begged the Lord Deputy‡ to induce the leading gentry to take the worthless money at its face value. There is so much evidence on this point that I need not insist upon it.§

The evil results of the debasement were so serious that they could not be long disregarded in London. Apart from complaints they made themselves felt there by the pressing demand for sterling to meet the numerous bills of exchange from Ireland. We know from the following pages that these bills were not met, or were only met after long delay. The postponement placed the army and service in Ireland in a most dangerous position. In December, 1601, a long vindication|| of the policy of debasement was sent in to Secretary Cecil; and it has

* Mr. Bagwell implies (*op. cit.* III, 395), that the Queen was persuaded in this matter by her Lord Treasurer, and casts the blame on him. I have no information in the matter except the letter of Thomas Hayes (p. 543), which seems to show that Cecil was the chief instigator of this dishonesty. There is no evidence in this volume to exonerate the Queen.

† pp. 66-7.

‡ p. 209.

§ See Index, s.v. "Coinage."

|| pp. 225 *seq.*

been set out at some length in order to enable the reader to realise the combination of dishonesty with extraordinary folly in those who favoured the scheme. The only way which Thomas and Edward Hayes could suggest for getting out of the difficulty was to prohibit strictly the casual importation of silver into Ireland and to make a new base coinage of groats in which those who brought bills of exchange from Ireland were to be paid. To do this would of course be to break the promises contained in the late proclamation, and would be no better than to pick the merchants' pockets. Such a suggestion can only have come from dishonest men, for their memorandum on the matter is such as to shew that they were not mere fools. It must be remembered of course that the government were at the moment in great difficulty. Owing to the war, expenses in Ireland were enormous; and the blockhouse and devastation policy of Mountjoy, though very effective, was very costly. It involved the destruction of all local sources of supply outside the Pale, and the sending of everything from England. The Pale itself had been ravaged in the autumn by O'Neale. With 16,000 or 18,000 men under arms it was difficult to pay regularly, and the temptation to pay in debased coin was very great. But nothing can excuse the wholesale adulteration of the national standard which now took place. Seventeen shillings' worth of silver was coined into sixty-two Irish shillings, and sixpence worth of copper into sixteen shillings' worth of copper coins.* Even after the restrictions imposed (*ultra vires*) by the Exchange officers in Dublin and other ports, the merchants who bought the worthless currency and sent it in to the exchanges made immense profits. They outbid the Crown in their offers for sterling, and "her Majesty's exchange must needs fail where she is so much outbidden."† The unfortunate consumer in Ireland—be he soldier or civilian—had to bear the loss.

* "Note on the real charge," &c., p. 248.

† "Note on the gain," &c., pp. 249-50 and pp. 280-2.

Statistics could, of course, be produced to show that the Crown had made money by coining three-pence into a shilling; but the true results were clear to all who had experience; and in the brief period under review, are constantly before us. Nothing would force the base coin on those who could do without it. It was made a condition in contracts that payment should be made in sterling* or in England. The Queen and her Council stormed in vain.† She could ignore the rules of honesty. She could interfere with the laws of supply and demand, and could inflict misery on her faithful servants; but she could not, by the simple use of her image and superscription, make people permanently agree to take three-pence for a shilling.

In the spring of 1602, when the withdrawal of the Spaniards had allowed people time to think about these questions, the protests against the new coin, which had always been vehement, became more reasoned, and we find several memoranda in which the fallacies of Whitehall are freely exposed and denounced.‡ Admitting that the Queen could shew a profit on paper as the result of her transactions, the writers declared that any such gain was far over-balanced by the subsequent loss. The notion of "drawing money away from the rebels" was shewn to be absurd. Who would bring silver to the mint when all he could get for it was the debased coin, whilst its value in the country was extremely high? The provision requiring that every person who brought money into the exchange in Ireland, and wanted a bill in England, must bring in one-quarter of the sum in sterling, was not only unlawful, but was deeply resented by the merchants. Mariners, colliers, victuallers alike protested against it; but the Government in London blundered on, and sent order after order to Dublin to maintain the absurd and insist on the

* See e.g. Egerton to Langford, p. 355.

† See a letter from Queen Elizabeth on the matter, of April 14, 1602, on pp. 366-7.

‡ See the Index, s.v. "Coinage."

impossible. The few merchants who did do business, found they could not get money for their bills in England* and on June 1, 1602, over 18,000*l.* worth of bills drawn on the various exchanges in England had not been honoured.

Eight days later, before the Lord Deputy left for Ulster, a proclamation was issued in Dublin and elsewhere vindicating and declaring the policy of the Queen. It slightly varied the terms of the previous edict. Merchants were strictly forbidden to use the old good money or to take or pay it, and efforts were made to secure its withdrawal by offering large rewards to those who informed against the users of it, or brought it into the Treasury. The terms offered to those who brought in the old good money were slightly raised, from five per cent premium (paid in the new worthless coin) to ten per cent. It was further declared that anyone who brought in 100*l.* to an exchange and asked for a bill on England should bring in at least 20*l.* of it in the decried sterling. This 20*l.* would be taken at ten per cent. premium and the other at 80*l.* at five per cent. discount. Somewhat easier terms were given to officers who wanted exchange for their pay; but regulations were made to prevent merchants from bringing the new base money to the exchange unless they could prove that it was the proceeds of a *bona-fide* sale of goods and not merely bad money bought with good. The local executive officers in the provinces, and at Derry, Carrickfergus and Ballyshannon, were authorised to enforce these rules.

The new proclamation was an attempt to prevent the inevitable result of the debasement partly by mere prohibition partly by making a bid in the market for the good coin. It had no effect whatever; and, as the references in the text prove, things went from bad to worse right up to the end of the reign. Counterfeit coins were made in France and Scotland, where 1,000*l.* worth of them could

* See a list of men and sums, pp. 400-1.

be made for 100*l*. In July orders came from London to the officers of the exchange to refuse copper coins altogether, so that the Government were now in the position of declaring coin to be current which they would not accept themselves. Under these circumstances it was easy for the contractors for the new coin to shew the Queen a profit on paper,* but that profit was dearly bought at the expense of her service, and by the misery and want which resulted. During the early autumn, Sir George Cary got in "a good store of money," and the new coin, with all its defects, began to circulate feebly in the country; but the difficulty presented by merchants who brought it for exchange could not be overcome, and was only remedied by Cary's refusing or withholding bills.† At the end of October unpaid bills to the value of 57,000*l*. were awaiting payment at the exchanges in England‡ and during the last months of the year when the public expenditure was very large, no improvement took place. At the end of the documents for 1602 I have gathered together a number of undated memoranda§ which very probably were written about this time. They shew in detail the features of the situation, a temporary relief to the Queen who had to find money for the war, a great cost to the nation, and the inevitable "gain of the merchant," which could only be stopped either by wholesale repression or by rehabilitating the coinage. In one or two of these memoranda proposals are made for a return towards the standard of England. Thus some proposed to issue silver coins of nine oz. fine and three oz. of alloy as opposed to the three oz. fine and nine oz. alloy (or two oz. eighteen dwt. fine and the rest alloy) of the currency inaugurated in May, 1601. These memorialists had realised that the policy, or game, of debasement did not, and could not, pay.

* See the memoranda on pp. 461-2 and 490-1.

† See pp. 495-6.

‡ p. 506.

§ pp. 545-50.

Their suggestions presaged the return to an honest currency which took place in the next reign.

No copy of the Queen's last and most foolish proclamation on this matter is to be found in this volume, but it can be read, both in Moryson's Itinerary and in the *Calendar of State Papers Carew*.^{*} Moryson gives the text in the form in which it reached Mountjoy on January 16, whilst the printed proclamation actually issued in Dublin on January 24 is in the Carew papers. The Lord Deputy and Council's letter from Dublin on January 28[†] explains the reason which had induced them to vary the terms of the proclamation before issuing it—a variance which they were empowered to make. Their amendment was not an important one since it merely widened the privilege given to officers and civil servants to get bills of Exchange at five per cent discount and no more, and the additional privilege was only given subject to very careful safeguards. For the merchants who had not this privilege, the terms of exchange were much changed, and greatly to their disadvantage. Merchants who wished to bring in 100*l.* and get a bill on England, could no longer get it unless they brought in forty per cent. of their money in sterling gold or silver. Then, for 40*l.* sterling and 60*l.* Irish, they would receive a bill for 97*l.* sterling, *i.e.*, for 100*l.* less five per cent. discount on the sixty Irish pounds. The effect of this crowning act of dishonesty was to place the Queen's government in the position of issuing Irish "silver" coins of the true value of 3*d.*, calling them a shilling, paying the army with them as such, and refusing to take them back at any higher price than sixpence, except the soldiers returned them themselves. The merchants who had to supply the needs of the country, the public service, and the officers and soldiers were supposed to bear the loss.

^{*} Moryson, *op. cit.* III, 261, *s.q.* *Calendar of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3, p. 409.

[†] *Infra*, p. 559.

They refused to do so ; and their refusal, though justifiable, caused great public difficulties. At the moment when the last despatches in this volume were written, the country was suffering terribly. Corn, food, cloth and iron rose enormously in price. The common people and the poorer civil servants could not buy them. The merchants could make their prices and, provided they knew their bills would be honoured in England, did not care on what terms it was done. They simply squeezed a higher price in the debased coin out of the unfortunate consumer in order to satisfy the tyrannical vagaries of the Queen and her advisers. The Mayor and sheriffs of Dublin protested against the intolerable rise of prices and asked to be allowed to provide grain for the starving inhabitants at the City's expense, but on terms altogether different from those of the Proclamation.* Mountjoy and his Council came as near to disloyalty when they were discussing the matter as they ever did.† They frankly contradicted the opinion of the proposers that prices would fall under the *regime* of the new exchange. They brushed aside the absurd fallacies put forward by the Privy Council in England and replied to them with incontrovertible and ominous facts. The hunger and want which were forced on everybody in Ireland in order that the Queen, or her ministers, might make a profit was undermining loyalty even in the army and in the Pale ; and there was actually a danger that, if the authorities in London persisted in their present courses, the government in Dublin might be paralysed and collapse altogether. At the moment of Queen Elizabeth's death the crisis was at hand. Almost the last despatch in the volume‡ shews that Mountjoy, Carew and Cary had been in conference with Thomas Hayes in Dublin and had debated what was to be done. Both the Lord Deputy and Hayes made

* p. 551.

† See pp. 560-1 and pp. 567-70.

‡ p. 581.

proposals* for a change, and both adumbrated a return to a common coinage and standard for England and Ireland. Had O'Neale known the desperate straits to which the government in Dublin was reduced, we may well ask whether he would have made a voluntary surrender at the moment when he did. There is some evidence that he had a mint in 1602.† If so, he could probably have coined money at least as valuable as the threepenny shillings which bore the image and superscription of the Queen of England.

In conformity with my instructions I notice a few striking phrases and peculiarities of expression which occur in the following pages. I have noted the swift passage of letters from Ireland to England on several occasions ; and readers will see that a post got from Dublin to Basing in Hampshire, in four days (p. 58), from Holyhead to Barnet in forty-one hours (p. 144), from Chester to Barnet in forty hours (p. 163). "Scamnlingly" is used (p. 75) for "scramblingly," and "I shall be *shent* for it," (p. 86), for "I shall be scolded." A remark in a letter of Sir Anthony Cooke (on p. 167), asking for recommendation "to my Lord Deputy *and especially to my Lord President,*" makes us think that some people regarded Carew, and not Mountjoy, as the most influential person in Ireland. Sir George Carew sent over hawks and "great greyhounds" to England in 1601 (pp. 245-6). A very interesting general discourse on Ireland will be found on pp. 250-5, dealing with the questions of settlement by English farmers, the wealth of Ireland, the possible revenue to be derived from it by the Crown, the disirability of having small farms or estates, so as to have a large number of English settlers, police measures against cattle raiding and the need for walled towns. With regard to the suppression of cattle raiding, a note on the document recalls the action of Bishop Rowland (or Rowlands, who was Bishop of Bangor from 1598 to

* Hayes' proposals were possibly those calendared on pp. 544-5, *q.v.*

† Carew to Cecil, p. 280.

1616) and took strong measures against cattle raiding. "Being told when he first came to the Marches that if any cattle thereabouts were put forth and yet some to keep them, they would be stolen away, he said that ere long he would make the Black sheep keep the white."* Two Latin enigmas, which I have not seen before, are given on p. 289. The Lord Chancellor and Councillors in Dublin, in a letter of February 20, 1602 (pp. 297-8), refer to O'Neale's attempts by "the terror of his forces and the seducing practices of the Jesuits" to induce the neutral Irish in the midlands to join him, and declare that he has failed. On p. 326 we read that Sir James McConnell or McDonnell "is to marry Tyrone's daughter, he having a married wife in Scotland."

On pp. 338-42 is placed one of the most interesting documents in the volume. I have not been able to date it accurately, and left it at March 17, 1602, where I came upon it. The document is not complete and is written by a Scotsman in Scottish English. The author seems to have been in the service of Sir Arthur Chichester, Governor of Carrickfergus, for he promised† a doctor of Sir James MacDonnell's that if he (the doctor) would kill MacDonnell, the writer would "give him . . . a letter to the Governor of Knockfergus . . . to see him safe sent home." And yet we find that both to MacDonnell, and to O'Cahan and O'Neill, whom he saw in their hiding places, the writer pretends to be a messenger sent from the Catholic leaders in Scotland (Earls of Huntly and Erroll), and the Duke of Parma. He pretended to have been sent to enter into negotiations with O'Neale for common action against the English; yet when he got to O'Neale's hiding place, or "Lough" and was entertained there as a friend, he seized the opportunity to set fire (treacherously) to O'Neale's house "by which his match and his whole house was burnt." The best suggestion I can offer, and it is put

* p. 254.

† p. 339 *ad fin.*

forward with no claim to infallibility, is that the writer was a spy sent by Chichester to the MacDonnells and O'Neales to find out how far they were in alliance with the Catholic parties in Scotland; and that the spy, in order to conceal the true nature of his mission, pretended to be an emissary from Scotland. Accepting this suggestion, the document is comprehensible. To make the deception better, the spy went over to Scotland and returned thence to "Bondnor."* He was taken under escort to Sir James MacSorley MacDonnell, whom he found ill, and attended by a Scottish doctor. To Sir James he gave a rapier and dagger "as sent by the Duke," and probed him as to his intentions. Having done so, he bribed the Scottish doctor to kill him, and, as I said before, offered the doctor a safe escape afterwards *via* Carrickfergus. The spy then went on to O'Cahan, who treated him kindly; but we hear nothing of O'Cahan's views on politics. Then he went on to Dungannon, but was met outside it by O'Neale's troopers, who suspected him at first and searched him and his clothes very completely, stripping him naked and ripping up his garments to see if he had anything suspicious about him. He was then brought to O'Neale and, hoodwinking some Scottish Jesuits who were about the court at Dungannon, got an audience; whilst the troopers who had insulted him were "put in the stocks with their mouths towards the ground." The rest of the narrative may be read in the text; but I cannot understand the alleged presence of Tyrrell, the great guerilla leader, at Dungannon. It is possible that there may have been another Tyrrell; but the famous Captain Richard, was, so far as we know, in the south during the whole of 1602. The document as a whole is most interesting as shewing the negotiations between O'Neale and the Catholic party in Scotland, a matter to which the historians have not yet given much attention.

* The suggestion of Bangor, co. Down, as an identification for this place is, I fear, not a likely one. There is a Bengore Head some miles east from Dunluce.

On p. 359 is a letter from John Crosbie, Bishop of Ardfert, which shows that he was a fighting man, who conducted a private campaign against the Irish in remote Kerry. He was a brother of Patrick Crosbie, a dishonest solicitor of the period, to whom some references are also made.* On pp. 368-70 will be found depositions in the case of Lieutenant Wyseham, who, it was said, had spoken very openly in camp at Kinsale of the immoral conduct of Queen Elizabeth with the Earl of Essex. The scandal, if uttered at all, was spoken in camp shortly after the fall of Kinsale; and I have no evidence as to what was done to repress it. In Sir Oliver Lambert's account of his campaign in Connaught (at p. 419) he notices that his camp was disturbed by random volleys or shots fired at night—the "sniping" of the South African war: but in Ireland, we are told, it was "to no purpose." I have mentioned the relations between Carew and Mountjoy, and shewn, as I am convinced the documents prove, that Mountjoy was far the greater man. A letter from Carew on p. 426 is interesting in this connexion. He laments that he has been ordered to send men to Connaught, sends the men unwillingly, and questions Mountjoy's discretion, both as to the possibility of a Spanish invasion and the probability of ending the northern war. As we know, Mountjoy was right, and Carew wrong, on both these points. The Spaniards did not invade, and the war with O'Neale was practically finished by Mountjoy's blockhouse policy of 1602. On p. 429 we get an account of the Lord Deputy's private expenses in Ireland and find that between February 26, 1600 (when he arrived in Ireland) and May 9, 1602, he received 10,379*l.* and paid 14,341*l.* The question of the relative value of money in 1601 and 1912 is a difficult one. Some things were very much cheaper than they are now and others less obviously so. Food was, so far as I can see, relatively cheaper, and travelling was, I think, relatively dearer, and Mountjoy had to travel a great deal. The most human item in the

* *Index, s.v.* "Crosbie."

account is 235*l.* for presents to servants. As one might expect, these were not paid by the Lord Lieutenant himself, but by a Mr. James ; and they were less than one-sixtieth part of his whole expenditure. He spent almost 2,000*l.* a year over his income, and that on an income of just over 5,000*l.* a year ; so he must have had some private means. We know, however, that he failed to pay his debts from inability, not from dishonesty. The debasement of the coinage must, of course, be taken into account in all these calculations and makes it difficult to draw any sure conclusion.

On p. 436 we see that Carew captured sixteen Spanish guns at the fort of Dunboy in 1602, and also get some insight into the feeding of the army. The cost of victuals is estimated on p. 453. A letter on that page from Nicholas [Stafford], Bishop of Ferns, to Cecil, attributes the disloyalty in Ireland to the machinations of foreign priests and declares that, unless their "liberty and practice be hereafter restrained," the efforts of Lord Mountjoy will be fruitless. Sir Thos. Phillips' letter (pp. 454-5), shews that O'Neale received from Scotland wine, meal, salt and brandy. On pp. 455-6 will be found the terms on which O'Cahan surrendered to Sir Henry Docwra. On p. 469 the Lord Deputy and Council say that the Irish soldiers who were in the English army "being once entertained with us, we found by experience last year that they both stuck unto our party as well and served as gallantly as our English old soldiers." On pp. 479-82 is a long letter from Florence McCarthy, who was in 1602 a prisoner in the Tower, on his services and on the defence of Ireland. He declares that Limerick is the real key to Ireland and that if the Spaniards occupied it and held the castle, they could not be driven out. The hatred between McCarthy and O'Neale comes out clearly in this letter. Realising it, we understand why the Irish as a nation found it so hard to combine, and were, in fact, never united under one leader. Though McCarthy was in the Tower as a suspect,

and the Spaniards expected him to be their chief support against England, O'Neale called him to his face "a damned counterfeited Englishman, whose only study and practice was to deceive and betray all the Irishmen in Ireland." McCarthy did not expect the Spaniards would invade Ireland again after their experience of 1601; but said—and on this all were agreed—that if they came at all, they would come in great force.

At the close of the volume will be found Addenda stretching from 1565–1625, and a brief calendar of the Hanmer papers. Very few of the Addenda belong to the period of nineteen months with which the volume deals. The letters on pp. 634–6 were found in the bundles for 1602, after the sheets for 1601 had been passed, having been misplaced a year by those who originally arranged them. The earlier papers and a few documents omitted by Messrs. Russell and Prendergast from the *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1603–25, should have found a place in other volumes and are published in this volume for convenience. This is done with the knowledge and approval of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. The privileges requested by the City of Cork (pp. 593–4) are interesting as throwing light on the civic politics of the day. The main object of such requests is to be free of military requisitions and military courts, and to have tolls granted for the purpose of enabling the corporation to erect works of defence.

On pp. 595–7 will be found the cost of victuals in 1585, and on pp. 597–601 a note on the towns and gentry of Leinster and Meath. A copy of this is already published in the *Calendar of S.P. Carew* for 1601–3; but at 1603, and I did not discover it till the sheets of this volume were through the press. The wide divergences of spelling are some excuse for this second publication, and my attempt to identify the place names will also add something to what has already appeared.*

* The lists of names are not always the same: in the *Carew* copy they are more numerous than those here.

On pp. 601-3 is a curious letter, apparently written by one of the Earl of Essex's spies, dealing with the affairs of the Catholic party in Scotland and intrigues hatched against Elizabeth there. On p. 608, there is a characteristic declaration of Queen Elizabeth of 1599, regarding the Irish rebellion. On pp. 623-629 is a valuable account of Mountjoy's campaign in the north in 1600. It is very clearly written and could be followed easily with the help of a good map. On pp. 629-30 will be found the orders issued to the Treasurer and Under-Treasurer in England in January, 1601, for engraving the new debased coins to be issued in Ireland; also the Queen's letter to the President of Munster, exhorting him to further the circulation of the base metal. Richard Langton's "travels beyond seas" is interesting on pp. 632-4. He saw and heard a good deal of the Spanish and Italian preparations for an invasion of Ireland in 1601. Further documents relating to the debasement of the coinage will be found on pp. 636-41. Lord Burleigh's taste for pedigrees is well known. He made some notes on Irish family history which he put amongst the Irish documents; they will be found on pp. 648-50. They are, of course, only secondary evidence of the facts stated in them, but are shortly given for what they are worth. The note on the proclamation of King James I (pp. 651-2), shows that his right was repudiated at Cork. When the Mayor and corporation had refused to proclaim him, "the English and some of the Irish went out of the town" and proclaimed the new King in despite of the corporation.

THE HANMER PAPERS.

Dr. Meredith Hanmer was a prominent Anglo-Irish antiquary of the time with which this volume deals.* Born in 1543, he got his degree at Corpus Christi

* See the notice of him in *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XXIV, p. 297.

College, Oxford. After appearing in some scandalous trials, he took preferment in the Irish church and came to Ireland at the age of 38 as Archdeacon of Ross and Vicar of Timoleague. He translated a well-known history of early Christianity and wrote pamphlets in the ecclesiastical questions of the time. He became Warden of Youghal College in 1598 and remained there till 1603, when he moved to Kilkenny. He was a friend of Camden and other antiquaries of the time and, in some way which I cannot account for, his papers came into the Public Record Office. They had long remained here, marked "S.P. Ireland, 214," at the end of the Elizabethan series. Mr. Hans Claud Hamilton read them, but did not attempt to calendar them: and the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records consented to my giving a very brief calendar of them at the end of this volume. They are, of course, not "State Papers" at all, and very ill-preserved—a mass of confused notes and memoranda of which it is very difficult to make an abstract. I sorted them, putting a few dated documents in amongst my dated papers and reserving the others for a final appendix.

They deal, to a large extent with the history of Waterford and Dr. Hanmer seems to have collected materials for a history of that city. A hundred and seventy years afterwards Smith published his *History of Waterford*, and, looking at that book, it seems to me that either the author had drawn upon these papers for his information, or that the papers and the history spring from a common source. The actions of the citizens of Waterford during the visits of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck to Ireland is detailed (pp. 668–70), and Henry the VIII's favours to Waterford, which prided itself as being more loyal than Dublin, are described (pp. 662–4). Lists of abbeys in co. Down (pp. 667–8), and of mines in Ireland (pp. 670–1), are given. There were many mines of silver, lead and copper, which must have been worked

at some time, or otherwise, I suppose, no list would have been made of them. The note "how to try for silver and gold" (p. 670), will probably be of interest to assayers. There is a list of seventy Irish havens (pp. 676-7); indeed, there are several such lists from which I have gathered together and published the salient facts. The "royal flood" of Lough Foyle, the Bann with its "salmon leaping and in nets taken before they fall." Strangford "a real haven" Ardglass "a crib for small boats"; all these look like notes from personal experience. Two very primitive maps of Limerick are described on p. 678, and on p. 679 will be found a note of a document from which Smith may have drawn his account of the battle between the Poers and O'Driscoll and the citizens of Waterford. An account of the capture of O'Driscoll and his men by the Mayor of Waterford in 1413 is calendared on p. 681, and is given in some detail where it differs from Smith's story. On p. 683 will be found notes for a speech "on Peace" and a curious collection of the war cries of the Irish clans. "Crum abu," "Butler abu," and "Shanet abu," are already well-known to those who are interested in these things. Others are not so well known. They are, in some cases names of the clans, in some names of territories. It is outside my province to write an essay on them; but they would make a good subject. The most substantial document in the collection is a manuscript record of the history of Waterford (pp. 685-6), which begins in Henry VI's reign and ends at 1491. The document is only one entry in a long book of eighty-eight pages, and which, at this point, has much perished; but even the fragment which remains is of great interest to historians who are interested either in Waterford or, generally speaking, in municipal history. I have given a sufficient abstract in the text to show what are the subjects dealt with: but as there is no evidence that this document is an official record it must not be assumed, without further testimony, that

it proves what it alleges. Dr. Hanmer made some notes on Irish customs which may be his own or may be copied from other observers. "On May Eve they drive their cattle upon their neighbours' corn and eat it up. They are wont to begin from the East, and especially upon the English churl. . . . Unless they do so upon May Eve the witch will have power over the cattle all the year following. The churls will steal and eat up an Englishman and when they let and set to an Englishman and the English have planted a while, they suddenly attack him and rob and spoil." . . . "Passing of doors upon May morning to keep the fairies away." These rough notes show us how Dr. Hanmer was on the edge of very interesting inquiries. Had he pursued them, and given us his researches, he would have left something of great value. He made his notes casually, as he felt inclined ; and it is amusing to find that he wrote some of them on the back of his notes for sermons. These sermons I have mentioned when they occur, but they did not seem worthy of full transcription. Had it not been for them, there is nothing in these papers to show that this inquisitive antiquary, who was not above collecting indecent rhymes, was a divine of high standing in the Anglo-Irish Church.

I must again thank Dr. Grattan Flood for valuable help which he has given me in identifying names ; I owe a great deal to Mr. Crump of the Public Record Office and to Mrs. Lomas, who have translated Spanish letters for me. The index shows where my obligations to them occur.

R. P. MAHAFFY.

Chancery Lane,
April, 1912.

STATE PAPERS.

IRELAND.

1601.

1601.

1 Aug.

From my
chamber in
Garnett's
Buildings, near
Temple Bar.

RICHARD HADSOR to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have received news from Lord Dunsany and understand thereby that his forces at Liskennon or the Breny, in co. Cavan left neither man nor cattle in the cos. Cavan and Monaghan called McMahons country; . . . and that the Reyliies and McMahons who live there have been driven to live with their Kyriaghts in MacGuire's country of the co. Fermanagh, from which his lordship also fetches their cows and pledges. The Irish, Lord Dunsany says, still hope for Spanish help, and priests and letters have lately arrived [in Ireland]. I thought it right to let you know of this for I do not think that Tyrone will ever submit unfeignedly until her Majesty is possessed of Dungannon, Ballyshannon and the other principal places of the North, and that his pretended submission is only to protract time till the Spaniards come. The English army is weakened by long service, and the summer past.

Pray read the enclosed petition which was laid before her Majesty a twelvemonth ago by Mr. Wilbraham. Sutton is my relative and only desires the benefit of the law without diminution of her Majesty's revenue. If he gets leave to bring his writ of error he will within two terms thereof give 200*l.* to be disposed of as your honour thinks fit. *Details* as to the Earl of Kildare's evidences in the "closed" [closet] in the House of Maynooth:—Pray give order to the Lord Deputy and Council for restitution of his evidences to the Earl. He is ready to answer any person who shall claim any interest therein. This will bind his lordship to you.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 1.

St. Peter's* RICHARD BELLEW to CAPTAIN HENRY SKIPWITH.

Day.

[near Kinsale.]

Mr. Wills arrived this morning from Plymouth with news which seems to second the advertisement from Baltimore. A neighbour of Mr. Wills coming out of Spain heard of 17 ships preparing for Ireland, and, shortly after, coming homeward he chanced to light on just so many ships; "six whereof were armadoes to warft the rest, as he had also heard in Spain before his putting to sea." The merchant kept with them for a day and observed that they were bound for Ireland; but that was a

* Aug. 1 is the feast of St. Peter *ad Vincula*.

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fortnight ago and God knows whether they have put into some other port or been dispersed by the late contrary winds and fogs.

P. 1. *Copy. Underwritten*: "Directed to my friend Captain Henry Skipwith at Cork with speed," and, *with a note*, "This Bellew is a discreet gent. dwelling on the coast near Kinsale." *S.P. Ireland*, 209, 2.

4 Aug.
Dublin.

The IRISH PRIVY COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We have, as directed, considered the demand of the Earl of Thomond for pay and apparel for his company of foot for 151 days within which time the company should be broken and discharged. We thought it best to try the question by calling before us the two principal officers of the cheque. They compared the time of the certificates made by the Commissary of the Musters for Connaught and the attestations of Sir Coniers Clifford, which all testified to the disbanding of the company and consequently its just discharge. They have set down their reasons in a report which we send.

P. 2. *Signed* by A[dam Loftus, Archbishop of] Dublin and Chancellor, Sir George Carey, Sir Robert Gardener and Sir Geoffrey Fenton. *Add. to the Privy Council. Endd. Ibid*, 3.

Enclosing :—

Memorandum on reasons for refusing the Earl of Thomond's foot company.

1. *All of the said company but very few are of the mere Irish, born and bred in Thomond, Connaught, Leinster and those borders. They are "known to be the most dangerfull men to the State and watch but their opportunity to obtain that which in their taverns and alehouses in Limerick they boldly prophesy" that they will soon have. Some of them were in actual rebellion with Teague O'Breane the Earl's brother.*
2. *When the Earl was lately in England and the company were left in command of his brother they mischievously spoiled, &c., and left no wrong undone in the north frinches [fringes?] of Limerick. They ravished an aged and decrepit woman and killed poor men's calves at the walls of Limerick.*
3. *Morishe McInbard, sergeant to the company, intercepted cows coming into Limerick which were part of the prey taken by the Earl's brother, Teague O'Breane, being then in action. Details.*
4. *They have pillaged "as neither good English heart or Welsh mind could, or ever did, attempt to do; for having meat and drink competent enough to satisfy honest men, they notwithstanding would in virulent manner, and mauger the hurts of the poor dismayed people, take from them 12d. a day" and other 9d. besides allowance of meat and drink and money for their wives, boys and stocks. On one occasion when there was a dispute between some of the company and Justice Gould, Edmund O'Lea, the sergeant of the company called out to his men to charge their muskets with double bullets and not spare to kill the townsmen. Details.*

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5. *The said Earl and his officers refused to pass any ticket for the diet of the said soldiers during the last month they were cessed there by warrant of the Lord President. This amounts to 70l.*
 6. *The mayor sent boats and cots down the river with 80l. and fishermen in them. The Earl did not give, and refuses to give, a ticket for these.*
 7. *The citizens though dutiful to the Earl are loyal, and the Earl, seeing their loyalty, determined to starve them; and, knowing that his country is the best furnished to supply the market at Limerick forbade his "steyarde" to allow any beef, mutton, cheese or butter to come into the market from his country. This order the steward obeyed. Let your honours judge of the motives which prompted this action.*
 8. *At the same time the Earl, when he knew the citizens wanted wood and fuel and that his country alone could supply it (and that the citizens much needed grass for their cattle and no man had more convenient grass than himself), forbade any wood to be brought out of his country, and threatened to hang any fishermen who should bring out such wood, and refused the citizens leave to graze on his ground, altho' he had more than he well knew how to employ.*
 9. *Notwithstanding these abuses which we have suffered at the Earl's hands, yet, to forward her Majesty's service, we profer to send with his lordship all the boats and cots in the town with all their fishermen and victuals for fifteen days; and we offer a barrell of our own powder and will accomplish all his designs, "so that he do not cess upon us his foot rackhells."*
- Pp. 4. *Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 3A.*

5 Aug.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

Ulster being in action the rest of Ireland looks on to see how the "master bear" defends himself in danger now that he is "set upon at his own home." The Spaniards will try to raise a faction here against her Majesty, but I do not think they will invade us, for reasons I have often given before. They know that "to betray stranger and friend is as familiar to the Irishman as to eat and speak." "Munster is absolutely reduced, Leinster so growing to settling as there is no apparent cause to fear a relapse, and Connaught reasonably bridled." The Spaniards' only hope, therefore, is Ulster, and there the "uriaghtes and pottentates" are divided amongst themselves and will leave the arch-traitor if he is defeated by the Queen's army. The Ulster climate is not suited to the "dry constitution of the Spaniard," seeing there is not even one corporate town there in which he can protect himself; and if he fights a winter war there, the disease of the country will be a means sufficient to consume him.

I send an account of the doings of the army which has come from the marshal. He desires a grant of Reban, which will

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otherwise fall back to the Irish and become a dangerous border. Thomas Lea's wife, who seeks it, is a person of no virtue to cross a servitor who daily risks his life for the Queen.

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 4.*

6 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL of ENGLAND.

I am thankful for your lordship's promise to ask her Majesty to send 2,000 foot here. This will "stay the giddy humour of this unsettled people" and help us to resist a hostile attack on any place till further help can arrive. The places most likely to be attacked by the enemy, and therefore most to be defended, are Limerick, Cork and Waterford: for the other places are neither worth their labour to gain nor her Majesty's charge to defend. I do not think they will attempt Limerick as, to attack it, they must sail far inland up the Shannon and could not withdraw without an easterly wind which at this time of the year is rare in Ireland. "Waterford (though the seat of it be commodious for them by reason that so many inland shires are served from thence where the navigable rivers in that port do join and fall into the sea, which, being in their hands, will be a great bridle unto the shires aforesaid, and in like manner the seat of that city in nature weak and without many hands not to be defended yet) being so near a neighbour unto England as it is and so near unto relief from the State here (although I am not confident yet) I do think that they will make choice of some other place that may be no less honourable to them in gaining." I think therefore they will attack Cork "being a harbour as good as any of the west, more remote from England than Waterford and to be carried with least difficulty although your lordships (as you write) cannot persuade yourselves that they will there arrive. The warmest advocates of a Spanish descent are of that neighbourhood and I am informed that Florence Mc'Carthy counselled their coming there as the place to which all the provincial rebels might resort. I therefore give special attention to its defence as her Majesty's stores of victuals, munition and treasure are here and cannot (they are so large), be soon removed. They could not be removed without frightening loyalists and encouraging the rebels. The town is weak but I think I can defend it against an army of 6,000 men till help comes from the Lord Deputy or from England. I hope that 2,000 men will come before the Spaniards land, for I am much against evacuating any one of her Majesty's cities "for reasons which I need not enforce, being so pregnant in your lordships' understandings. I shall endeavour to defend this place then and "call the living God to my witness" that I do it not for my own reputation but because I think it best for her Majesty's service. As Florence Mc'Carthy and James Fitzthomas are now her Majesty's prisoners the Spaniards will either not come to Munster or, if they do, will hesitate which way to advance after landing, not knowing which of the Irish leaders to trust. This will give us more time for defence.

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As some people think Waterford will be the place of the Spanish landing, and as there are no companies there, I ask that if they be not at sea before your lordships receive this, you will direct those which come from Chester to Waterford, and the rest to Cork. I ask, next, that the munitions and victuals sent may be sent to Waterford, but with directions not to unlade without orders from me. I will supply victuals to the 2,000 till these victuals arrive.

I lately asked Secretary Cecil that some of the companies sent over might be sent without captains so that I may be able to give them to captains here who are without employment, and am obliged for your consent to this course. Pray order the Earl of Thomond and all other persons in her Majesty's pay to return at once to their posts here.

"For the better assurance of the Munster gent[ry] I have put their pledges in the best safety I may. Of the English race I think that no gent. of quality will revolt and of the Irish (who are more to be suspected) I have lately restrained three principal men, namely, Dermot McOwen Carty (the pretended lord of Dowhallo [Duhallow]), Teig McDermody Carty after the Irish custom Tanist of Muskerry, and Moelmoe O'Mahowne the pretended lord of the country of Kynelmeka [Kinalmeakey]." All these men are discontented at being unable to possess these seignories. I have forborne to restrain others though there is reason for doing so; but Dermot Moyle McCarty (brother to Florence), knowing his guilt, on his brother's arrest fled the province and is gone to Ulster. He can do little harm there.

P. . . *S.P. Ireland* 209, 5.

6 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to [SECRETARY CECIL].

Yours of July 20 received here Aug. 3. If the 2,000 men reach here before the Spaniards come I do not care where they make their attack for I shall be able to resist them anywhere. When the 4,000 appointed to support them arrive I will keep the field and lodge close by them. I do not think any of the English race will rebel, and as for the Irish I have good security of them, having recently restrained Dermot McOwen, Teig McDermot brother to Cormack McDermot, whose son is now in pledge with Tyrone, and O'Mahon Cunnine [?]. These three were very discontented, not having the lands to which they lay claim. I think Cormack McDermot is loyal rather from policy than faith, for he holds his lands by English tenure, whereby his son should succeed, whereas if the Irish should prevail, his successor would be his brother. Moreover he is about to send his son, whom he loves as his own life, into England. The report of the sending of 6,000 men has had an excellent effect on weak hearts and on strong. I shall keep at Cork. If any of her Majesty's walled cities be taken, all will be lost and a general revolt ensue; so some risk must be taken rather than "apparently"* to lose all. The town is weak.

* i.e. obviously.

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[*Repeats* substance of the letter to the Privy Council of Aug.,* 1601, as to the defensibility of Cork. *Proceeds* :—] but I could not get the victuals carried away elsewhere, especially at harvest time (when carts are busy), and if I sent them away by sea to Limerick or Waterford, they are no safer than at Cork. Even if the town be taken I can destroy the victuals and save the treasure. The razing of Shandon is to no purpose for every hill and ditch near the town commands the city no less than it.

The defences of earth which we are making are only made to gain time. The expenses of them are being borne by the town and country so that her Majesty's only charge is for pickaxes, &c. Dermond Moyle McCartie, Florence's brother, has not come near me since Florence's restraint, and has I think gone to Ulster. "His malice to the state and our nation is no less than his brother's, but his ability to do harm is very little; and yet he is much valienter and wiser than Florence. If he were in hand there is not a man more in this province that I would desire to restrain."

Florence and James McThomas will be sent over as soon as the Queen's ship at Limerick is free. Whereas it is "distilled" by some that I did not pursue the war to its extremity, and that if I had done so all those who are now hollow hearted would have been starved, let me say that I do not agree. "It may be that churls and women might have fallen into that misery but in the Earl of Desmond's rebellion we found by experience that the swordman was not (notwithstanding that great famine, the like whereof no former age hath seen) pinched to starving, as the churls were; neither is it possible to starve them as long as the other parts of the kingdom hath meat; for in the other provinces they will be welcome guests" so as the quenching of the flame in Munster will but increase the fire elsewhere. "To banish them by burning and spoiling is probable and easy, and, after a little time, there is no doubt of their return, whereby I may conclude that no man can make a continued peace in Ireland but on utter extirpation of that nation, which I am sure was never harboured in her Majesty's heart nor yet advised by any of her Council." I wish that those who criticise me had had my charge when I came to it. Three thousand in list to banish 20,000 rebels in action in so short a time, and capture the heads of the rebellion—this, I think, deserves favourable censure.† Munster is now very peaceable and amenable to law—it was never more so. "After I had broken James McThomas' forces and banished his brothers I had my sword over them and might have been a Temerlanne [Tamerlane] amongst them," but, had I acted so, the war would not yet be over. The shortest way to end the war was, in my view, the best.

If a sharper course is desired I can at all times find "just causes of quarrel to prosecute anyone that I list to plague." I have pledged of all the Irishmen of quality; but I think we

* *supra*.

† Observe "censure" used in the sense of 'judgment.'

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should not disturb the country, which will remain, as it now is, quiet till the Spaniards invade us. I am sure of this; and will write if it is otherwise. I was told, and believe, that the real test of success is easing of her Majesty's charge. I can keep the peace even when other parts of the country are in rebellion if I have a sufficient garrison. If the Spaniards do not come, 1,500 foot in list and 150 horse will be enough; and, after one year 1,000 foot and 100 horse. This is the greatest reduction which should take place and I am anxious it should not take place too soon. If the Spaniards do not come I believe it is the arrest of Florence and James Fitzthomas that makes the diversion, "for but into Munster they [the Spaniards] cannot be drawn and now that their [*i.e.*, Florence and James'] assistance fails them I know not what reason they have to come or what aids they can hope of."

Pray hasten over the Earl of Thomond; and further him in his suits if they be reasonable.

Pp. 4. (*Hol.*) *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 209, 6.

7 Aug.
Camp near
Mountnorris.

The LORD DEPUTY to [SECRETARY CECIL].*

I rarely have time to write to you at length for we have a watchful and strong enemy lying near us and [he] ever attempts something new. *Repeats* what is said in the letter of 9 Aug. as to the importance of spoiling the enemy's corn and so forcing him to use up his winter resources in the summer. *Proceeds*:—If we can be about in the corn country at the time of cutting crops we can enable our garrisons to gather in corn and shall keep the rebels from gathering in the rest. *Repeats* what is said in the letter of 9 Aug. as to not penetrating into Tyrone in order to destroy corn, Sir Henry Docwra's position, and the possible combination of "all the north" against them; and as to the new way found to Dungannon. *Proceeds*:—If we can build a fort there and a passage across the river I doubt not but by this time twelvemonths you might go as safe between Dublin and Dungannon as between Cockington and Plymouth, and that you should not hear of one inhabitant in all Tyrone in rebellion." *Describes* cutting a way through woods to Dungannon. *Proceeds*:—"If you had seen us all cutting down trees and carrying them away on our backs (and yet Captain Cutter fains sometimes to answer the alarm with his bill hooks) you would have said that we deserve our hire." I do not know whether we will have weather and means to build this fort; but if we do I am sure it will cut the traitor's throat. They are so confident in the approach of the Spaniards and in their love for O'Neale that we can defeat them only by cutting them asunder by force and these garrisons, which the State must see thoroughly provided all this winter. I think we should leave most of the army in garrisons hereabouts

* See the endorsement on next page. This letter is very similar to a fuller one from the Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council of England, dated two days later, and is therefore given in brief.

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this winter. You must second our letters with yours for victuals, tools and munition to keep the garrisons active in the winter; "for by all other wise men in Ireland this country was never before now discovered unto men; for believe me it is one of the quietest [?] countries in the world; and I do think Ulster may easily be made one of the quietest countries in Ireland. And till it be so reduced, and the name of O'Neale, or Earl of Tyrone, utterly suppressed, never look for a sound peace in Ireland, but such a one as will in every year be in danger to break out, more to the Queen's charge than ever it did." We are now spoiling Art McBaron's country, and yesterday I sent out Sir Henry Davers to burn the houses with 200 or 300 foot and forty horse, "tho' it be of extreme fastness." On his return he was saluted with some 300 horse and all Tyrone's force; but we brought him off with some seconds and swunged [?] the rebels into their fastness. We cut corn and burn houses even in their fastness. We have lost few or no English (killed) except Dr. Latware. We have no sickness amongst us thank God, only Turlogh McHenry's men die, as they say, of eating of biscuit. He is most eager in the Queen's service, cutting down corn with his own hands and falling out with all that would do more than he. We came here to get supplies, for we are now at our last day's beef, and to give our horses some grass, for "we made them fare hard with lying so high as we did." This is not the time to take cows, but we keep them so close that some of them must starve, especially next winter. If we had not spoiled his corn O'Neale would have been able next year to have kept more bonnaughs than even we could have done and would, I think, have been able to feed the Spaniards too. I hope yet to get the traitor's head, but that cannot be till he be going down more headlong, which I hope will be shortly.

Proceeds on necessity of victualling the garrisons; otherwise must draw back to the Pale. . . . I can say nothing of the Spaniards; but if they come we must do our best.

Pp. 3. (*Hol.*) *Endd.* in same hand as the endorsements on letters to Secretary Cecil "The Lord Deputy to my Master. Received 16 Aug." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 7.

8 Aug.
Mountmorris.

THE LORD DEPUTY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

Yours of the 25th July I received August 4 being in camp near the place where the Marshal Bagnoll was slain. I believe the President of Munster's reports as to the coming of the Spaniard are correct (if for no other reason) because the people here have suddenly changed from humbly begging of peace to great pride and confidence. The Arch-traitor himself has more fighting men in his army than we have. Nevertheless we omit nothing of our purposes and, since our coming here have "made that a fair way to Blackwater which the marshal shunned when he was overthrown and every day cut down either his woods or his corn in his sight only with some slight skirmishes; in all

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which, God be thanked, we cannot say we have had one disaster hitherto, but in all he loseth some of his best men." Whether her Majesty's forces are unwisely distributed or not I do not know, but the whole brunt of the war falls upon us. We have directed Sir Arthur Chichester in a course which we believe will banish Tyrone if he can go forward in it and find another way into his country. "If we can but build a fort and make a passage over the river we shall make Dungannon a centre whither we can from all points draw together her Majesty's forces and, as I presume, before this winter ends, not leave a man in the country of Tyrone." Whatsoever others have undertaken I beseech you, Sir, to remember that in all my despatches I have declared that the uttermost we could do this summer was to plant garrisons, which would take effect next winter and that it was essential that we should be supplied with means and victuals. I have been so occupied in "as busy a war as any is in the world" that I commissioned members of the Council in Dublin to keep you informed of the state of affairs and let you know of our "remayne" and what we should want; but without means and victuals all her Majesty's other expenditure will be in vain. I am very busy, and sometimes these rogues compel us to keep watch all night, but in short, I may say that "I see a fair way to make Ulster one of the most quiet, assured and profitablest provinces if the Spaniards no not come."

If, however, they do come, we shall wait to see their purpose "for to provide for all places that carry equal probabilities of their undertaking, that we cannot, neither can I put myself into any part of Ireland with my chief strength but I may happen to be as far from their descent as I shall be where I am." I am not at the head of a great army, but of some 1,600 fighting men, of whom there are not half Englishmen; and, upon the notice of Spanish succours I do know few Irishmen "that I can reckon ours." With this army I must make my retreat, though I resolved to leave most of it in garrisons here through the winter. In my opinion our best course is to continue our policy of "garrisons against Tyrone," and, if the Spaniards come, to make head against them chiefly by means out of England. "And if we do but ruin and waste the traitors this winter it will be impossible for the Spaniards to make this people live; by which course I presume it is in her Majesty's power to give the King of Spain a great blow and to quiet this country for ever. If the Queen's army prove to be weak the fault is not mine; but the Muster-Master's. I wish we had 1,000 supplies of shot at the Newry and hope you will send some to supply the garrisons for the winter. My present troops are exhausted with long service. If Sir Henry Dockwra do not plant Ballyshannon I think it well that Sir Arthur Chichester had a thousand men off his list, whom I hope we would find means to plant within four or five miles of Dungannon, and by boats victual them commodiously. I have great hopes of that plantation, but, till I hear from you again, I will take no men from Lough Foyle. I am vexed at the Lord President saying that Sir Henry Dockwra

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has had more preference in the choice of captains than he [*details*] ; but bear this, as other things for the Queen's service, with patience. *Loyal expressions*. I will so behave that all honest men shall be witnesses of my service to her Majesty. We have rid the President of Munster of one of the rebels most likely to renew the rebellion. For, at the night I received your last, the rogue poured 4,000 horse [?] into our camp ; and we were so fortunate as to kill Piers Lacy and other principal men. We pray for a good wind for we are at our last day's bread. If it comes we shall not be idle.

P.S.—Details as to recommendation of officers going into England. "I mean not to make the wars my occupation, and do affect as much to have a great many followers as to be troubled with a kennel of hounds ; but I wish to have the Queen well served," and unhappy is that general who must fight with weapons of other men's choosing.

Pp. 3½. *Signed. Underwritten*: "From the camp near Mountnorreys, 8th August, 1601, whither we are lately come to put up some store of victual to Armagh and Blackwater if we had them [?]." *Endd.*: Received 16 Aug. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 8.

8 Aug.
Camp near
Mountnorris.

The LORD DEPUTY to SIR GEORGE CAREY, Treasurer at Wars.

I got, by Birmingham, yours of 31st July on the 4th, and others of Sir Geoffrey Fenton. No victuals arrive, I suppose on account of the northerly wind. Pray send them to us, for, if we have supplies we shall destroy the rebels' sources of supply and weary them in the end. The "brute" [bruit] of the Spaniards coming keeps the Irish with [O'Neile] "so as none will undertake to perform upon him what I was once in good hope to have procured." We have only nine days' bread and cannot keep the field without supplies ; and want as much bread, salt and other victuals as you can send.

I should be very grateful if you would send us some deal boards by the Newry for we want them to make a passage over another place on the Blackwater, and for the fort there if we have good weather. I am glad you remember to send Neale O'Quin's pledges, Cormock's son, and all things else for which I have formerly written.

P.S.—Meal sent in small barrells, so that a "carriage garon" could bear two of them, would be very useful.

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 9.

9 Aug.
Camp near
Mountnorris.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.*

Our efforts are devoted to forming garrisons for the winter and to spoiling the rebels' corn. Without corn "they have no

* See Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1907), II, 420, *sq.* where an abstract of this letter is given.

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other means to keep their bonnaghts, which are their hired soldiers, and this course since our last despatch . . . we have so earnestly . . . applied* as that we have destroyed an incredible amount of corn." "If our means will serve to keep us together till their harvest be past we make no doubt but we shall utterly break and undo them; for though they have that abundance of corn that it is impossible for us to cut it all, yet, by being hereabouts, we shall give opportunity to the garrisons to gather in a good part which will stand them in great stead." We had hoped much to spoil the corn about Dungannon which is Tyrone's own corn, (though it was very small in quantity compared with what we have spoiled here, which belongs to him and his relatives) "but we find the ways thither to be of our side of so extreme difficulty" as that the enterprise was not worth the risk, especially as Sir Henry Docwra wrote that, through want of match, he was not able to come to meet us as he had in some sort promised. We did not much regret this, "since by that means the rebel was cut off from an opportunity, either upon his party or ours, to fling the dice again for the recovery of his fortune, and that upon no unequal hazard, considering the disadvantage of our way and the infinite number of our carriages. For though our several forces be so disposed as he is driven to divide his to answer both, yet we see by experience that he is able upon a sudden to draw all the North together and at such a time, and to such a purpose, set up his rest upon either of us, which neither with care nor industry can possibly prevent." In ranging through the country we have, however, discovered a new way unto Dungannon which no man heretofore could tell of and, by the cutting of one very broad "pace" through a thick wood, which we performed in two days, we came to a river within four miles of Dungannon, from whence there is a "plain open hard way" thither. If the weather and our means enable us to make a small fort there and a passage over by boat or bridge "we dare assure your lordships that we will cut the arch-traitor's throat" and drive him out of the country; "for though the love of this people to the name of O'Neale be such as for reward they cannot yet be drawn to practise anything against his person, especially so long as they have any hope of assistance from Spain" which, he has convinced them, is coming or come; "yet when they see us so well provided for by the coming of our supplies . . . as we shall be able to go thorough† to prosecute them most when they think they can no longer keep the field, they will apparently discern their own confusion if they should offer to hold out any longer." The corn which we have destroyed, besides feeding their bonnaghts, would have fed many Spaniards, had they come.

The opening of the new way to Dungannon lays open the principal fastness for their cattle. And though we have not

* Note the use of the verb "apply" used transitively "to apply a course" for "to apply yourself to a course."

† Note the use of the word.

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taken many of their cows this summer "yet have we made them keep them close together in such woods and places of strength as they were wont to reserve for them in winter and caused them to eat the very corn they have sowed in their fastness"; so that if they must keep them there in coming winter, both their cattle and themselves will starve.

To avoid starvation they must sally forth and then our garrisons will get them. For this purpose we must have the 1,000 shot for which we asked, and victuals, tools and munition. We send the last number of our own army and a note of Shane McDonnell Groome, who was lately marshal to O'Neile,—a note confirmed by others. When we spoiled Shane's corn (valued at 2,000*l.*) he asked to be received into mercy, to which we agreed, that others might not think their case desperate. We have seen forces of them larger than the whole of ours, and last night they poured 2,000 or 3,000 of shot into our camp, and would have forced it if possible. The figures show how much we need reinforcements, and at least half our force is Irish who cannot be trusted if the Spaniards come. A note signed by me and the Master of the Ordnance will show how much munition and tools we want. It will be delivered to the Clerk of the Munitions who will attend and solicit it with your lordships. Pray attend to it and send him back soon, and pay his charges. It was owing to the delays in his last coming over that we lost a great part of the summer. We have cut their corn and burnt their houses even in their fastness. In all our engagements we have been successful and left no English but Dr. Latewar at the skirmish at Benburb, where we hear that the rebels' loss was heavy. We have no great sickness in the army. If supplies do not come before winter we must fall back and live on the Pale and lose all the results of this summer's success. Pray allow the captains for their broken arms and see that the next arms and tools which come are better made. The last by breaking did more harm to us than did the rebels for five or six men lost their hands in this way [by muskets bursting] within the last six days. We need match more than powder or lead, for much match is spent in keeping the watches.

P.S.—Details as to supply and use of powder.

Pp. 2½. Signed by the Lord Deputy, Sir Richard Wingfield and Sir George Bouchier. Add. Endd.: Received 16 August. S.P. Ireland 209, 10; Enclosing:—

A. Return shewing the number of soldiers now actually in the field with the Lord Deputy:—

No.	Commander.	Nominal strength.	Captains.	Actual strength.	
1	Sir Benj. Berry	200	Lord Deputy's Guard	124	
		150	Sir Rich. Wingfield ..	90	20 warders
		150	Sir Oliver Lambert ..	86	30 warders
		200	„ Francis Stafford	115	482
		100	Captain Ralph Con- stable	67	

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No.	Commander.	Nominal strength.	Captains.	Actual strength.
2	<i>Sir Christopher St. Lawrence</i>	150	<i>Sir Christopher St. Lawrence</i> ..	96
		150	<i>Sir James Fitzpierce</i>	68
		100	<i>Captn. Hugh Reily</i> ..	60
		150	„ <i>Lionel Gueste</i> ..	85
		100	„ <i>John Masterson</i>	56
		100	„ <i>Turlogh McHenry</i>	80
		200	<i>Sir Oliver St. John</i> ..	115
3	<i>Sir Oliver St. John</i>	150	„ <i>Saml. Bagnall</i> ..	90
		150	<i>Captn. Blayney</i> ..	98
		100	„ <i>Roe</i> ..	68
		100	„ <i>Trevor</i> ..	74
		150	„ <i>Roper</i> ..	95
4	<i>Sir Henry Follyet</i>	150	<i>Sir H. Folliett</i> *	97
		100	„ <i>Garrett Moore</i> ..	76
		100	„ <i>Wm. Fortescue</i> ..	67
		150	<i>Capt. Thos. Rotherham</i>	89
		2,900		1,798

This does not include officers sick or wounded, but the effective fighting force. In many companies too, there are warders allowed by warrant which in these musters are to be allowed for. Officers' servants are not shewn in this list, but are allowed for when present at the musters.

Two copies. Each p. 1; signed, Baptist Johnes, Commissary for the Army. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 10A & B.

3. List of the Captains who attend Tyrone.†

This does not include O'Cane, O'Donnell and the other Ulster lords but only such as attend the arch-traitor in Tyrone.

Horse:

<i>Tyrone's Guard</i>	100
<i>His son Hugh O'Neale</i>	100
<i>His brother Cormock</i>	100
<i>Art McBarron</i>	20
<i>Phelim O'Hanlon's son</i>	10
<i>Tirlogh Brasill's sons</i>	150
<i>Con, Tyrone's base son</i>	20
	400

Foot:

Tyrone's own guard:

<i>James Sheale, a Leinster man</i>	200
<i>Jenekin FitzSymon of Lecale</i>	200
	400

His army.

<i>Cormock his brother</i>	600
<i>(These are commanded by Hugh McCawell, Rory McReverin, and</i>	

* Notice the name spelt differently in the same document.

† See Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.* II, 422, where a list is given somewhat different from this.

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<i>Gillaspick McReverin, sons of the person McReverin.)</i>	
<i>Art McBaron</i>	400
<i>commanded by his son Con.</i>	
<i>Brian McArt</i>	200
<i>commanded by Hugh and Neale Nemallaght, sons to Donnell Nemallaght.</i>	
<i>Con, Tyrone's base son, McCan, Owen O'Corr, Donogh Bradagh O'Hagan, and Owen O'Hagan, each</i>	
<i>Donell McNeale Fitzowen, and Evalle O'Neale, jointly</i>	
<i>Gillaspick McOwen, and Rory and Randall McOwen (who are sons to Ferdoragh McOwen), each</i>	
<i>Kedagh McDonnell, Owen O'Gwynn, and James O'Hagan, each</i>	
<i>Phelim Oge O'Neale</i>	
<i>Terlagh Brasil's son</i>	
<i>Henry Ovington</i>	
<i>Henry Oge McHenry MacShane; Terlagh, who is Con McBrien's son; Art. O'Hagan. who is Hugh O'Hagan's son; Hugh Groome O'Hagan with his cousin; Donal Groome McKemme [?]; Patrick McPhelim; Gilliduff McDonnell, who went from Armagh and is a Connaught man, each of these</i>	

Total—3,260

Total of horse and foot—4,060

All of these have separate means of support in Tyrone's lands; and many of them have other forces which they maintain on their own lands.

This note was delivered by Shane McDonnell Groome, late Marshal to Tyrone, who (by reason of his place) had the raising of all these companies.

P. 1½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 10c.*

9 Aug.
Camp near
Mountnorris.

The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

Sending a proposition as to what provision should be sent from England if the Spaniards come in the strength which they will bring if they land at all.

P. ½. *Enclosure missing. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 11.*

Same.

SAME to SAME.

I send letters from the King of Spain and others there to the principal rebels here. They were brought to me by one that had served Tyrone's secretary. Everyone here knows that the rebels here have had munition and money to keep them in

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heart from Spain; which are better evidence of her love than these letters, which are of old date, can be.

P. ¾. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 12.*

9 Aug.
From the
camp [near
Mountnorris].

SIR RICHARD GRAEME to SECRETARY CECIL.

There was a fight at Benburb before I came here, where we lost in killed and wounded about 60. Ferdorogh McArt O'Hagan was reported slain on the Irish side "but yet recovered" and many others were hurt and slain. Since then they gave a bravado in the night; and they lost Pierce Lacy, McGilspicke, a captain of Tyrone's, and nine more. There is a report that the Spaniards have landed at Callangebegg [Killybegs] in O'Donell's country and that Tyrone is gone to meet them. The Lord Deputy has taken the Blackwater and fortified there and went from thence to Shane McDonnellaughe's land, and then in succession to the countries of Terlagh Brislaugh [and] Art McBaron, in all of which places he destroyed great quantities of corn. He is now in camp in O'Hanlon's country close to Mountnorris. He has not 1,600 men, and Tyrone is stronger than we thought.

P.S.—Two Spanish ships have landed at Killaloe [Killala] between Mayo and Sligo, but probably only contain money and munitions.

P. ¾. *Signed. Attaching:—*

List of Tyrone's forces.

Similar to that calendared above. *Notes* that in the whole of Tyrone's forces there are not above 200 strangers. All the others have means in Tyrone's country except these 200, who have their means upon Clandeboy and O'Hanlon.

In all pp. 2¼. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 13.*

9 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW, President of Munster, to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

See *Cal. of S.P. Carew, 1601–3*, pp. 120–121.

P. ¾. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 14.*

9 Aug.

List, drawn up by Sir Rafe [Ralph] Lane, of HER MAJESTY'S ARMY in IRELAND as it stood in Her Majesty's pay on 10 August, 1601.

This list gives the daily pay of all the officers* in each of the following classes:—

1. Officers General:—

Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy, with his band of horse, 50 foot and 1,000*l.* in lieu of cess.

The Earl of Ormond, Lieutenant of the army; Sir George Cary, Treasurer at Wars; Sir Richard Wingfield, Marshal, with 30 horse without check.

* For brevity the totals of various heads only are given here. The MS. gives details of pay for each person.

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Sir Oliver Lambert, Sergt. Major; Sir George Bouchier, Master of the Ordnance, with clerks, gunners and ministers.

Sir Ralph Lane, Muster Master General; George Beverley, Esq., Comptroller of the Victuals; five Commissaries of the Victuals and fourteen Colonels.

Captain Henry Croftes, Scoutmaster, and Owen Aphugh, Provost Marshal.

Total per day—30*l.* 19*s.* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

2. Officers, Provincial :—

Munster :—Sir George Carew, Kt., President of Munster, with a retinue of 30 horse and 20 foot; Sir George Thornton, Provost Marshal.

Connaught :—Sir John Barkeley, Commander of the Forces in Connaught; Captain Edmund Wenman, Provost Marshal.

Lough Foyle :—Sir Henry Docwra, Commander at Lough Foyle; George Man, Provost Marshal.

Leinster :—Sir Henry Power, Lieutenant of the Queen's Co.; Robert Bowen, Provost Marshal.

Total per day—6*l.* 1*s.* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

3. Wardens in the provinces :—

Leinster.

Dublin :—Tristram Eccleston, Constable of the Castle and ten men.

Maryborough :—Philip Harvey (C),* a porter and sixteen warders.

Philipstown :—Sir Edward Moore (C), and twelve warders.

Laughlin bridge :—Sir George Carew (C), and twenty footmen.

Ferns :—Sir Richard Masterson (C), and ten men; also ten at Wexford.

Carlow :—William Hartpole (C), and ten men.

Duncannon :—Sir John Brockett (C), a lieutenant, canonier and thirty warders.

Total for Leinster per day—3*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*

Ulster.

Sir John Talbot for certain castles in co. Louth; Katherine Butler for Cloughwoghter and Ballincargy.

Carrickfergus :—Charles Egerton (C), and 20 warders.

Castle of Carrickfergus :—John Dalway (C), and 20 warders.

Nicholas Fitzsymon for Kilcliffe and ten warders.

Total for Ulster per day—2*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.*

Munster.

Dungarvan :—Sir George Carey (C), a porter and 20 warders.

* "C" in this section means Constable.

1601.

Castle Maigne :—Sir Charles Wilmot (C), 4 horse and 14 foot.

Limerick :—Sir Francis Barkley (C), and a porter.

Total for Munster per day—*1l. 9s. 9d.*

Connaught.

Athlone :—George Finch (C), and twenty footmen *10s. 11d.*

Total for warders in Ireland per day—*7l. 17s. 6½d.*

4. Horsemen in list.

At *18d.* a day per man :—

The Lord Deputy 100, President of Munster 100, Sir Henry Davers 50, Sir Henry Docwra 50, Sir Arthur Chichester 25, Sir Richard Wingfield 20, Capt. John Jephson 30.

At *15d.* a day each man :—

Sir John Bolles, Sir Anthony Cooke and Sir Francis Stafford—each 50.

At *12d.* a day each man :—

Sir Henry Davers 50, Sir Henry Docwra 25, Sir Richard Wingfield 30, Captain John Jephson 70; the Earls of Ormond, Kildare and Clanricarde, Lord Dunsany, Sir Samuel Bagnall, Sir Richard Graeme and Captain William Taaffe, each 50; Sir Garrott Moore, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Sir Henry Harington, Sir Oliver Lambert, Sir William Warren, Captain Garrett Fleming and Captain George Darsey, each 25; Sir Edward Herbert 12; Captain Weynman, Provost Marshal of Connaught, 10; Captain Robert Piggott 10; Sir John Barkeley 12, and Captain H. Crofts (Scout-master) 6.

Total for horse per day—*3l. 19s. 3d.*

5. Footmen in list :—

At Lough Foyle or Carrickfergus, 150 men under each of the following captains :—Sir Henry Docwra, Sir Matthew (?) Morgan, Thos. Badby, Sir John Bolles, John Vaughan, Ralph Bingley, Ellis Lloyd, Lewis Orrell, Paul Jones, and (at Carrickfergus) Sir Fulke Conway.

200 (at Carrickfergus) under Sir Arthur Chichester.

100 under each of the following captains :—Anthony Errington, John Vaughan, Thomas Cooch, Edward Bassett, Adam Dutton, Roger Orme, Lancelot Alford, Humphrey Willis, William Stafford, Nicholas Pyman, William Winezsor, Ralph Sedley, Roger Atkinson, Edward Digges, Basill Brooke, Edmond Legh and John Sydney, and (at Carrickfergus) Captains Sackford, Gregory Norton, Thos. Phillips and Roger Billings.

Total foot at Loughfoyle 2,900 and at Carrickfergus 750.*

* See Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), Vol. II, p. 431, where the number is given as 850.

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The following are attending the Lord Deputy or are garrisoned in several places in Leinster :—

200 men under each of the following :—The Lord Deputy, Sir Oliver St. John and Sir Francis Stafford.

150 men under each of the following :—Sir Henry Davers, Sir Samuel Bagnall, Captains Edward Blayney, Henry Atherton, and Josias Bodley ; Sir Richard Moryson, Captains Tobias Caulfield, Lawrence Esmond, Thomas Williams, Lord Delvin, the Earl of Kildare, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Mr. Marshall, Sir Oliver Lambert, Sir Henry ffoliott, Sir Francis Ruishee, James Fitzpierce, the Earl of Ormond, Lord Dunsany, Captain Lionel Guest, Sir Henry Power, Captains Thomas Roper and Thomas Rotherhan.

100 men under each of the following :—Captains Edward Trevor, Richard Hansard, Ferdinando Frekleton, Francis Roe, Sir Garott Moore, Sir Henry Warren, Sir William Warren, Sir Francis Shaen, Sir George Bouchier, Captains Mulroney O'Carroll, John Maisteron, Sir Thomas Loftus, Sir Henry Harington, Captain Hugh O'Reily, Sir Edward Herbert, Captain Constable, Sir William Fortescue and Tirlough McHenry.

Total—5,800.

In Connaught :—

200 men under Sir John Barkeley.

150 men under each of the following :—The Earl of Clanricarde, Sir Arthur Savage, Captain Henry Clare, Sir Thomas Banks, Captain Henry Malby, the Lord President, the Earl of Thomond, Lord Audley, Captain Roger Harvy, Sir Charles Wilmot, Captain Thomas Spencer, Sir Richard Percy, Sir Jarrard Harvy.

100 men under each of the following :—Sir Theobald Dillon, Captains Theobald Neling, Thomas Bourke, the—— (who received from the late Earl of Clanricarde), Mr. Treasurer, Sir Francis Barkeley, Captain George Flower, Captains John Bostock, William Saxey, Nuce, George Blountt, George Kingsmill, Sir John Dowdall, Captain Gerald Dillon, the Lord Barry, Sir Jarrard Harvy, Captain William Power, the Earl of Desmond.

Total—2,600.

The total of footmen is 13,450 and their cost per diem is sterling	357 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>
Pensioners, whether in the muster book or payable by letters patents [<i>details</i>] per day	8 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ <i>d.</i>
Thirteen almsmen at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>d.</i> a day	4 <i>s.</i> 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>d.</i>
The total expenditure allowed by the establishment is per month	13,823 <i>l.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i>

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In addition to these there are certain companies of horse and foot of Irish birth, which have been "erected" by her Majesty's special letters, vizt. :—

Horse :—

Cormack O'Neill	..	..	..	..	50
Owen McHugh McNeale	More	..	..	..	20
Neile Garrow O'Donell	..	..	..	..	100
Connor Roe Maguire	..	..	..	..	25
Con O'Neale	..	..	..	..	40
Glasney McGennys	..	..	..	..	15
Tirlaugh McHenry	..	..	..	..	50

Total per day—7*l.* 10*s.*

Foot :—

Cormack O'Neale	..	..	..	..	200
Neile Garrowe O'Donell	..	..	..	..	200
Shane McBrian O'Neale	..	..	..	..	100
Owen McHugh McNeil	More	..	..	..	30
Connor Roe Maguire	..	..	..	..	150
<u>Edmond Groome</u>	..	..	..	..	13
Colla McDonyll	..	..	..	..	7
Bryan McQuyn	..	..	..	..	5
Glasney McGennys	..	..	..	..	32
Edward Fitzgerald	..	..	..	..	60
Dennyce O'Dale	..	..	..	..	100

Total pay for these per day—16*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*

These Irish soldiers increase the monthly expense of 13,823*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* to 14,498*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.*

This list includes only payment of salaries and not payment for apparel.

Extraordinary charges [*details*] are not given in this list. They vary, and are not mentioned in any late erections of Irish companies made by the Lord Deputy since he went on his northern journey.

P. 11. Signed by Sir Ralph Lane. *Endd.* S.P. Ireland 209, 15.

10 Aug.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CAREY to SECRETARY CECIL.

Details. The rebels have great hope of the Spaniards "who if they were at sea [?] I am in good hope that the late north-east wind . . . hath sent most of them to the devill by this time." I have sent an account of the munitions issued and of what remains, showing that very little is now left over ; and I hope fresh supplies will be sent.

I have, according to your directions, sent off 40,000 weight of biscuit to his lordship [Lord Mountjoy] and will within three days ship off 60,000 weight more. This will serve him in bread till the last of September. We have enough corn and meat left to make 30,000 more. I have written to his lordship that as he is not going to fight the arch-traitor, but to sit down by him, we shall send him all the help we can. We have lately

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received plenty of butter and 120 bags of rice. I told his lordship there is no returning without dishonour unless this arch-traitor is pulled down. Pray send supplies for the winter. Poor Captain Esmond and forty more of our men were slain as my Lord of Dunsany [?] writes, who hardly escaped. They made a journey into McMahon's country, took 1,400 cows, and were set upon by 700 rebels in a pass on their return, and our soldiers were but 400. This will grieve the Lord Deputy and rejoice the rebels.

P. 1½. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 16.

Enclosing :—

Statement shewing the remains of munitions and arms in the store of Dublin on 6 August, 1601 :—

Common powder 79 barrells, of which nineteen are owing to the citizens.

<i>Calivers</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	200
<i>Horsemenstaves</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	150
<i>Pikes</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	600
<i>Swords</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	700
<i>Shovels and Spades</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,260
<i>Crows of iron</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
<i>Hedging bills</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	660
<i>Axes</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	112
<i>Scythes</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
<i>Repehooks</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	212
<i>Pickaxes, with 160 made in Dublin</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	248
<i>Rope</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	7 cwt.
<i>Nails</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 barrell.

P. ¾. Endd. Ibid, 16A.

10 Aug.
Derry.

SIR HENRY DOCWRA to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

At the time when Captain Covert, the last messenger, left here, I received letters from the Lord Deputy asking me to meet him about the pace at Blackwater. I have long prepared to be able to do this and preserve what was necessary to enable me to do it; for when I lately told the Clerk of the Ordnance to load up his munition, intending a journey upon O'Cane, I suddenly discovered that we had only match for one week. Thereupon, seeing the difficulty of replenishing my store of this and the possibility of a foreign power's arriving, I thought it best to defer my journey, and reserve myself for the meeting with my lord. When preparing to do this I found I had really but 6 barrells of match; and as I had to leave 2 barrells here and knew I should have to skirmish with O'Donnell, O'Cane, Maguire and Cormock McBaron all the way to Blackwater, I thought it best not to start. My chief captains agreed. I wrote to the Lord Deputy saying that if I could be supplied with match on joining him I would start, even slenderly provided as I was; but receiving no assurance from him, and having in view the importance of planting Ballyshannon (which could never be so easily done as now when O'Donnell was drawn towards Connaught

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by the alarm of the army coming that way) I sent off Neale Garve with his own men and 400 English to Donegal. They occupied it before their departure was known even at the Derry.

I did not go myself or send a large force because there would have been difficulty about victualling such a force. I have sent a ship with victuals there, as you will see by enclosed, and the *Tremontane* is still guarding these coasts and was seen chasing a small Spanish ship, but we know not with what result. There is a report that a fleet of Spaniards is at hand. If so I hope that the late north east wind, which was very cruel for three days, has dispersed them. If they come at all, extraordinary steps must be taken to defend these parts, for there is no place of the like importance to turn upside down the whole of her Majesty's proceedings. In case they come Culmore should be fortified against them, and it can be done without great expense if we have not only men but other necessities for which I could at the proper time lay an estimate before your lordships. My reasons for advocating this fortification is that we cannot, as we are, hold out either against Spaniards or Scots (whom I think very dangerous neighbours) if they come with artillery, as they easily may. Moreover the Irish, even in the next generation will do everything they can to expel us, and are always treacherous.

I have told you about Mac Swynado, how, after his pledges were let go by the marshal, [and] he got from her Majesty some bands of men in pay, then allowed himself, willingly or not, to be "preyed" by O'Donell, and then, on a colourable excuse of following his goods, betook himself "to his old state of a perfidious rebel." I twice preyed the other McSwyne, (Fannaght,) and twice restored what I had taken and might have kept, in order to gain him by kindness, taking six pledges who were reported to be "the very Parliament or state and body of his whole country." But shortly after, when I drew towards the Liffer [Lifford], and it was thought that I was going to join the Lord Deputy, he drew a "platt" [plot] on Captain Bingley, took out 40 of his men under pretence of taking a prey from Mac Swynado, and, having them abroad ten mile from here, fell upon them as traitors, drove them to a church for safety, and carried away the cattle, people and goods of the whole country. Before we could relieve those in the church, who sent for help, they basely surrendered (they say for fear of a piece of artillery) and are now kept by McSwyne in the hope to have his pledges set at liberty. I shall not release them but "keep them to be martyred with such a degree of punishment as may worthily give an example and terror to all such traitors." I should do no less to the ensign who surrendered if he were in my hands, that so cowardly and basely gave his throat to be cut, wanting neither munition nor victuals for 24 hours space at large. The rescuers came up three hours afterwards, only to hear of the base surrender.

I sent the forces to Donegal at the very instant of this prank, and as soon as he heard of it, MacSwyne began to make his apology ;

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but I rejected it; and, when my other tasks are done, shall I believe be able to revenge myself "upon the whole generation." They cannot now get away, as they hoped to have done by Ballyshannon until I occupied Donegal.

I sent away Neale Garve to Donegal at an hour's warning, in order that his journey might be secret and with no supplies whatever but only the men's bare arms. Next day I sent 100 beeves, and carriages with munition after them. I sent Captain Willis with 300 English to convey them, and told off Cormock O'Neale's Irish to drive the cows. They refused to march, however, without money and victuals, though they had the same measure of bread as is served out to our own men. They persevered in this refusal for five hours after Cormock himself had drawn out. Thus he was only able to get together seven men out of 200. I then took a guard of 700 soldiers and fell upon them as traitors and hanged two of them over the gates of their fort at Strabane, and "though not intending it yet, I must confess, not greatly forbidding it, suffered the soldiers to kill one and hurt about four more." They were then terrorised and yielded; but a few days later thirty more gave us the slip and joined the rebels.

From all these matters I conclude that the Irish have a general plan to betray us if ever they find us at a disadvantage; and that Hugh boy and those of Inishowen would revolt if they could (they are now very much in our power). I have considered the case of Neale Garve, and, though I cannot see into his heart, believe that he is the most ready and able of all [the Irish here] to do the Queen service, "in both which points, I must give him his right, he far excelleth all other of his nation." I have given him money and horses, and when he asked for victual, gave him 4*d.* a day. I believe the revolt of Cormock O'Neale's men was against his will, though he has indeed done nothing to justify the charge to which he has put her Majesty; but, in fine, I find him simple, aspiring no further but to live at ease, gathering together by an underhand contribution in the country, and then resting himself as having gained a sufficient purchase, "neither remembering what he ought nor endeavouring what he may do more."

I have therefore divided his 200 horse and 50 foot as follows:

To Terlagh Maguilon ("a man that, of all the Irish without exception in the nature of a wasting kerne, hath absolutely done the best service and discovered most of his countrymen's lewdness") I have given 50 foot and lodged him at the Newtown.

To Art McHugh Mergoh, who seems "a man of best carriage" amongst them (and has been expelled by his own people) I have given 50 foot and lodged him at the Omy [Omagh].

To Cormock himself I yet leave 100 foot and lodge him in the heart of O'Cane's country.

I cast the horse, who were inefficient, and have taken pledges of all of them "upon this condition to hang them if he for whom the several pledge lyth waste not the country about him for

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at least twelve miles compass, or take any manner contribution whatever from churl or other." I think this will be an effective way of wasting the country. These people must be treated with "a hand equally tempered with honey and gall."

You will see by musters what is the strength of our army ; and I will try to make independent reckonings as to it. I desire that an exchange be established in this place so that we may be frequented with merchants as we have formerly been, or else that steps be taken for sending over beer, which we much need. We have had no food for three months but meal and the cattle which we have taken. We should have biscuit and some part of the soldiers' pay should be given them in victual ; but we should have done much better if merchants had continued their trade, which we hoped they would have done. I hear the treasure is drawing low, and make bold to ask for a supply because I think it a benefit to her Majesty to issue it. I have noticed that of all that which is come to his place there is not returned by bills of exchange above 500*l.* at the most. To pay the Irish usually in money is easy and profitable.

I want, lastly, men. I have sent 250 more to Donegal that they may possess themselves of the abbey of Asheroe. If this is done, the planting of Ballyshannon is in a manner effected at a small charge, for I shall no sooner send about the cannon but, by the commodiousness of the Abbey, got unbroken, I undertake in three days to take the castle. I could not send it yet, on account of a broken axle-tree and because I did not know what would become of their Spanish preparations.

I must send more men there till I have made up their list to 1,000 foot and 50 horse. With less they will do little good. With these I doubt not but the whole country of Tyreconnell is gained. The 50 horse must not (I beg) be taken out of my list.

P.S.—(Hol.) 12 Aug.—I hear from Neale Garve that the *Tremontane* has chased the Spanish ship ashore at Sligo where 40 men got ashore ; but under the guard of O'Donell's people who, they say, have made a small fort there.

In all pp. 8½. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *S.P.* Ireland 209, 17. *Enclosing :—*

Note of such things as were shipped into the Nightingale to be transported to Donegal on Aug. 6th, 1601.

Gives a detailed account of the amount of supplies such as bacon, "Newlande fish," hogsheads of meal ; and of munitions, such as common powder, rolls of match and of tools of all kinds and bedding, which were sent to Donegal. Mentions also as having been sent :

20 caliver moulds.

10 melting ladles.

An iron beam with wooden scales and weights.

*Besides all these 70 cows were sent by land with Neale Garve. These were bought at Lifford with ready money at 16*s.* apiece. Accordingly they are to be issued out to the soldiers*

1601.

and the officers must account for them. And 500l. has been delivered in money by Mr. Ford, to be paid out as follows :

Every English company shall be paid in money unless the captain think otherwise, and that they should have some "drinking money or half lendings." If the county affords purchaseable supplies you may use your discretion in the matter.

If possible, pay the Irish in money only, or part in money only, or part in money and part in victual. Never exceed 4d. a day. Make no allowance for officers, and in this dangerous time offend the men as little as possible. The English officers to be paid wholly in money unless they want victual out of the store.

In all p. $\frac{2}{3}$. To which is attached :—

Brief of the army as mustered 26 July, 1601, in the various garrisons.

The foot are 3,000 of whom 2,120 are effective. There are 363 sick, 60 preachers and canoniers, 180 dead-pays and 277 deficit.

The horse are 700.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$ (small). Examined and signed 7 Aug., 1601, by Anth. Reynolds.

In all p. 4. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 17A.

10 Aug.
Derry.

SIR HENRY DOCWRA to LORD BUCKHURST, Lord High Treasurer of England.

I am grateful for your praise and have done my best and shall so continue till the work is finished. I have not had time to attend to the setting up of storehouses as some say I should have done, or enough labourers for the work. Much timber to be used for them was embezzled, but I have completed two in good order. A third was to be set up at Ballyshannon as your lordship required. I delayed sending round the materials till provisions which were to go there with them arrived. As these did not arrive I had the timbers put ashore to avoid further delay, and put together here ; where they now lie, not set up but not dismemberable. The soldiers are busy at the wharf which is only 60 feet long ; and we have to send for wood for it. The two storehouses sent from Chester were incomplete, and I had to supply what they required here. Pray send reinforcements for Donegal, and supplies. It will then be a "present breakneck" for one arch-rebel to help to ruin the other. I hope that the abbey of Asherowe and all Tyrconnell will be gained for her Majesty. The rebels have lately burst forth in a few places and [occupied] a few forts, but we shall easily take them if they have not already given them up of themselves.

P. $1\frac{2}{3}$. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 18.

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10 Aug.

At the Derry in
Lough Foyle.

NOTE of ORDNANCE.

Received by Ralph Shakerly, clerk of the Ordnance, in the
George of Chester, from Robert Johnes, purser of the ship :—

Common powder 96 barrells—wanting 10lb.

Lead in sows [?] 57 „

Match 10 dry „

Spades iron-shod 98 „

Much other match was sent, but was rotten or wet.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed by Shakerly. *Endd.* with note (in Docwra's hand) that the match is often wet and the powder deficient.
S.P. Ireland 209, 19.

Latest

date

11 Aug.

SIR FRANCIS SHANE to SIR GEOFFREY FENTON.

Since my last, news has come from Ross O'Ferall of 500 Spaniards arriving in the north; but, finding the rebels weak and that many of them had submitted, they took sea. They set ashore some of their people to learn the state of the country and take them aboard again. One whom I employed in O'Connor Roe's country told me to-day that ships were seen in the Connaught sea. They are said to be English and I hope so. Tyrrell's forces are in Montereolis [co. Leitrim] and upon Sir John Barkley's departure, I know they will attempt to pass southward, which is to be prevented by sending more forces. I think fit my Lord of Kildare should lie at Durrow [?]. This would serve to stay the enemy. My Lord of Delvin, as I am told, would seem to lay the charge of stopping Tyrrell on Sir Tibot Dillon and me with our companies, and lie himself with his 100 [?] and Sir Richard Fitzgerrot's companies at Fenae [Finae]. I will take no such desperate charge on myself, but will be as forward as the best. Tyrrell cannot pass at Fenae which twenty men will keep if 500 offer to pass. Pray attend to these business[es], which require haste. The Earl of Clanrickard is at Elphin with all his forces. Greetings. From Loughrea, 11 August.

Since writing the above I have news from Sir John Barkley that only one Spanish carvel was sent with a Bishop to see how the rebels stood affected to the King. His army, being ready for Ireland, was diverted by a device of Hugh Duff O'Donel, now with Sir Henry Dockwra.

Lord Clanricarde is fronted by O'Donel himself, O'Rorke and the rest of the Connaught rebels. Tyrrell was afoot on Monday to pass for Leinster and being come to Bellaleag* [Ballyleague, co. Rose.], O'Donel sent for him back, intending to offer battle to the Earl [of Clanricarde]. Sir John Barkley has written to my Lord of Kildare and Lord Delvin to come as far as Heroghboy [Curraghboy?], Macoghlan is [his] house, next Thursday when he and they will confer as to how to second that army which Sir John's spies do affirm to be engaged very much. He has requested them, if they will not countenance the action with their own presence, at least to send part of their forces to him.

* Dr. W. H. Flood suggests Ballinlack, co. Westmeath.

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He [will] endeavour to assist them the best he can. I have again written to Lord Delvin urging him to come with his foot company to those borders where Tyrrell means to pass, but know that my letter will prevail as much [*i.e.* as little] as myself. If Sir John did not by his stay at Ballymore [?] check Tyrrell he would pass at his pleasure for [*i.e.* in spite of] any other interruption. Sir John and I lay out yesternight upon the passages, but Tyrrell was called back by O'Donnell. Neil Garrow O'Donnell is at Donegal and Sir Henry Docwra is planting garrisons there. I sent orders from the Council for the enlarging of Christopher Magawle [?] to the sheriff at Lord Delvin's request. I would he were as well known to them there as to us here. Many treasons will be proved against him since my lord's word to him. If there were nothing against him but the late breaking of the Queen's jail it might suffice. Pray move the Council to refer for consideration, before he is enlarged, the question whether he has not lost the benefit of my lord's word since it was given, which proved, my lord told me [?] himself he could be satisfied it were pity if he should be enlarged, especially as he [Magawle] offered his service to Tyrrell if he came up.

Pp. 3. *Small (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 20.*

12 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Recommends Christopher Bankes, Lieutenant to Sir Anthony Cooke for his horse troop, who is going to England for special causes. He has served well, and is as good a soldier as any in the army.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 21.*

12 Aug.
Bristol.

SIR EDWARD FISHER to the SAME.

I am just leaving for Ireland with my company. Pray give me a letter of favour to the Lord Deputy. I have served the Queen in Ireland since the wars there began, and was cast only for want of favour as his letter [enclosed] testifies. [*Details.*] I now ask that by your influence I may be "held in" so long as I deserve the same.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid, 22. Enclosing :—*

The Lord Deputy to Captain Fisher.

I regret to have to cast your company and only do so because of the Queen's orders to reduce the list, not because of any insufficiency on your part. Her Majesty is displeased that I have not taken this step before ; but I was unwilling to discharge any of you in hope I should have been excused. I should willingly have cast some of my own company and of the rest of the companies of 200 if that would have served to keep you standing. If the Queen erects fresh companies I shall be glad to pleasure you before others who are not in this sort disappointed.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$, dated 16 Mar., 1600 [1601]. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 22A.*

1601.
12 Aug.

DECLARATION shewing the charge to which HER MAJESTY is at for the garrisons in and about LOUGHFOYLE.

This declaration gives the daily, weekly and monthly payments made to the following officers. The payments are made "for the full entertainments of captains [and officers] and dead-pays together with the lendings in money both for horse and foot over and above the victuals by them received according to the late establishments." It also contains the "entertainment of several chief officers and others belonging to the said army as particularly hereafter appears."

The following are the items in respect of which payments are shewn :—

Captain and officers of 100 foot, dead-pays, with their companies of 80 strong. These are estimated to amount to 3,000.

Captains, officers, dead-pays and companies of 100 horse.

Governor's pay.

Three colonels, a sergeant major, a provost marshal, two corporals of the field, one carriage master, commissaries of the victuals, comptrollers and commissaries of musters, clerk of the munition, overseer of the long boats, thirty men to row in the four long boats, six carpenters, bakers, 500 Irish foot, 100 Irish horse and extras.

The total charge for all these per month is 2,067*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*

P. 1. *Underwritten*: Ex[tracta?] 12 Aug. per Rich. Lindlie, Jo. Dobb. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 23.

13 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

By mine of the 6th (delayed by winds) I wrote that James Fitzthomas and Florence McCarthy should be sent to England as prisoners. This is now done by this bearer, Sir Anthony Cooke. Although he is your kinsman and can need no recommendation from me, I recommend him as a faithful servant of the Queen. [Details.] Sir Francis Barkeley wrote to me (his letter was dated the 5th [?] of this month) that two Spanish ships had arrived at Killala in Tirawley about the second of this month; that they are laden with munition and treasure, and that O'Donnell has gone thither to receive it; that 14,000 soldiers for certain are at Lisbon and ready to embark for Munster and Connaught. This he heard from Tibalt [?] ne Longe, who is in camp with them and the Earl of Clanricarde at the abbey of Elphine in Roscommon.

I doubt all this news. I doubt that the two ships have arrived, and that, if they have done so, they will be supported by others; for it is "oppugnant to reason" that if an army is to be sent to Ireland the munition and treasure should be sent unguarded.

Here our last news from Spain is from a merchant of Cork who arrived from Nantes in Brittany a week ago. He could give no definite news, but says there was a rumour that 7,000 troops were ready to embark at Lisbon and for Ireland. If our reinforcements of 2,000 arrive before them I care not how

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soon they come ; for with these I can defend this province against them till further help comes from England ; and you will find me a true prophet that those who come will come to their ruin.

Dermond Moyle McCartie has gone to Ulster, on the advice of his brother Florence to draw Ulstermen into Munster to raise a new rebellion. He hopes in this way to get Florence set at liberty for the purpose of quelling the rebellion. Tyrrell, 'the old rebel' is come out of Ulster into Connaught with 500 rogues with a purpose to come for Munster as Sir F. Barkeley writes. Dermond Moyle is trying to hasten their coming, but when my 2,000 supports arrive I will make a shift to withstand them and guard that place which the Spaniards will attempt. If they come into Munster, as I am too weak to detach men from these parts until the coming of the reinforcements be assured, "I shall be shrewdly pusled" and it will disturb the province exceedingly, for these forces and the Spaniards "will carry all the loose vagabonds of Munster unto them." So Tyrrell's coming causes me more anxiety than the alleged invasion from Spain ; but, if the 2,000 supports arrive, I am safe.

Of the three gentlemen whom I lately restrained (Dermond McOwen, Teig McCormock and O'Mahon), the first is a gentleman of great land of Florence's surname, his cousin german and married to his cousin german. The second is his cousin and married to his sister. The third is his aunt's son. By these restraints his brother Dermond will want the help he expected.

The county are very willing to contribute to the cost of the earthworks now in making at Cork, but now that the town have been forced to make defences for themselves the Mayor and Corporation are very slow in forwarding them, and have to be forced by threats to do so. Some of them are corrupt at heart and believe that the Spaniards will not harm them if they do come.

I send you now the originals [*missing*] of sundry letters directed to Florence MacCarthy and some examinations [*missing*]. I hope the names of the examinees may be kept secret, as, if they become known, their lives may be taken in revenge, which would discourage other revelations later on. The letters sent to him by James McThomas were sent to me by him [James] to disguise his treason, for James confesses to me that at the same time he was shewing to Florence my letters to him [James]. James will swear "damnably" that he was always loyal and only negotiated with the rebels so as to obtain their secrets and save his own people from being ruined. He ascribes to himself that he banished the buonies * out of Munster ; but the evidence now sent shows his treasonable heart and that he was the last person in Munster who continued "buonies" in pay. I send also the examination of James Fitzthomas, but it is of little value, he "being a dull spirited traitor and understanding no more of his own business than by his counsel was put unto him."

As to the leaders and objects of the rebellion in Munster, I send you the opinions of one Oliver Hussie, a very learned and wise

* Apparently another name for "bonnaughts" or paid Irish soldiers.

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man, and "during the rebellion a great adviser of their actions." I have not impressed one penny to Sir Anthony Cooke for the charges of the prisoners except the freight of the barque. Pray send him a direction as to where he is to bring his prisoners.

Pp. 4. (*Hol.*) *S.P. Ireland* 209, 24.

13 Aug.
Dublin.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in Dublin to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Forwarding a messenger from the Lord Deputy in camp with a note stating what munition is needed for the army.

P. 2. *Signed* by Adam [Loftus], Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor, Sir George Carey and Sir Geoffrey Fenton. *Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 25.

Same.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

Refers to the messenger referred to in foregoing, who bears also this letter. *Proceeds* :—The munitions and stores which we have will only sustain a few days' fight either with rebels or foreigners. The Lord Deputy's bold action is likely to develop into a winter war. We must have many garrisons to eat out the arch-traitor and, for this purpose, need much powder. It is very difficult to send stores out [to garrisons] after October, and we should have them before that time; and if we have to replenish the forts lying away from the sea after that time it will occupy many companies, and this is one of the most unfruitful employments of the service. Michaelmas will now come upon us as fast as this messenger can ride post. I pray that an advance consignment may be sent at once and before the rest.

The garrisons in Leinster and Connaught are in want of fresh supplies and from the corporate towns here nothing more can be expected. If the foreign enemy should come (which I believe not) you may think what a condition we shall be in. I know that a great deal of powder has been expended and think that steps should be taken [*details*] to bring the officers in Ireland to account for what has been used from the beginning of the Earl of Essex' government till last May.

P.S.—It is usual for me, as secretary, to receive and deal with all correspondence in the Lord Deputy's absence and for all letters to be addressed to me; but, since the Lord Deputy has been away this practice has not been respected, letters having been addressed to others.

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 26.

13 Aug.
Barry Court.

DAVID [LORD BARRY and VISCOUNT] BUTTEVANT to the
SAME.

I have told you how much I suffered in the late rebellion and how "by my only means" the arch-traitor, James Fitzthomas, was brought forth by the White Knight. I therefore pray for a

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grant of Comichie [Conna] and other the lands of the said James, to which I am entitled and which have been detained from me by strong hand. "For this interest as also for all other your accustomed and daily favours I shall but only rest,

Most ready ever more to do your honour service.

David Buttevant."

P. $\frac{1}{3}$. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 27.

About.
same.

Articles of ADVERTISEMENTS to be preferred to the right honourable JAMES, EARL OF DESMOND.*

Right Honourable,

The love "and most fervent nature which I bear unto your own good self" and to this native soil whereof I am induce me to send you a few instructions as to upholding the war, and to resist the foreign invasion of your adversaries, who work to "cut off yourself, your chieftains and gentlemen of your lives, lands and livings, which God . . . defend."

1. First what belongs to ecclesiastical and ghostly causes we refer them to the godly fathers and superiors of the Catholic Church, "*Nam quid supra nos nihil ad nos.*" Above all things seek to keep up that rock of the faith and religion.

2. For the wars:—A few days ago a gentleman who holds with her Majesty wrote for aid to resist the northern forces that come to his country. The Council answered (and I myself saw the letters) that there was none to come, and that no aid would be sent till next spring, and that then very few would be sent except to Munster "for that her Majesty does take the insurrection of that place in a more stomach and grief" than all the wars of Ireland besides.

3. To prevent those harms you must keep the country in subjection to yourself and in control, as you know the Queen has gold enough to "imbayte and bribe" your gentlemen and followers who are covetous and greedy as before they used the late Earl. You should therefore leave the most part of them "over their home, houses and family" and appoint and put in upon them old and expert officers and soldiers whereby they may be ready at all times as occasion shall serve; and, moreover, those who receive wages will be bolder than those who have none and are less careful for you to be lost.

3. You shall cause all those officers whom you hire to take "their corporal oaths before the legacy of the church" that they shall be faithful and true to yourself and serve you diligently at all times.

4. You must cause them to be enrolled at certain times that they deceive you not with dead-pays, and turn out to have no companies when the time comes for service. Keep the muster rolls by your secretary or clerk.

* The endorsement, in Carew's hand, gives some explanation of the nature of this document. Some awkward and unusual expressions in it give ground for suspecting that it is a translation.

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5. "You shall not permit . . . any your l[ord] chieftains nor gent[lemen] to ward any of their castles except it be a strong main house, and therein to keep munition of powder nor lead valuable; for the matter stands not upon the defence of castles but upon standing and upholding the field."

6. Cause your officers and collectors to collect all the powder in the country, wherever it is, into your stores (whereby you may have it if it be needed), except such powder as your noblemen and gentlemen of account have for the "provant" [provision] of their own forces. This will cause the landlords of the castles to fear you and to be unable to stand out against you.

7. You should have an agent or "some honest man of proof and knowledge" always with O'Neill, who is the fountain and original of this insurrection.

The agent will tell O'Neill of your movements and you of his. You should have a couple of trusty messengers, as there are between O'Neill himself and O'Donnell and McWilliam when they are asunder. I myself know McOyle's son, O'Neill's foster brother, who is always with O'Donnell from O'Neill in this sort.

8. As soon as you take Kilmallock you should compel those pettifoggers and shiftmakers who delay or prevaricate about joining you to take your part and do as you do, or, if they refuse, deliver their goods to your soldiers for pay and "break their castles that they have no recourse there; otherwise by their policies or spies it may fall out as McSwyne Naduah did deceive O'Donnell but that it was prevented by times" [betimes].

9. "You shall also gather all the old shots and people that were accustomed to make powder, and smiths, pike-makers and artillerers" to make powder and pikes, and give them materials and pay. Place them in a strong town of your own where none shall spoil them as O'Neill does in Dungannon. This will make you independent in the matter of supply of arms, &c.

10. "You shall be very careful and wise (if any forces foreign do come) that you do wage any general battle with them in open or plain field, but always to cut and cross them in the straights, bogs and paces [passes], whence you may easily give them the overthrow without any great hurt of your own, for truly the Englishmen do not care to live and die in open field, where he may have his foot dry."

11. For your own safety do not be too open to all men, but keep a guard always about you which is not only a safeguard, but a dignity.

Pp. 3. *Endd.* in Carew's hand:

I send this advice which was given to James MacThomas not long before his coming into Munster, for it was since McSwyne NaDoghe revolted from O'Donnell. Who gave it to him I cannot learn. It will show you what concealed traitors lie amongst us. The adviser is no doubt an "external subject." This advice and many more papers and the bull of Pius V excommunicating the Queen, and other proclamations in print which

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James Fitzthomas brought into Ireland, were taken in Listoell [Listowel] Castle.

The endorsement signed "G. Carew." S.P. Ireland 209, 28.

13 Aug.
7 p.m.
Bristol.

JOHN HOPKINS, Mayor of Bristol, to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have just received a packet for you which came by the post from Milford. We have [acted] on your honour's warrant for pressing of mariners and seafaring men, and have sent 86 up to Chatham, and have delivered them their press and conduct money. We had to keep 120 here to take over the soldiers and furniture to Ireland, so could not send more; also a great many of our mariners here are at the Newfoundland on their fishing voyage, and not yet returned.

P. 2. Signed. Add. Endd.:

Haste Haste, &c., Bristol, 7 p.m.

At Marchfield, 13 Aug. at 11 p.m.

At Calne at 1 a.m.

At Marlborough at [half an ?] hour past 2 [?] in the morning.

At Newbury past 7 [?] o'clock a.m.

At Reading at 11 o'clock.

Ibid, 29.

13 Aug.
Dublin.

The EARL OF UPPER OSSORY to the SAME.

Owing to my position amongst bogs and mountains, which give great advantage to the enemy to harrass those who oppose them, I have had difficulty in ruling "my tenants kinsmen and other alliance." When spoiled by the enemy they are apt to recover their goods by indirect means, according to the liberty which the times afforded them. Having no command in the wars I could not entertain them in service; but I believe you have other evidence that I have sought to keep them loyal. I had only my castles to trust to, my goods being taken by the enemy and my lands spoiled. Since I was in England and received her Highness' favours I have done my best to deserve them. I know that it is approved by my Lord Deputy that many of the meaner sort in action should be bought over by protections and pardons, so that the enemy might be weakened and the pardoned men used for future service. I received into protection in this way (on 28 May last) several men who did me unrecoverable harm in the late wars. When I was in Dublin to receive their pardons, which were sealed on 9 June, some of them who were in her Highness' protection, namely Dermot McShane, Edmund McShane and Fynin McDonnell and others, were preyed of six score cows, 2,000 sheep, household stuff and horses by Sir Harry Power and the forces of the Queen's County, whereupon the men, distrusting the pardons which were so abused, entered into action again. I have since served on them as on the Queen's enemies and have kept them out of Upper Ossory. These persons and others lately preyed on the co. Kilkenny which is not near

1601.

my country and none of my people were concerned in that action. Yet in revenge for the same Sir Walter Butler of Kilcaish [Kilcash] in the co. Kilkenny, nephew to the Earl of Ormond, Richard Purcell, Baron of Loughma [Loughmoe] in co. Tipperary, Dermot O'Dwyer chief of his name, and Walter Bourke of Boreyse [Borris], commonly called Walter of the same, Walter Mor McPearsce Oge and his brother Richard of the same, accompanied by Captain Flower and 200 of the Queen's forces, took from me and my tenants on the 22nd of this month 700 cows, 3,000 sheep, 120 garrauns, six horses, and 200*l.* in household stuff, and killed one Donagh O'Deevain, a scholar, James O'Hallyn and another. This raid has so discouraged the people of Upper Ossory that I am not able to keep them in a lawful course, unless I and they are compensated. I beg you to write to the Lord Deputy ordering compensation to be made, otherwise the injured persons will "shrink in their loyalty."

P. 1½. *Signed (primitively):* F[lorenc]e] Opp[er] Oss. *Add. Endd.* S.P. Ireland 209, 30.

13 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I need scarcely recommend Captain Henry Sheffield to you, for you know his long service here, and he was long since a dependant on your father. Pray show him all favour. He is going over I know not on what errand, and has at present no charge or (so far as I know) means to comfort his old age. He has hastened his departure in order to help Sir A. Cooke in taking over the prisoners.

P. ¾. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 31.

14 Aug.
Cork.

SAME to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Since writing my last, sent with this, I have received a letter from Sir Francis Barkeley, who with the Earl of Clanricarde and the Munster regiment is in camp at Elphin, co. Rosc. They say that O'Donnell, O'Rowrke, Redmond Bourke and Captain Tyrrell with all the force of those parts and the fugitive gentlemen of this province (1,600 foot and 300 horse) are lodged in view of them. The force we have [there] is 13 companies and 60 horse who cannot hold that place long for want of victuals, but must fight on their retreat. The enemy skirmishes with them daily. He writes "When we come off I think it will be as great a fight as any was in these wars in Ireland but in the end we must make our way with our swords and leave the event to God who I doubt not will give us good success."* He also writes as follows: ". . . . The truth is there landed one Spanish ship in Sligo, driven in thither by a ship of her Majesty's. She landed 70 men and these began to fortify. The captain is gone to O'Neyle and is content to lose his head if there be not in Ireland 20 ships out of Spain in 15 days." He says, further, that O'Donnell and

* The quotation is written in the Italian hand, which is now in use in England, except for the old-fashioned 'e,' which is used in it.

1601.

his friends are grown very proud. This makes it certain that the Spaniards will come, but I do not yet know to what part of Ireland. I believe they will not come to the North but to this province, and that the ship at Sligo was merely sent to give news of the coming of the others. Sir Francis Barkeley writes that the Lord Deputy has ordered 650 of the 1,000 men under his [Barkeley's] command to be sent at once to him [the Lord Deputy] in Ulster. Lest the service should suffer "I have sent him express commandment to obey his lordship's pleaser." Lord Ormond writes that Tyrrell "forth of the north" is directed to this province to stir up fresh disturbance. We have therefore only 1,350 foot left here, many of whom are employed in wards; and as the Spaniards are daily expected I must keep what companies I have in hand for the defence of Cork and Limerick, and dare not draw them into the field till the descent of the Spaniards be known. Pray send over the 2,000 who are ready. They are no more than enough to keep Munster quiet. Wherever the Spaniards land their arrival will be the signal for a general distraction throughout this province. The loose sort will immediately grow to a head and commit outrages, and the best affected will but temporise in neutrality until a judgment may be made "whether side will prevail." The last rebellion in Munster would never have happened if the President, Sir Thomas Norreys, had had a sufficient force to suppress it at the outset.

Although I have in my power the heads of the rebellion yet the people are so apt to revolt and so encouraged by the prospect of help from Tyrrell and from Spain that I earnestly ask for means of repression. If the Spaniards come I can hold this province with the forces I have and the 2,000 supplies (if these come); and if the Spaniards do not come, less than 2,000 supplies will suffice. But, if "the rest of the kingdom is on flame, longer than the sword is held over them it is impossible to establish a firm peace in Munster."

I asked, in mine of the 6th, that the Earl of Thomond might be promptly sent back here. He will be of use to me for the service.

Pp. 21^s. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 32.*

14 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Refers to foregoing. *Proceeds*:—I think that more than 20 ships will come from Spain. I have news from a gentleman in Connaught that the Spaniards who have landed speak of 14,000 men, some to go to Munster and some to Connaught. I do not believe so large an army as 14,000 will come, but really believe that an invasion will take place. When the Lord Deputy ordered me to send 1,000 foot and 50 [?] horse into Connaught he promised me to return them; but now they are ordered to join him in Ulster. God grant they may reach him in safety, which I doubt. I never expect to see them here again. They have a proud enemy who encamps within little more than

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a musket shot of them, and have to retreat 30 miles before they can be in safety.

When they are returned or gone into Ulster I expect the coming of Tyrrell and the Munster fugitives into Munster. This distresses me very much for I cannot both resist them and hold the towns of Limerick and Cork. I must therefore refrain from going out to meet the rebels in the field. The 2,000 troops if they come will relieve my difficulties, which would not have been so great had I not obeyed my Lord Deputy's order to send 1,000 foot and 30 [?] horse [to Connaught]. I was sorry to have to do this, but "in obeying, my duty is discharged." Pray send reinforcements and order the Earl of Thomond to return. He will be of great use here. If O'Donnell prevail in Connaught and the Munster forces are gone into Ulster his country will assuredly be harrassed.

As I was writing the enclosed arrived from Harry Pyne to Mr. Boyle,* clerk of the Council here. You know more about the truth of what is stated in it than the reporter.

P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 33. Enclosing :—
Henry Pyne to Richard Boyle.

Mr. "boyle." I understood yesterday at Youghall by Ancient Bethell, who the night before arrived from Padstow, that the Spanish fleet, in number about 80 sail, whereof 11 huge ships having in them 14,000 soldiers to land ("which number we think is too great for Spain to spare"), were first discovered about Hysant [Ushant] and came from thence directly to the Sylles [Scilly] in their way, and took divers English ships and bent their course from thence north-west. This has caused such great fear on the west coast that happy was he that could remember [?] there were 5,000 [?] men ready to come for Munster.

Ostende was still straightly besieged. Acquaint my Lord herewith. If you have any news of their landing or being on the north coast give us part† by this bearer. And so to God I commit you.

P. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$. Dated Mogely [Mogeely], 14 Aug., 1601. Endd.
Ibid, 33A.

14 Aug.
"From my
Lodging"
[London].

CAPTAIN E. FITZGERALD to SECRETARY CECIL.

I hear that Captain William Eustace of Castle Martin in Ireland is determined to be a suitor to the Queen for cerain lands in the English pale in Ireland, which were lately the possession of Viscount Baltinglass who was attainted, and several other gentlemen of the Eustaces who have been attainted. Sir Henry Harington holds part of these lands by lease from the Queen, and another part by inheritance, and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland holds some of them by inheritance. The heir of

* Richard Boyle, afterwards the "great" Earl of Cork.

† i.e., "inform us," as in Fr. "faire part," to inform.

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Sir Nicholas White, late Master of the Rolls in Ireland, also holds some of them by inheritance, as do Sir Edward Harbord's "nephies," and I hold some of them by lease from the Queen for years and some part by inheritance. Others hold portions of the land from the Queen and pay rent and services for the same. Captain Eustace alleges that this house is the chief house of the Eustaces in Ireland and does his utmost to bring the land into his hands, and thus become the chief Eustace of the country. In consideration thereof he is ready to give the Queen some title that he has to one moiety of the rents of Annally. He has bargained as to these since his coming into England to Captain Thomas Lee, who was his father-in-law, for some title from him to Castle Reban. The rents which the Queen receives from those who hold these attainted lands is fairly certain and the rents of Annally are uncertain, "by reason that it is among the myre Irishrie and in the myrest border of Ireland."

I therefore pray you to be mindful of these worthy gentlemen and of myself, that neither the reversion of the lands nor the rent which we pay for them be granted to any private man. The present tenants are more fit to hold the lands than any others in Ireland, and "wher[eas] the said Captain Eustace doth allege himself of my own knowledge to be the chief Eustace within the county of Kildare and therefore to be next in right to the Viscount of Baltinglass, I assure you it is not so; but one William Eustace of Little Bollies" [Boleybeg] is next heir in blood to Viscount Baltinglass. He is now in my company here. I tell you this for truth's sake and to save my own things and continue in my tenancy to the Queen. Captain Eustace depends upon Lord Grea's [Grey's] favour with you to forward his claim. If you will speak with me or any other of the gentlemen that are here now we can make explain the whole truth.

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 34.*

14 Aug.
From ship-
board, at the
New Quay, by
Nesson.

THOMAS HIBBOTS to SECRETARY CECIL.

Putting to sea on Tuesday night last we were enforced to anchor beyond the bar at Dublin that night. Then next morning I received a packet of the searcher, which he said came from the Lord Deputy, but is signed by the Treasurer and directed to you. This packet and other letters from the Treasurer to the Privy Council [of England] and others from Sir Geoffrey Fenton to you which I formerly received, I sent away now (at 6 p.m. on 14 August) by this bearer, being myself to attend the landing and conveying of 1,735*l.* for the bank at Chester. We were delayed by bad weather but I am thankful that the Queen's treasure is at last safe.

P. ¾. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid, 35.*

20 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the SAME.

Recommends the Archbishop of Cashel who is "so specially occasioned into England" that his going there cannot in reason be opposed. He will give a full account of the state of Munster.

1601.

Proceeds :—I hope you will see that he gets relief with contentment and his causes well entertained. I could write more but that his lordship is well known to you.

P. 2. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 36.*

21 Aug. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have no news since the prisoners went with Sir Anthony Cooke, and hear nothing of the Spaniards more than is in the enclosed letters. These agree that a large fleet is at Lisbon but, as they differ in details, I have sent them both to you. I can hardly believe that the fleet is so large as they report.

Captain Power's letter from Connaught shows what has become of the forces there. I think that O'Donnell's sudden return was not due to any fear of our forces, but to a desire to resist Neal Gaure, who has taken Donegal and Asheroe Abbey, adjoining Ballyshannon, which, if kept, is almost as useful as Ballyshannon Castle, and [those in it] could soon force the ward of the castle to quit or render.

It is, we think, too late in the year for the Spanish fleet to come, but twice before they landed in Ireland in September and attempted Falmouth in October; and in February when you were at Dover they put force into Calais. I therefore suspend my opinion, and as the fleet is not yet dissolved they may attempt something. I think the Spaniards would not have sent the ship to Sligo in advance if James Fitzthomas and Florence had been at liberty, and that they are more grieved at Florence's restraint than at James' apprehension. The party which attempted this service upon 100 [Tyrone*] is Morishe Oge, a bastard son to Morishe Atolane [?] and brother to James Fitzmaurice the great traitor. I expect news from him daily. He desires four ploughlands at Carigelyne, a broken castle by Cork, now in the possession of a son of Sir Warham St. Leger. If he perform his service he is worthy of it and the Queen may give him [these or] equivalent lands elsewhere. The lands were his father's.

Of Pierce Lacy's death I have three different reports, but as his friends do not mourn I hardly believe it. Tyrrell is in Leinster, it is said with 500 rogues, and some of the Munster fugitives. They will probably draw him to Muuster; otherwise they would not have left Ulster to serve with him.

Justice Saxey is going to England to ask for the succession to Napper's post. For reasons which you may well imagine, I support this suit.

If the report of the Spaniards coming does not grow weak I beg that the 2,000 supplies may be sent at once. With my present force I cannot guard the towns of Cork and Limerick and also oppose Tyrrell.

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid, 37. Enclosing* :—

A. Edward Goeghe, Mayor of Waterford, to Sir George Carew.

A Scotch ship which left Avero for Dublin on 7 August came in here on account of stress of weather. I sent for the merchant

* The equivalent for the cipher 100 is given in a later hand in pencil.

1601.

by the water-bailiff of Passage to give me news of those foreign parts, but as he was ready to sail and had a good wind the bailiff took his examination. He says that the Allantado was come to Lisbon with a great fleet well appointed, but he did not know how many ships, or where they were going. He says also there is a great stay of all nations in Spain and that there were thirty Scotch ships embarqued [embargoed] and staid for that service; saying further that the report there was that the chief occasion of that preparation was that the French King has levied and raised an army of 150,000 men to go to Navarr[e] and thence intends to go to establish the King of Portugal in his country.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. Signed. Dated: Waterford, 18 Aug. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 37A.

B. Jasper Woodcock to Sir Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland.

Repeats the news given in foregoing from the same source. Adds that there is an army of 150 sail ready in Lisbon, bound for Ireland, but that, when the news of James Fitzthomas' taking was received the course of the army was altered, and that the informant did not now know what its course was. The King of France has put three separate armies of 50,000 men on the borders of Navarre, with the object of recovering Navarre from the King of Spain, Navarre being the King of France's inheritance. Details.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. (Hol.) Dated: Waterford, 17 Aug. Add. Endd. Ibid, 37B.

c. Captain William Power to Sir George Carew.

On the 4th of this month we came to Elphin and entrenched ourselves near the abbey. On the 8th O'Donnell, O'Roirk, O'Connor Roe, McDermody, the Kellies, Redmond McScabe's sons, McMorris of Munster, John Bourke's sons, Redmond and William Tyrrell, Mustian, and all the force of the county of Sligo (O'Connor's brothers excepted) came and encamped within half a mile of us. They were equal to us in foot and had 300 horse, as we thought, whilst we had only Lord Clanricarde's troop of fifty. Lord Clanricarde therefore decided not to fight but to keep a quarter and reserve our powder, which we could not replenish except from Dublin or Limerick. The enemy grew very bold at this, "their scouts commanding round about us and openly telling us at our trenches" and sending word to us, openly or privately, that we would steal away, else none of us would escape, and that they would prevent us stealing away the best they could. On the 10th their whole force advanced as if to attack us in our trenches. "But it fell out that, before they came near the quarter, the brabble was begun by some unruly body of us and the skirmish continuing two hours very hot they were beaten home to their groce [?] and all put to their retreat." We lost one killed and 16 wounded, and they had 40 killed and wounded, and some horses killed. Their scouts have since left us more elbow room. When we pressed them they

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retired in disorder, not caring who should go first. Their horse, which were in their rear, alone preserved any order. When they were past danger of our shot our soldiers sent a shout after them, threw up their caps and returned to their own quarters. The next day we all drew out except a few left to guard the baggage in our trenches. O'Donnell did the same, but when we advanced he retreated to his quarter. This was so strong that after debate we decided (on account of our want of munition and horse) not to attempt it. The next day he marched away bag and baggage after all his brag. My Lord hearing that he was gone over the Curlews and that O'Roirk was gone into his country, we dislodged the next day and came hither. Had we had more powder and 50 English horse more, we had likely ended this Connaught war. The two Spanish ships you heard of came to Killalowe [Killala] on their way northward. One of them was chased by one of the Queen's ships and driven into Sligo from whence the captain went by land to Tyrone. It is but a barque of 40 tons with 10 mariners and 70 soldiers, "the poorest thing that ever I heard of." They say they stay in Sligo fortifying, but some that saw them of the rebels have told me privately that they have not either spirit or judgment. Pierce Lacy is slain in Tyrone's camp, and Tyrone wrote to O'Donnell in his own hand informing him of it.

Neale Garrove has gotten Donegal and Asheroe Abbey and planted them. If they be maintained I have heard unlikelier things than O'Donnell to keep this Spanish barque for flight to Spain, from whence his first original is derived.

There is much working to disperse this Munster regiment and draw them from under your command. Recent orders from the Lord Deputy directed that the companies of Sir Francis Barkeley, Sir Richard Piercie and myself should remain with Lord Clanricarde but that the remainder should be sent to his lordship [the Lord Deputy] in the north. Since then we have had directions that if there be any more news of the Spanish purpose for this province the remaining companies shall lie in Galway with Captain Clare's, under the command of Sir Francis.

I have as your lordship knows never made suit to stay in any place except where you commanded me; but I must confess I should choose, if I might, rather to serve in Munster and under your lordship than under any other commander or in any other place. I am the most hated man in Ireland by those who love not the Queen; and they hate me for what I did by your lordship's orders, in which I am supposed to be a greater actor than I was. But they would betray me if they could, so it behoves me to live under your lordship's protection. Pray let me know how you will dispose of me, and also favour my poor wife, who, I know, is much wronged in my absence by some of her neighbours.

Pp. 2. (Hol.) Dated: Roscommon camp, 15 Aug., 1601. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 37c.

1601.

21 Aug.
Castle-Lyons.EDWARD [LORD BARRY and VISCOUNT] BUTTEVANT to
SECRETARY CECIL.

The Queen long since promised me a grant of the lands, &c., late in the possession of James Fitzthomas. I have a just title to them in right of some of my ancestors. But Her Majesty has not yet confirmed her promise. Pray use your influence with the Queen to grant my suit, or, if this cannot be granted, to grant such other suit as my servant John Lumbard may, under my instructions, prefer.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 38.*

21 Aug.
Dublin Castle.

WILLIAM THOMPSON to THOMAS RITSON.

"My loving cousin."

I have formerly asked you to get your lord [the Earl of Shrewsbury] in his letters to the Council [to ask] on my behalf that they would promptly make an end of the controversy between Travies [?] the victualler and myself according to the equity of the cause. I only ask for an end to it to free me from my imprisonment here which has lasted for 27 weeks, to my undoing without your help, for I lie at 17s. a week, which I can hardly endure. Pray get and send me letters [for my hearing or release?]. I only want a fair hearing.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. (*Hol.*) *Add.*: "To my most loving cousin and approved good friend Mr. Thomas Ritson, attendant on the right honourable the Earl of Shrewsbury at his house in Broad street, London."
Ibid, 39.

22 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Mr. Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, is going to England and will stay some time at Court. He is to give the Lords and you a detailed account of the affairs of this province and to suggest remedies for the inconveniences that begin to disturb the civil government. Pray countenance him and give full credit to his report, which will be that of an experienced man. Pray also favour his request for promotion, for he is able to do her Majesty service. He has long served here and is learned in the laws. Pray assist him to provide for his expenses.

P. $\frac{4}{5}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid*, 40.

22 Aug.

Memorandum on the PROVISION of VICTUALS for IRELAND.

Deals with (1) the full provision now to be provided, (2) the victual for Loughfoyle and Ballyshannon by former contracts, (3) the victual for Loughfoyle by a new contract, and (4) the victual for Carrickfergus by a new contract.

The victual to be supplied for Loughfoyle was to be sufficient for 3,000 men; that for Carrickfergus for 1,000.

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The victual to consist of fish, cheese, butter, pease, oatmeal or rice, pork, bacon or beef, and bread.

P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. *With details. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 41.*

23 Aug.
Carrickbane
Camp.

The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

When I planted the garrison at Armagh I appointed Sir H. Davers to command the same in the absence of Sir Francis Stafford both because I found him the best able for that service, and because it could be done without any fresh charge to her Majesty, he having both horse and foot of his own in entertainment. Also he was very anxious to have an active appointment in her Majesty's service. I advised him "to be often stirring with his forces upon the rebels and above all to practise what possibly he could devise upon the person of the arch-traitor Tyrone." He assured me he would obey these directions, and shortly after one Walker, a landowner, came to him who "brake with him to be employed in that same business, alleging that he knew it to be a service tending greatly to his country's good, and for that cause, and to advance his own fortune, that he was come resolved to kill Tyrone, having plotted the manner how to do it." Sir Henry pressed him for the details of his plan, but he refused to give them, saying that he should thus keep it more secretly; and he asked nothing but "to be put without the guards in the night and left to take his fortune." Sir Henry Davers having reported the matter to me I directed that Walker should be allowed to make the attempt. Walker got to Tyrone, but did not effect his purpose, though he says he once drew his sword to kill him under pretence of defending him in a quarrel. [*Details.*] I had him examined on his return by Mr. Marshall and Sir George Bouchier, and afterwards sent him prisoner to Newry and had him examined there by Sir Francis Stafford. I now send him in bonds to you. I think him "little better than frantic," but you may be able to find out something of his intent and disposition as he has; and a frantic man was not unfit for such an enterprise; and he might otherwise [*i.e.*, if not allowed to attempt it] have been dangerous to me or any other gentleman that set him a work.

P.S.—Enclosed will shew you the "discretion" of Walker.

P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid, 42. Enclosing:—*

Thomas Walker to the Lord Deputy.

I pray for support while in prison. My friends are afraid to supply me lest they be brought into trouble for me. I could have smitten Tyrone had I had the heart as well as the mind of a soldier, but I gave way to "effeminate thoughts" and forgot my promise to God. When I was with Tyrone he had no guard about him neither had he on a quilted coat, only a black frieze jerkin, which being unbuttoned I might see his breast, and he had ordered my arms to be delivered to me. He took me by the hand and said that I was the most fortunate man that ever came to him for that, had I met with

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his horsemen or footmen, they would have wounded me, or, would never have come alive before him. Professions of loyalty.

P. 1. *A rambling letter probably by an insane person, dated 22 Aug., 1601, from Newry prison. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 42A.*

23 Aug. The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

[See Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1907), II. 429 seq.]

P. 1½. (Hol.) *Add. Endd*: "R. at Basing, 9 Sept." *Ibid*, 43.

25 Aug. The LORD DEPUTY and Councillors in Camp to the ENGLISH
Newry Camp. PRIVY COUNCIL.

[See Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1907), II, 433 seq.]

Pp. 4½. *Signed by the Lord Deputy and Wingfield, Bouchier, and Stafford. Add. Endd.* "R. at Basing 9 Sept." *Ibid*, 44.

26 Aug. Captain HENRY CLARE to SECRETARY CECIL.
Galway.

When I last came over into Ireland I left my state in England unsettled by reason that my company was given by the Lord Deputy to another. I have been here for 13 months and hear that meantime there is an estate of 200*l.* levied upon my lands for a debt of a man whom I never knew. I beg you to write favourable letters to the Lord Deputy giving me leave to come over and that my company may stand, till I return, in this town. I beg this in case the Lord Deputy has commanded Sir Francis Barkeley to command here, which I have done for eight months with better success than many or any before me, for which I am rewarded with disgrace and may the better be spared. If there is to be a governor in Galway I beseech you that I may have the place, who expect no grace or good here unless commanded from England, and that only by your honourable means. *Details.* The Earl of Clanricarde is returned and had a skirmish at Alfyn [Elphin] with O'Donnell. *Details* as to the Spanish ship at Sligo. "Owld MacWilliam begins to gather strength again, and hope is nourished by cunning."

P. ¾. (Hol.) *Add. Endd.* *Ibid*, 45.

20 Aug. PETITION to the PRIVY COUNCIL of ENGLAND of JOHN JOLLES and WILLIAM COKAYNE shewing that:—

Our first contract was to continue the service one half-year. This is ended above six months ago. Since then we have voluntarily made divers contracts by which we are no longer bound than for the times mentioned in them.

Your lordships would have us now enter into a new contract for the victualling of 9,500 men. We are not able to do this at the rates at which we have previously contracted. Had the prices of victuals remained unchanged during the time of our first contract, we might have gone on and been reasonable gainers; but, owing to the rise of prices, we can no longer contract at these terms. We appeal to you, the Lord High Treasurer, to remember that we have warned your lordship of this for four months past.

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We send an abstract shewing the price of victuals. We hear from Carrickfergus and Loughfoyle they return our fish, though it is good, and the best we could have for money.

We ask either for a higher price, or that we may serve upon account, which we will do truly upon our oaths, and to have such recompense for our trouble as your lordship shall think reasonable. Otherwise we must perforce give over the service.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. Signed by the petitioners. *Endd.* S.P. Ireland 209, 46. *Enclosing :—*

Estimate of the charge of every day's victuals per man as they are now worth and appointed by contract to be delivered to the soldiers serving in Ireland for every day in the week :

Monday and Tuesday. Biscuit and butter. Biscuit 1lb. per day per man each day of the week. With freight bags, weighing, sowing, shipping, waste by mariners, ' portridge,' vermin, spoil on ship or in store, rotting and wetting of the bags and sundry charges, the charge for this is 2d. per lb.

Butter is at 5d. per lb. Taking a firkin at 50lb., the firkin costs 20s. to 21s. Allowing for waste by " running out of the pickle," &c., the price must be taken at 2½d.

For biscuit and butter therefore the daily charge per man is 4½d.

Wednesdays. Biscuits and cheese. Biscuit 2d. per lb. Cheese, allowing for the loss by delay, by drying, and by eating by mariners, will cost fully or more than 3d. per lb.

Thursday. Biscuit and rice. Biscuit as before. One half-pound of rice, with two ounces of butter or 1½ pints of oatmeal, will cost, allowing for waste, 3d.

Friday and Saturday. Biscuit and fish. Biscuit as before. One Newland fish and a half or a fifth part of a Holland ling, or eight herrings, with carriage and allowing for waste, delivered in Ireland, 2½d.

Sunday. Biscuit and beef. Biscuit as before. Beef 1½lb., or bacon or pork 1lb., costs with freight and waste 3½d.

In this estimate we do not set down anything for our own services or entertainment, for the charges of our agents in England and Wales, horse-hire, carriage or bad debts. These are very large items.

P. 1. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 46A.

"STATE" of the ARMY according to the Muster taken between the 18th and 22nd of August, 1601.

		Hereabouts. *	At Donegal.	Total.
Able men	.. ..	1,512	427	1,939
Sick	.. ..	301	79	380
Preachers and canoniers	.. ..	47	13	60
Dead-pays	.. ..	142	39	181
Deficient	.. ..	351	92	443

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Ex[tracted]* 26 Aug. by Anthony Reynolds and signed by him. *Ibid*, 47.

* Possibly with Sir H. Doewra, at Derry.

1601.

29 Aug.
Castle Brack,
in Ophaly.

[GERALD] EARL OF KILDARE to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have been informed of your honourable and indifferent carriage in an affair between the Earl of Kildare and me, in which there comes a third person entitled the Lady Lettice Ophaly, whose title should have been known long ere this had she any right thereto. My two cousins Henry and William lived some thirteen years and no such matter spoken of. How I have deserved that this new title should enforce anything against me I cannot find. As you have sway at the Council table I shall ask you to allow my evidences to be restored to me "considering that the good old lady being formerly incited by sinister counsel is now weary of troubling me," and [also] the evidences* stayed in the behalf of Sir Robert Digby, seeing they were in my own possession, and in my cousin's, two descents before me, by which I must make my defence. Out of your goodness favour me and I shall be grateful. The general letter and notes which I send will inform you of the circumstances of the proceeding between my lady and me.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 47A.

31 Aug.
Greenwich.

The EARL OF DESMOND to the SAME.

I am sorry not to be able to accompany your honour so often as I should like; for I rely only on you. [*Details and subservient remarks.*] I have enclosed sent you a note of a suit [which] will not involve her Majesty in any expense, but gain her 20l. a year "which by the aire of your breath unto her sacred Majesty and the blessedness of her grant may supply these my wants and never hereafter shall importune you." If I am not so fortunate as to get it some other will; and who deserves her charity more than I, who have received from her life and grace.

P.S.—I hear that you will be importuned for a grant of James Fitzthomas' lands. I beseech you not to procure any such grant till the grant to me be past.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. (Hol.) Add. Endd. Ibid, 48.

About
Aug.

MEMORANDUM [by SIR EDWARD STANLEY] on the INVASION and DEFENCE of IRELAND.

"Forasmuch as all good subjects ought not only to be ready to serve their Prince and country with life and goods, but also study and premeditate in their private chambers how to perform the same, therefore I have thought good to set down my opinion as concerning the Spaniards' arrival in Ireland, as one who ought to have some knowledge of that country and people in respect of my long service there."

I do not think they will land in Ulster for there are no good harbours there "but some wild and open roads." If the wind goes to the north-west these roads become very dangerous "as is well known to themselves from the year 1588."

* See *The Earls of Kildare* (1862), II, 342 et seq.

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Moreover the Earl [of Tyrone] has enough forces there to defend himself, and the difference between the Spanish "order and discipline" and the Irish would lead to mutiny and disorder. They would do nothing but spoil the country and serve her Majesty more than themselves.

Where then will they land—for I think that land they will.

For reasons which I will not put down in writing my opinion is that they will land in Galway, Limerick, Cork, Waterford or Dyveling [Dublin]. I "least doubt" Dyveling as it is so far in St. George's Channel and as the population there are loyal to the Queen and of her faith. The other ports are in much more peril. Ships of the greatest burden can come within ten or twelve miles of them, and their smaller ships and pinnaces may go to the town walls. The people there are of the Popish religion. So these places must be looked to.

Each place must have a garrison of at least 500 men; for the walls are so large and ruinous that less will not do. Moreover, they must be able to command the whole town or else they will have little help from the inhabitants upon any approach of the enemy.

"But shall I speak my opinion? Methinks it should be far better and less charge to build within four or five miles of the foresaid towns some sconce or fort wherein to put 100 men apiece" with artillery. These will give courage to the surrounding country, as providing a refuge; but they will also beat the enemies' ships and boats so that they will have to disembark their men and ordnance in some creek or barren place of the country where they shall never be able, for want of carriage and ill passages, to bring away the munition, without which any town may easily be kept till relieved. But these forts must be built "so that musket and small shot may play on the enemy as well as great ordnance, and not as Dunganon [Duncannon] is, upon a wild road where with a stiff gale of wind a man may go by with forty sail of ships, and peradventure amongst them all one or two shall be hit."

"Even if the Spaniards do not come, surely these sconces would be of use to strengthen the Queen's good subjects in those countries, and keep the towns in obedience, who assuredly are over much affected to the Spaniard."

Pp. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$. *Endd.*: "Sir Edward Stanle." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 49.

SEPTEMBER, 1601.

2 Sept.
Derry.

SIR HENRY DOCWRA to the PRIVY COUNCIL of ENGLAND.

The bearer will tell you how long we have wanted victual; and that we are abandoned by traders and merchants since the issuing of this new coin, which, of itself, is little acceptable either to the country or to our own people "especially being accompanied with those two discommodities of fetching their bills of exchange at Knockfergus and the exaction of half silver in every sum exchanged, the one being a notable let and perhaps utter overthrow of a man's business, and the other not possible for one

1601.

man in 100 to accomplish." Considering the nature of the people with whom we have to deal and their expectation of foreign aid it is not difficult "to conceive a fair and perfect image (as it were) both of their and our proceedings." The first result of the hope of foreign aid was the rising of McSwyne Fannaght, who has since tried to excuse himself. He now alleges some wrongs done him by Captain Bingley, but whatever these were he did not let me know anything of them before going out. The result is that "after the hanging of two of his people and the spoiling of most of his corn and burning his country he humbleth himself in outward shew and useth Neal Garve for his mediator," who undertakes to accept any conditions I may impose. I was willing to offer terms but the matter was not concluded when the O'Donnells broke into the country and prevent the Donegal force from stirring abroad. This interrupted our negotiations.

I have already told you how I treated Cormack O'Neale, and on what occasions, and how I was convinced of his fidelity. I have been deceived in him, but his treachery is in accord with my view of the character of the whole people. Neale Garve, since he planted Donegal, has in many ways shewn himself faithful to the Queen. He has told me of what passed between him and O'Donell, wherein, trusting his loyalty, I advise him to proceed. He is discontented at not having larger forces with him, but I can spare him no more, as the certificate herewith, which shews the strength of the companies, will prove. I should have reinforced him but that O'Donell came down with greater force than I could encounter. O'Donell will succeed in getting in what corn we have left because the force at Donegal, nominally 650, is really only about 150 effective. They have suffered from bad food, but are better lodged than we.

If you sent supplies of men to make up the companies at Donegal, and victuals, which we can take with us, and if I may take with me the storehouse and other things prepared for Ballyshannon (which are not wanted there) and set them up at Coleraine, I will make a plantation there (for I have 40 masons and carpenters), which will help to end the war.

I have in the past suggested the fortification of Culmore which will strengthen us as against Scot or Spaniard, and send an estimate for the purpose. This will cost the Queen only the carriages of the pieces which I will myself get from hereabout. I ask you to approve this at once so that I may get all ready to begin the work in spring. The bearer will tell you anything I have omitted.

P.S.—I send letters "instantly" received from Neale O'Neale and McSwyne Fannaght.

Pp. 2½. (Hol.) Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 50. Enclosing:—

A. Neil Garve O'Donell to Sir H. Docwra.

O'Donell has come to lie about us on Friday. The day before some of his horsemen came and took our cows (100), they being far from home, and ever since I have been upon my

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keeping. The men whom I left in McSwyne Evan's castle were betrayed with some of McSwyne's men. McSwyne had the bawan [bawn] for two or three days, but my men "kepp" the castle. McSwyne took all that was in bawan, cows, 9 beaves, sheep and seven or eight harness horses. I desired some men of the captains and they tell me that they cannot spare me any. If they would spare me some six or seven skore [?] men I would save my men who were taken. It grieves me to have the name of so many men and not to have use of them when I need them. I was very glad when the ship arrived here Friday last. Please send me any more men you mean to send, and also a troop of horse. Pray take as many horse out of Eneson [Inishowen] as you can and put your own horsemen upon them. My horse are very weak for I lost eight at McSwyne's castle, and five have deserted and four or five others been killed. Pray send Sir John Bolles' troop and when you send the force send one before that ours may go to meet them. Some of my men are in Castle Dereck [Derg] and some in McSwyne's castle and some in the country, so that I cannot concentrate to fight. Please send the sauger madger [serjeant-major] and Captain Winser and send for my brother Donell and for Shane McMaes Ogge, and let them come along with the companies you do send; and I pray you come out of the town with them that it may be spoken that you come with them yourself.

I am informed for certainty by one of O'Donell's chief men that he means to go into Eneson [Inishowen] and that all his stay is for O'Rorke to come to him. He tells me O'Donell was sent for, probably by Hugh Boy or some of the country. Pray send the little cows I have to Eneson in some place about the Derry. This news is true. If you send me these men I will do service on them [the Irish?] by land. Pray send me my own boat and one or two more boats. I can then pre [prey?] O'Donell when I pleased [sic]. Pray send the Queen's ship, for I mean to go by water or land to Ballyshannon with the first after their coming. I will plant a garrison there if you will send the ship and boats. Pray also be good to Heigh boy McShane Oge for his pre [prey] which was taken by Hugh boy McDaned. If you do not like me to leave a garrison at Ballyshannon I will pre [prey] them.

P.S.—Pray write to the captains that they would send their men with me on service when I think it convenient, or else give me leave to levy [?] them.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. Dated Donegal, 31 Aug., badly written by a clerk and signed in Irish script "Naill G. O'Domnaill." Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 50A.

B. Neil Garve O'Donell to Sir H. Docwra.

Right worshipful [?] Sir Henry.

Repeats news of O'Donell's coming. Proceeds:—We have fought them every day and yesterday killed six or seven

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and wounded about twenty. Do not suffer Art McEmergegh to go to Castle Doeige, being that all Slought Art hath sent to me to come in, so that I do not doubt but the help of them will be better than you suppose of. I heard by one of my people that you were informed by Art McEmergegh and by Hew Moerey that John Crow O'Dougan was to go to the enemy. I think that is untrue, for I know he will never leave me. Pray send reinforcements. If we had horse I think O'Donell should not go as soon as he has done. This letter is taken by the messenger who came from Sleaght Art. "I end Donegal River," 1 September, 1601.

P. 1½. Signed as foregoing. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 50B.

2 Sept.
Derry.

CAPTAIN HUMFRY WILLIS to SECRETARY CECIL.

Tyrone has heard from Spain by the ship which came into Sligo; but I cannot as yet learn what news was sent him. The Lord Deputy does so "barder" on him that he has very little time to consult with his counsellors. The ship barely escaped Captain Plesington. She had 40 Spaniards in her, who, for a show, did partly fortify at Sligo, only to assure O'Donnell and his adherents they should presently have aid; but as soon as the Queen's ship went to Donegal they stole away. O'Donnell has been in Sligo these 20 days with all his forces and cattle. Our English forces came to the Curlews where they had a good skirmish. Many of the enemy were slain "which lighted most on O'Rowrke's chief men." The Irish say the Earl of Clanricarde served very honourably that day.

The placing of Neile Garrowe at Donegal I hold to be of great purpose, for I hope out of that we shall obtain Ballyshannon with a great deal less charge than it would otherwise involve. We can fortify all the fords between that and Ballecke [Belleek] being but 3 miles, "which being done I would keep O'Donnell for ever [from] coming into Tyrconnell." One thing may hinder this, a disagreement between Neile Garrowe and the captains placed with him; for I fear much they have somewhat disagreed already. I wish, for the good of the service, I had been sent to Donegal with him.

Our many garrisons prevent us from doing any good; but, in the winter, these will starve the traitors.

"This proud traitor O'Cahan doth stand it stoutly. The truth is there hath yet been nothing done on him. If the Governor would place me at Coulrane [Coleraine] with 200 foot besides my own company I would soon make him stoop," and if the Governor attacked him from this side I would attack him on the other, and keep him from feeding his cattle securely, as he now does, while himself and his forces are far distant.

Cormack O'Neale with most part of his men has gone out to the enemy again. He will say he was hardly used.

Hugh Boye McDavid that doeth rule all Ennyshtown is, I fear,

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not sound. He gives some evidence of loyalty, but I know there is much amity between him and O'Donnell.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 51.*

2 Sept.

LIST of SOLDIERS embarked on 2 Sept., 1601, to go from Chester to Waterford.

Captain Anthony Ravenscroft	..	..	..	..	100
„ Yelverton	..	..	..	..	97
„ George Graeme	..	..	..	..	96
„ Richard Hansard	..	..	..	..	94
„ Thomas Panton	..	..	..	..	98
Conductor Henry Holcrofte	..	..	..	..	149
„ Richard Harman	..	..	..	..	158

792

P. $\frac{1}{4}$. *Signed by Richard Havand, Mayor of Chester. Ibid., 52.*

3 Sept.
Trim.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

I, the Deputy, and the Councillors who were with me on the summer's service, met the rest of the Council residing in Dublin here on 30 Aug.; and we have in Council discussed various civil and military matters. We have had to consider resistance to Tyrrell "sent into the province by Tyrone to garboyle things there," and how I might be able to concentrate the poor remainder of the army to resist a foreign enemy "to impeach his descent if any should be." Owing to the constant rumours of Spanish descent, I, the Deputy, and those with me thought it best, after leaving garrisons well victualled in Ulster "to keep Tyrone short in his country," to come into the inner parts thereof, and so be ready as I could to "attend the Spaniards" at their first landing. The whole Council, to whom the thing was propounded, thought it best to bring the remnant of the army here from Munster, to help in both the aforesaid purposes; more especially as, at a time when the foreigner was about to invade, it was essential that there should be a union of all our forces to countenance a resistance to them at the first, and that Tyrrell should not be allowed to insult upon her Majesty's subjects in Leinster with impunity, since he might induce the late reduced rebels, who still stand fast, to fall away from their new allegiance. I, the Deputy, did not expect that Tyrrell would make his way so "free and easy" into Leinster, for I left garrisons there who, if they had done their duty, would have prevented him. This will be now remedied, for I will give "a sharper edge to the service" and will remain with them till I am called out against the Spaniards, or go back again to the North.

We are greatly perplexed by finding so many extraordinaries growing upon us, which cannot be avoided without damage to the service. On the one side your lordships have bound us within a limit of 6,000*l.* a year; but the many services which

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grow out of the main service make it impossible to keep within that figure. The chief heads of extraordinary expenditure are :—

Transport of victuals.

Carriage of munition.

Sea-charges.

Imprests to victuallers.

Repairing of castles, houses and bridges, and building of some few forts of late, though the charges thereof have not been great.

These are the main parts of the extraordinaries, without which this service cannot exist. Almost equally important are :—

Rewards to messengers and spies.

Making of boats for the Ulster service.

These have, in spite of the utmost economy, increased our expenditure in the manner which I, the Treasurer, have from time to time advertised your lordships. We have also the “reckonings of Loughfoyle, not yet come in, and the reparations of Philipstown and Mareborough [Maryborough], two old forts of her Majesty, and the house of Athlone, which is the key of Connaught”; and, lastly, “besides the bridges of Carlow and Laughlin, all which being places of great consequence, both to curb the traitors and to assure the subjects,” it was essential to put or keep in repair. If this be not done the rebels may make their way into many countries from which they were before expelled. It would be disgraceful to let those places get out of repair which the wisdom of former times hath planted and which are found useful to this day. We send certificates which have been made by commissioners shewing what is necessary to repair Athlone, Maryborough and Philipstown; from which you may judge what the cost of the others will be. The other heads of expenditure mentioned are also necessary and the work cannot be done without money. “We humbly beseech your lordships therefore inasmuch as this great recovery of Ireland is now in some forwardness and that without the allowance of these extraordinaries our hands are, as it were, shut up that we cannot labour to the end that is desired, that your lordships would not only procure allowance to me, the Treasurer, for the extraordinaries already past and certified, but also her Majesty’s warrant for the time to come in such sort as ever heretofore hath been accustomed in this Government, until it shall please God to abate the occasions of these huge expenses by pulling down this proud rebellion which is the ground and root of all, wherein the Lord of Heaven and Earth knoweth how careful we are in the ministry thereof, and with what zeal and desire we labour to have it brought to pass.” The repair of the places mentioned, and of the house at Kilmainham, which has hitherto been patched rather than repaired, will cost less, owing to the new coinage, than in former times. We pray you to attend to this question of extraordinaries “which we may more properly term to be a running sore still hindering the thorough cure of the body of this government.”

We now beg your lordships to haste away Allen with the munitions. Great action is in hand and we have a very small store, as you know. The sooner these are sent the less will

1601.

the casualties be from winter traffic. Pray also send away the 1,000 men "to consist only upon shot," for which I, the Deputy, wrote before my coming out of Ulster. They are needed for the companies, which stand much upon Irish, and those Irish will not be drawn to live in garrison out of their own country, and if they are sent to remote places, steal away, to the no small hazarding of the place.

Some troops of horsemen murmur much at such small pay as 12*d.* a day. By our own view we know this to be well grounded by reason of the dearness of victuals. Some of them already quit their place and no doubt more will follow.

Pp. 3½. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop of Dublin, Sir George Carey, Sir Richard Wingfield, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Sir Robert Gardener, and Thomas [], Bishop of Meath. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 53. *Enclosing* :—

Return regarding the Repairs necessary at Maryborough, Philipstown and Athlone.

The return is made on certain surveys made in August, 1601, on the Lord Deputy's warrant and remaining in "my office of the works" within that realm.*

Maryborough :—*The repairs which are necessary, the place having been surveyed by Sir Henry Power and Sir Francis Rushe and the clerk of the works, are estimated at 350*l.**

Philipstown :—*The same authority certifies that the needful repairs will cost 300*l.**

Athlone :—*The repairs, as surveyed by same and by Henry Arnold, James Williamson and the Constable of the Castle, are 250*l.**

*Total, 900*l.**

This does not include the repairs necessary at her Majesty's Castle of Catherlagh and the house of Leighlin, and both those bridges, which are decayed and ruinous, and have not been repaired for many years.

P. 4½. *Underwritten* : Ex[aminata] per Mr. Samuel Molyneux, Clerk of the Works in Ireland. *Endd. Ibid.* 53A.

3 Sept.
Trim.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

The late council at Trim resulted in nothing but a resolution to employ the Marshal against Terrill, for which he is now preparing. Other matters were handled, but as they were chiefly matters of project I need not trouble you with them "only I find that the still continuing expectation of the coming of the Spaniards (overmuch possessing some of us here) doth not a little confuse all other designs"; and the army is held together in Leinster to be carried against the stranger when he comes.

The Spanish carvel which came to Sligo has left and I think no other Spanish ship will come here this year, "which hath been my opinion from the first and I can yet find no reason to alter it."

* See the signature at end.

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P.S.—At signing this I hear May has arrived. I know not with what news. I hope the Lord Deputy will not wait here too long for the Spaniards, but return to Ulster both to take in Monaghan and further bridle Tyrone before the winter come, “for till he be further taken down your lordships are not to expect any diminution of her Majesty’s charges.”

P. 2. Signed. Add. Endd.: R[ecieved] at Basing, 9 Sept. S.P. Ireland 209, 54.

3 Sept.
Derry.

SIR HENRY DOCWRA to SECRETARY CECIL.

The new certificate of the cheque [herewith] will shew what I have done for reformation of the musters, which have lately been more out of frame than at any time since our landing in the country. The overseer is too confident in his own skill and will muster the companies separately so that men, by running from company to company, may deceive him. The pay given is so small, however, that I have forborne punishing those who have been guilty of this offence until the Queen or Privy Council give me peremptory orders as to what course to take in the matter; more especially as the guilty are men who are fond of the service. I have therefore examined the state of each man’s company “by their own confession upon their reputations in private to myself,” and have raised a cheque of 300 men more than the commissaries could find, and have discovered how many were sick, and were mustered though not able to serve. I considered this the best course and, having in view the dispositions and importunities of the officers, I am moved, by my knowledge of them and their class, to plead with her Majesty this much on their behalves: “that though some of them to mine own knowledge have no cause to complain in respect of their little care to the service and the immoderate profit they have made unto themselves by fraud and corruption (which are not uneasily arrived at by their visible and apparent marks) yet some on the other side, and those the greatest part, have their due respect to their own reputation made examples of folly in other men’s eyes and, in their own private estates, over-run themselves very near to their utter undoing.” Those who know the service know to what losses an officer is subject “by dividing the victual to the soldier (where it is impossible to give him his due out of his due), by refurnishing him with arms (which is a great loss and not to be laid on the poor soldier), by providing his own and his men’s house-room (which this place drave every man to do), and by forbearing their accounts often for a year. This last he must consent to for he has to perfect his account at Dublin where he must risk being re-checked by persons who never saw his company. Moreover, the price of everything which is brought to this place is increased as nothing comes here to be bought; and the officers suffer great difficulties by the exchange and are practically exiled from England, “and rejected in generality as men infamous and of a scandalous profession.” But I think that they are true in all save the last respect and can offer myself

1601.

as an independent witness for them, since the power of promoting any one or other of them has now been taken from me. I send this information for your guidance and that you may know on whose consideration I most repose confidence.*

Pp. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 55. Enclosing :—

A cheque imposed by the voluntary consent of the captains on 4 September, 1601.

Name.	In list.	Capt. and officers.	Able men.	Sick.	Preachers and Canoniers.	Dead-pays.	Deficient.
<i>Sir H. Docwra</i>	200	11	151	18	4	12	15
<i>Captain E. Digges</i> . .	100	7	42	73	2	6	27
<i>" T. Cooch</i> . .	100	7	43	26	2	6	23
<i>" H. Willis</i> . .	150	9	80	22	3	9	36
<i>" Jo. Sydney</i> .	100	7	50	18	2	6	24
<i>" L. Alford</i> . .	100	7	44	23	2	6	25
<i>" Ed. Leighe</i> . .	101	7	53	13	2	6	26
<i>" Ra. Bingley</i> .	150	9	80	23	3	7	35
<i>" Nich. Pinner</i> .	100	7	38	35	2	6	19
<i>" B. Brooke</i> . .	100	7	46	14	2	6	32
<i>" R. Orme</i> . . .	100	7	50	16	2	6	26
<i>" Jo. Vaughan</i> .	100	7	62	9	2	6	21
<i>Sir John Bowles</i>	150	9	90	20	3	9	28
<i>Captain E. Flood</i> . .	150	9	34	51	3	9	53
<i>" W. Windsore</i> .	100	7	40	20	2	6	32
<i>" T. Badbie</i> . .	150	9	84	33	3	9	21
<i>" E. Basset</i> . .	100	7	46	26	2	6	20
<i>" W. Stafford</i> .	100	7	59	4	2	6	29
<i>" R. Atkinson</i> .	100	7	61	11	2	6	20
<i>" Ad. Dutton</i> .	100	7	40	22	2	6	30
<i>" L. Orrell</i> . . .	150	9	86	18	3	9	34
<i>Sir M. Morgan</i>	150	9	78	16	3	9	44
<i>Captain P. Gower</i> . . .	150	9	90	18	3	9	30
<i>" R. Sydley</i> .	100	7	40	15	2	6	37
<i>" T. Rand</i> . . .	101	7	52	13	2	6	27
<i>Totals</i>	3,000	159	1,539	507	60	180	714

The last five companies are the garrison at Donegal.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. Endd. *Ibid*, 55A.

3 Sept.
H.M.S.
Tremontane,
Lough Swilly
Haven.

CAPTAIN CHARLES PLESSINGTON to the EARL OF NOTTINGHAM,
LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, and SECRETARY CECIL.

My last messenger was taken by the rebels and stripped of his clothes and lost both my letters and Neil Garrow's and those of the rest of the captains there, which were sent in a packet to

* Sir Henry Docwra writes in a style of verbose magniloquence which is remarkable even for this period, and which makes the task of abstracting difficult and unsatisfactory.

1601.

Sir Henry Docwra at the Lifford. I pursued the Spanish frigate [mentioned in previous letters] and forced her to cut cable and hawse to escape. She saved herself by running under the town and castle walls of Sligo, where O'Donnell came to her rescue with 1,000 horse and foot. I could not go in closer for fear of grounding her Majesty's ship. I pursued with my boats and kept her in for 17 days, hoping for help from Galway or Loughfoyle, and tried to fire or bulge her or to take her, but she was too well guarded. I accordingly put to sea to give her a chance to come out "that I might try how my ship sailed by her which by report is the best sailer in Spain."

She was of 50 or 60 tons and had 6 or 7 guns, with which she plied my boats, but only hurt two men, one not mortally. I held off all the 19th, when I saw her coming out and gave chase but in the darkness lost her. In the morning there came on the fiercest storm that ever man saw and it lasted 3 or 4 days, with south and south-west wind; in so much that it is a wonder if that vessel return safe to Spain. I was never so weather-beaten since I was a sailor. God save George Thorne's life for his excellent building of this ship. She must now be repaired and strengthened abaft [abait] the waist, whereupon there was no reparation bestowed since she was built. I very nearly lost my masts in this storm owing to the giving way of shrouds, and lost my long boat.

I put into Lough Swilly for repairs and found a ship of London laden with munition victuals for the Donegal garrison, which were in great distress for want of them. I put a pilot for that place on board her, and escorted her within 8 leagues. O'Donnell, hearing of her weak state, came down on them with all his forces and did him some harm. But the coming of the ship has staid his fury. He lies encamped within two miles of the Abbey of Donegal to keep in our forces. In the meanwhile "his churls reaps the corn, of which there is wonderful great store."

I was with her Majesty's ship at Calbege [Killybegs] where I helped Neale Garrowe to take the castle of MacSwyne Banaught's [Fanaght?]. He placed a ward there which O'Donnell has displaced again since his coming into the country. Till Ballyshannon garrison be well planted it will never be well in those parts.

Though we did not take the Spanish ship we have done a great deal of burning and spoiling castles and towns. When at Sligo I took some cattle from under O'Donnell's nose and "burnt him a castle within a mile of the town." If I had had but 100 men I could have taken 3,000 cattle and corn innumerable. The frigate was only a scout and brought no money or munition to the rebels, nor has any been yet landed anywhere between the south isles of Arran, off Galway bay, and Lough Swilly. In previous years French ships have brought wine, salt and other commodities to the western ports, Calebeg [Killybegs], Donegal, Ballyshannon and Sligo, and have traded them for fish, tallow and hides. [Details.]

1601.

The rebels hope for supplies and also for a mighty army, which, they say, is now at sea, coming on the way. If they come, God send them no better weather than I lately had!

P.S.—I have Sir Henry Docwra's orders to return to Donegal, and desire yours as to whether, or to what place, I am to repair.

Pp. 2½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 56.

4 Sept.
Trim.

The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

If the Spaniards do not come I shall be able to give the Queen a good account of my charge here, and I am rather of opinion, since they have waited so long, that they will not come this winter. But I do not wish to lead you into that conceit and have sent "Mr. Marshall" [Sir Richard Wingfield] into Lease [Leix] with near 1,000 foot to be near the President of Munster in case of an invasion, and to prosecute Tyrrell, who has got together 200 rogues there, and has such of the Moores, Connors and their followers, whom I could not cut off last year. They are about 400.

Sir Oliver Lambart I have appointed to Connaught with some companies and must keep him there whilst the bruit of the Spaniards coming lasts, especially to restrain O'Donnell who now resides about Sligo. I shall stay here for a time, being in the centre of Ireland. If we are sent the 1,000 shot so often asked for, with their munition and victual, to strengthen the English companies, and if they are landed at Carlingford or Newry, I do not think that the Spaniards will be able to get a footing or cause us any great annoyance. I especially ask for 200 more shot to be sent to Sir Arthur Chichester at Carrickfergus, for from thence we have discovered an important road into the heart of Tyrone, by which he may be ruined if Sir Arthur Chichester is made strong enough to attack him that way.

I send a note of the northern garrison and their commanders. Sir Francis Stafford is over all the other commanders.*

P. 1¾. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 57. *Enclosing* :—

Note on the Northern Garrisons.

At Blackwater.

Captain Williams 150; *Captain Constable and Sir Garret Moore*, each 100.

Captain Williams in command in the absence of Sir F. Stafford.

Armagh.

Foot : *Sir Henry Davers, Sir Henry folliott, and Captain Guest and Captain Roper*, each 150. *Captains Rowe and Trevor*, each 100.

Horse : *Sir Henry Davers* 100, and *Captain Darcy* 25.

Sir Henry Davers in command in the absence of Sir F. Stafford.

Mountnorris.

Foot : *Sir Samuel Bagnall and Captains Blayney, Aderton and Rotherham*, each 150.

Horse : *Sir Samuel Bagnall* 50.

Captain Blayney in command, &c., as before.

* See Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1907), Vol. II.

1601.

Newry.

Foot : Sir Francis Stafford 200 ; Captain Bodley 150 ; Sir William Warren 100.

Horse : Sir Francis Stafford has 50 horse and commands this and all the other garrisons.

P. 1. *Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 57A.*

4 Sept.
Culmactuen
[Kilmac-
duagh,
co. Galway].

CAPTAIN JOHN VAUGHAN to SECRETARY CECIL.

I write to you of my service here. I was formerly employed in O'Dogherty's country and was asked to report as to how the Queen would profit by taking that country in. It is thought "by as many as I can learn of that the country within itself hath not so little as 20,000 cows," but there is no certainty of this, "for that the nature of the people is such that they will not be known of their number of cows for that their lords do call upon them according to their store." The country is now well subjected and we have so fortified the passages that they cannot go into rebellion unless they will leave their cattle behind them "which they will not do." I think the country should be drawn under some other form of government, "whereby this Hugh boy (who doth by his authority make all the country slaves and only enrich himself) may be drawn from an absolute command of the country and only to enjoy his own lands, and O'Dogherty be brought from under his wings, now in his minority, lest he learn too much craft." Her Majesty could then have a profit by rent and otherwise, which would content the whole country, and discontent none but Hugh boy, his brothers and sept. Hugh boy at his first coming promised to hold market with us, but by subtle policy "has restrained the county from bringing in any meat, but we must have them by his appointment, and he doth take them up as a cutting for O'Dogherty and converts the money to his own use." We have to pay unreasonable rates, which is a great hindrance; "whereas otherwise all the churls would most gladly bring us plenty of all things reasonable, and most willingly come and dwell among us, which as yet they do not. And all the chief and others would be most glad to see her Majesty's laws and customs established amongst them, for that they do much malinge* to be so governed by Hugh boy and his brothers."

Two of the chief of the country have gone into rebellion since I came over, they say, for fear of Hugh boy. From their ways and followers I hear that 1,500 cows have been taken and distributed to Hugh boy and his sept. These belong to the Queen, for the goods of a traitor cannot belong to anyone else. I told the Governor that you intended to send over commissioners to examine the state of the country and to establish it; so he does nothing about it till those commissioners come. The sooner they come the better. All the church land lies waste, which is the chief of the country. If you join me with the other commissioners I think I shall be able to help them, and will do my best

* From this verb "malinger" is probably derived. The *New English Dictionary* does not give "malinge."

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to do so, and by my acquaintance in the country will be able to find out matters which Hugh boy tries to conceal, and which will redound much to the Queen's profit. If you are told that it is best to forbear establishing her Majesty's laws here for a time, I think those who tell you so are wrong; "for it will be such a content both to the Lord and people that the example of this happy living will encourage others to desire the like, so long as we do not disarm them, nor force them to religion, until the whole north be better established." As things are, we get no help from the place, whereas, if it were well established, it would presently victual us plentifully—but bread [*i.e.*, except for bread?].

Pp. 2. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 58.

4 Sept.
Cork.

PATRICK STRANGE to [].

I send you all the news I can. I hear the traitor Archer is in this country and to "lay his snare it is easily done if all men be true in profession." The noble Earl of Ormond being prisoner, one Sir James Karney, priest or friar, did him a good turn, for which his honour procured a pardon for that priest. He attended at Carige [Carrick] when my lord was wedded. This Sir James knows all the secrets of Archer and where to find him. I think your lordship* should write to his honour to send the priest to you. If he returns a *non est inventus* then he is gone to Rome to procure a dispensation, as I wrote to your lordship *ex novo*.

I find that Florence Mackart [MacCarthy] has been acquainted in London with an Italian who did from time to time lend him money at 8 per cent. "I see no reason why an outlandish man to [sic] lend monies to this country gentleman, unless he had some private order from beyond seas." Bishop Crahe [?] might be arrested by special warrant, but our officers here do fear excommunication more than any future fines or penalties. I will in brief describe part of the malicious reports of our priests, which are more in number than when your proclamation came to Waterford. They report the Lord Deputy to have been beaten from the Blackwater with loss of many men, especially his best captains. They report that Spaniards and Scots have come to the traitor Tyrone. "They babble the King of Scots to be heir apparent, which is to have aid of Denmark and the Spaniards that are in Flanders, all to come into England. Then shall the great O'Neale be rescued and banish all [the] English nation. This kind of blasphemy was never so in use as now it is." All this doth "degenere" from the distressed traitor Tyrone, who disperses "those sinister instruments to all parts of this realm" to publish them to the common people. The people are hollow-hearted and these rumours may affect them and affect even the settled parts of the country, "which by God's providence and your honour's high wisdom have brought them [sic] to happy estate to avoid the future events of their false

* So the letter is to a peer, or possibly to Sir George Carew, "Lord President" of Munster.

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forged destiny." You should take some step before they grow more hardy "for they advance the Earl of Ormont [*sic*] to be reconciled, also the Lord Deputy to give no complaint of their doctrine, alleging many examples; whereof they grow insolent [and] proud." In town and country they look into all men's secrets and nothing can be done against them without great care.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. Not *add.* or *endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 209, 59.

5 Sept.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CAREY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

We have no news of the Spanish fleet arriving; and if they are at sea in such weather as this I hope most of them "are with God or the devell by now, and to which of the two places I care not so they come not hither. Their coming would have been a mighty garboyle in Ireland."

Relates the coming of the Spanish ship to Sligo, her running ashore, &c. Proceeds:—It is very true that our bills of exchange cometh in apace and that I have taken in but a small portion of sterling to maintain the bank. I have, to give good content to the merchants, exchanged with them almost 18,000*l.*, and they have not exchanged with me more than 20*l.* and greedily gather in the old sterling and pay for the same, underhand, 18*d.* to 2*s.* in the *£*. I am informed that they complain much against me to the Lord Treasurer, who, as they give out, is greatly offended with me: for to meet their greed and treacherous courses, "I now refuse to exchange with any of those merchants except they bring me some portion of sterling to exchange with me, whereby I may in some measure give some supply to her Majesty's bank, and her Majesty be partaker in some part of the merchants' gain." I hope I shall not be condemned for this unheard. This new coin will serve the army and so, by little and little, the exchange will be abated. It is not possible at first to meet with the 'suttel' devices of the merchants; but when I am allowed to see their charges I hope I shall be able to answer them. I have asked his lordship not to condemn me unheard. As things are I must either wrong her Majesty (which I will never do) or else content but a few; and therefore am always subject to every malignant spirit. I care little for all that, and shall always be a true servant to the Queen. The Lord Deputy seems to me exceeding glad at being assured of your lordship's favour. I am glad of this. I hear the treasure is at Waterford. I would that Walshe [?] had come with it, and that, touching this exchange, I might give you better satisfaction.

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) in *old-fashioned hand.* *Add. Endd.:* "R. at Basing 9 Sept."* *Ibid*, 60.

5 Sept.
Dublin.
At night.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON TO SAME.

We have as yet heard nothing of the landing of the Spanish fleet of which you have reports from Scilly. I did not think

* This letter was written in Dublin on 5 Sept., so it got to Basing in four days, almost as quickly as it could do 200 years later.

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they would come this year and am now confident of it, owing to the breaking of their fleet through foul weather, and the length of time which has elapsed since they were seen off Scilly. Moreover, they know how strong an army the Queen has in Ireland to meet them and how much the strength of rebels is weakened for supporting either a landing or "for any great progressions if they should come." If the corporate towns stand fast they have no ground "to attempt to distend in any part." All the submittees both in Leinster, Munster and Ulster stand firm as yet, the report whereof is carried into Spain by the carvel lately put into the bay of Sligo; which will draw the Spaniards to be better advised than to send succours hither upon so weak a ground.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add.* *Endd.*: "R[ecieved] at Basing 9 Sept." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 61.

5 Sept.
Derry.

ANTHONY REYNOLDS to SECRETARY CECIL.

Captain Digges refused to let me muster the companies, which delayed my return of the army to your honour. He also insulted me by speech threatening to "lay me by the heels." His action was caused by my desiring to take a muster twice a month, by which I should have raised the check by a third and should have got to know the true strength of the companies. Captain Digges, who is serjeant major, objects to this, and drives me to appeal to your honour; for the Governor, to whom I complained, does not like to entertain the matter on account of Captain Digges' high position in the army. If I am not relieved my employment here will not be of use to the Queen as I shall be rejected at their pleasures.

The particular commissaries in these several garrisons took a muster on May 29th and I intended to have examined these shortly after, but was prevented by Captain Digges' unusual course, and could not do that work before 17 August. I send a brief of my proceedings and of the commissaries. There is only 20 days between the musters but you will see that mine was nearly 100% more than theirs. The difference in the check cannot be accounted for by the fact that men have been killed in those three weeks, for not more than six were killed during the time. In some companies I found as many as 20 men who were no soldiers but "borrowed to deceive the Queen. I apprehended them and asked for instructions from the Governor as all commissaries in Ireland have—that is to say, that when such malefactors are found they are to be presented to the Chief Commander (as I did) and he to give order that they should be executed. God forbid that this be done; but there must be some punishment, or I shall be continually abused. They were merely imprisoned for two days; but one, at least, in each garrison should have been executed. Pray give orders for severe punishment to be inflicted.

It may be objected to me that I lay myself open to their frauds by not taking all in one day or hour, but going from place to place

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and personally mustering each garrison. My answer is that the [other] commissaries do not muster men as I do. They simply muster by name and poll whereas I describe them, each man, to myself, so as I may easily know if in future they deceive me. The borrowing of men by the captains from one another is not so objectionable as the hiring of "sutlers and their men, horse-boys, passe volants and such like." I also do a thing they do not do, vizt., appoint an intelligencer in each company (I pay him 12*d.* a week) to give me information, so as the captain shall not know his strength better than I do. The other commissaries say this is base, and will not pay for such intelligence.

This complete muster [which I send] is not, I believe, wrong by more than 30 men in the whole army; but the Governor is sure to present it as exceeding his true strength in order to make out a case for reinforcements. Any losses they have had is from sickness for ten men have not died in service since the muster "which their sickness also I cannot in duty and conscience but let your honour know to proceed by the palpable wrong of the captain, who detains part of that poor 3*s.* a week which her Majesty allows the soldier, and by the unwholesome victuals sent over by those who are put in trust therewith." The Governor will do his best to mend one of these evils. As for the other none know this army but have tasted of it. "Many hundred barrells of musty bran—I cannot call it meal; for I have seen divers barrells of them myself, two inches on the top meal; all the rest bran"—have been consumed. Of the 1,000 men sent last I am assured there have not been 40 slain; and more than that have been starved for want of her Majesty's just allowance. I am "most odious" to the captains by ripping up these concealed abuses, but I do not mind that and do my duty. Pray countenance me in the matter or my life will be in danger.

Pp. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 62. Enclosing:—

A. *Return shewing the state of the army according to musters taken by the particular Commissaries on 27 July, 1601.*

State of the army in list 3,100; being 3,000 foot and 100 horse.

These include:—

<i>Able men</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,141
<i>Sick</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	342
<i>Preachers and canoniers</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	60
<i>Dead-pays</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	180
<i>Deficients</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	277

*And the check of this month, begun the 22nd of July and ended the 17th of August, 1601, amounts to 146*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.**

P. 1 (small). *Ex[aminata] per Anthony Reynolds. Ibid, 62A.*

B. *State of the army according to the muster taken the 18th of August, 1601.*

(1) *Forces near the Governor* 2,350
Divides these into able men, sick, &c., as in the foregoing document.

1601.

(2) *State of the forces at Donegal* 650
Divides these in same way.

The total is 3,100 of whom only 1,939 are able men, the remainder falling into one or other of the aforesaid classes.

The monthly check for these from 22 July to 18 Aug. is 265*l.* 15*s* 0*d.*

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Ex[amin]ed* by Reynolds as foregoing. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 62*B.*

About
5 Sept.

CAPTAIN ALFORD'S Requests.

That you will please order the 1,000 foot and 50 horse appointed for Loughfoyle to leave.

Victuals to be sent to Loughfoyle.

Order to be taken for clothing the soldiers there against winter.

Order to be taken for the charge of strengthening Culmore fort to resist a foreign power.

Carriages and "exel-trees" for ordnance to be sent with these supplies.

To order that the captains of hundreds be [captains] of 150 as they fall; and in the meantime to have the entertainment of 150 as was formerly appointed.

An exchange to be sent to Loughfoyle to prevent the continual danger of sending to "Karigfergus." If not, that the paymaster's bill of Loughfoyle may be made good at Chester and so the merchant not driven to put in at "Karigfergus" who, losing two tides, often are windbound, to their undoing by that means.

Two long boats to be sent with oars to Donegal in her Majesty's pay to transport men to expel the rebels which remain in the islands to the great hindrance of the service.

My own particular request to be favoured.

P. 1. *Primitive spelling.* *Endd.*: "My Lord Treasurer to be spoken with on this business." *Ibid*, 63.

7 Sept.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

The fourth of this month all the companies sent over from Bristol and Barnstaple arrived safely except Nicholas Browne and the greater part of his command, who could not keep up with the rest of the fleet. The wind scanted when the rest were in the harbour and so [Browne] is put back for the coast of England. The soldiers who came from Chester are likewise arrived at Waterford, and the arms for the 2,000 men sent here have also been brought here in safety by Conductor Birch and others. [*Details.*]

I have yours, and the Council's, up to August 12 and 13; but pray excuse me to their lordships and to yourself that I do not return particular answers to them by this post, as the troops and supplies are not yet landed and mustered. To-day they are being mustered by Commissary Jones, which done I send him to Waterford to do the like there. I will send arms for the 800 men that arrived at Waterford as soon as possible.

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I have sent letters by Sir Anthony Cooke and others to England. [Details.] I send enclosed from the Mayor of Waterford. I can now defend the Ulster ports against the Spaniards if they come until I receive further and greater relief. Pears Lacy's mother mourns for her son, so he must be dead. "I am more glad of his killing than of any of the rest of the Munster fugitives; for he was of more wit and notion than all the rest and more esteemed of the rebels than any man in this province." Let the cypher for Morishe Oge be 5000.

Pp. 2. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 64.
Enclosing :—

Edward Goeghe, Mayor of Waterford, to Sir George Carew.

A Waterford ship has arrived which left Rochelle 17 days ago. On examination, the merchants say that two scholars who came to Rochelle from Madryle [Madrid] said that there was a fleet in readiness at Lisbon but was not yet at sea. This was confirmed by a young man of Cork who had been a soldier in Spain, and lately come from the Groyne [Coruna], "who a little before, being at Lisbon, did see a regiment of 500 Italians, very bravely and richly furnished, marching there to come with the army, being in number 140 sail, whereof there are fourscore great ships with 8,000 fighting men, 2,000 mariners and fifty canons, with their carriages to be landed, besides their ships' ordinance. And being demanded where the fleet were bound, they affirmed that they were bound directly for England and that so soon as that fleet went to sea there was another fleet of the like number to be prepared betwixt Ferroll and Santandero to second them." They say also that a Scottish man, who lately came from Rochelle to Bilbo, told them that the King had ordered 200l. to be given to three Irish ships, one from Dublin, one from Drodath [Drogheda] and one from Waterford, towards their charges in being stayed there; but that no part of this sum was given to the Waterford ship because they had notice [in Spain] that the friars who were in Waterford were driven away.*

P.S.—The two scholars went on to Paris. [Details.] They said the Spanish fleet would sail on 14 September (Spanish).

P. 1. Signed. Add. Ibid, 64A.

[About
8 Sept.†]

Copy of PETITION to the QUEEN of EDMOND FITZGIBBON, the WHITE KNIGHT, declaring that :—

Petitioner served your Majesty loyally both in the time of Garrott, Earl of Desmond, and during the presidency of Sir Thomas Norreys, "especially about four years past when the notorious rebels, the Clanshihies, drew into Ulster certain Scots and Connaught rebels, who were all overthrown, chiefly by your suppliant."

* Apparently "army" is used here for a fleet.

† See endorsement of the annexed document.

1601.

In the beginning of the late rebellion petitioner, being not able to withstand the violence of the rebels, as there were no forces in Munster to defend your Majesty's subjects there, was compelled to join with them. He remained with them till the new Lord President's coming and was the first who then came in. Since then he has tried to be loyal and by some notable service "to raze out of your Majesty's remembrance and to remove from your Royal heart all thoughts and memories of former difficulties." To this end, he at great expense and trouble surprised and took James Fitzthomas, the late usurped Earl of Desmond, and sent him to the Lord President, who has now sent him to your Majesty.

In consideration whereof, and of the future services of his sons and followers for ever, he begs that his requests, annexed, may be granted.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. S.P. Ireland 209, 65. *Annexing* :—

Petitions and requests of Edmond Fitzgibbon as aforesaid.

Whereas the petitioner standeth and dwelleth in a most convenient place of service and in danger of the incursion of the rebels if they make any attempt on Munster, he prays for some charge of foot, the rather because he is assured to be shot at by the rebels for the service he lately did.

Whereas he holds most of his lands by patents or purchase he asks that he may surrender them and "re-have" them by patent and have his chief rents granted to him and his heirs to hold from her Majesty by some reasonable and easy tenure.

As the lands of Kinalcallow [Kilnacally?] viz., Aghcarren [Aghacoor?] , Ballymacsymon, Ballinatten [Ballinattin], Ballynoe and Knockmorny [Knocknanay?] and other lands forfeited by the attainder of James Fitzthomas border on petitioner's lands, he prays that they may be passed to him at such rents as the lands may be extended to.

*Whereas he and his sureties have formerly incurred some forfeitures of bonds and recognizances he prays for remittal * thereof and of all fines, &c., imposed on him and for [grant of] the arrears of rents due on him during the war.*

He also prays for renovation of the former letters from your Majesty for "restitution of his blood" at the next Parliament.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Endd.* : 8 Sept., 1601. *Ibid*, 65A.

8 Sept.
Knockfergus
[Carrickfergus].

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER to SECRETARY CECIL.

Captain Alford, who brings this, will inform you on the business of Lough Foyle. Whilst the Lord Deputy was at the Blackwater and thereabouts I stayed at Maserine [Massereene] and the Lough from where I made spoil of such corn, cattle and people as we met with in Killultagh as far as Banderasloue, not being suffered by the force of Tyrone to make any stay in those "fastnages" for the taking in of the fort of Enselaghlane. He was very careful not to let me take this, for it is the chief entrance into the spoil of these parts, and removed me from those parts,

* Notice "remittal" where we should say "remission."

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sometimes by himself but oftener by his forces. I was diverted from planting at Toome by reason of the Lord Deputy's evident desire to plant in Tyrone upon the loughside "which being strong, would more damnify and amaze that traitor than any other settlement or force yet attempted. To this business I was by his lordship designed, and, having furnished myself with four boats and other such necessities as the place and time could afford, and taken a perfect view of the most convenient place to settle in (it being near the head of the lough and within five miles of Dungannon) I was no sooner returned than I heard that the news of the Spanish assistance, and need of men, &c., would compel the Lord Deputy to withdraw from these parts." I heard this just in time; for had I commenced the business without his support it would have been dangerous. This news and the report that I would settle somewhere nearer Tyrone caused Con O'Neile "the young lord of the upper Clandeboyne" to revolt treacherously. He drew many loose rascals with him and I had to go thither to settle the country and prevent him from entering and spoiling it. I had hitherto done this by putting Shane McBrian there; and am with him now with most part of the forces. I shall put a garrison in the Newtown [Newtownards] and hope thereby soon to banish Con out of those parts. He has already suffered so much that he wishes to be received, "but as he has been with Tyrone, Brian McArte, and all the rebels of these parts practising to draw them upon us, I think it dangerous to trust him"; and think it better to risk placing his uncle than him, whom we so lately—with much labour and some loss of life—put into possession in place of Brian McArt, the usurper. [*Details.*] "They are the most perfidious generation that ever Christians lived with and there is little hope of a quiet government until they be absolutely confounded, especially within this command, wherein no peace can be settled until Tyrone be overthrown and wasted. His daily incursions (being so near a neighbour) keeps them so in awe from becoming true subjects." This is why I drew Shane McBrian from the lower parts "where he halted with her Majesty, temporising with the enemy, as the Scots and all others upon those borders do at this present, to the hindrance and overthrow of the Queen's proceedings and exceeding dangerous to us in all our attempts; and for this there hath not been found a remedy."

The Lord Deputy, finding by experience that the approaches into Tyrone by way of Blackwater are difficult and dangerous, has left strong garrisons at Armagh and elsewhere to coop him up on that side, and seems inclined to try an approach from some other direction. He asked my opinion and I gave it. I think we can approach it [Dungannon] with less pain, cost and danger than from any part of Ireland so the time of the year be taken for passing the Bande [Bann] at Toome, Coleraine and other places, and sufficient store of boats, men, victuals, munition and tools at Maserine [Massereene] to be transported over the lough to answer any place they shall be designed unto." From hence the force from Loughfoyle may easily join with his lordship's and [those] from Coleraine. I am informed "the way is champion

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and plain to Dungannon and to that place all things may come by sea."

As your lordship knows the Lord Deputy left 500 men under Sir Richard Moryson to second me if I should want them; but had soon to draw these men to himself within 14 days of their coming into Lecale. The two companies of Byllysis [?] and Phillyps are "so pestered * with Irish" that I may not trust much to them. The Lord Deputy has increased both these companies by 50 men; but the increase must either be made by raising Irishmen or not be made at all. We need reinforcements of English, for without a good supply we shall be most Irish or more delayed.

P.S.—Sir Richard Moryson has returned to Lecale with his own company and Captain Calfeeldis [Caulfield's]. All these can do is to keep them [the Irish] in from those parts. Please remember that "all our service, being so near neighbours to Tyrone, is to be done on a sudden, whereof if they have the least warning by our drawing together, our attempts are dashed and ourselves in danger." My man has returned without the money due from her Majesty, at which I am greatly disappointed. Please excuse my importunity.

Pp. 2½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 66.

9 Sept.
Newry.

SIR FRANCIS STAFFORD to SIR GEORGE CAREY, Secretary of State for War.

I have waited for a fit opportunity ever since the Lord Lieutenant left these parts to victual Armagh. On September 7th Sir Henry Davers came to Mountnorris and desired me to send 150 shot from the Newry with a convoy of victuals. I did so. The convoy went on 8 September and consisted of the whole garrison of Armagh and Mountnorris, horse and foot, and 150 foot from the Newry.

They were set upon fiercely by the enemy at the Sharde within three miles of Armagh. A hot skirmish continued for two hours and Cornet Noble, who commanded Sir Samuel's horse, was shot very sore in the mouth; and Captain Blayne's ensign slain. No other casualties, but 10 soldiers killed and 30 hurt.

We want a plentiful supply of oats here at once, to keep our horses fit. If they are not well provided for, we shall not be able to send convoys to Armagh and Blackwater. We also need sacks to carry biscuit, which please send at once.

I shall send by the next a report of the enemy's losses in the last skirmish; and believe it to have been much more severe than ours.

I hear that our men of Loughfoyle had a great skirmish with O'Donnell at Donegal and that O'Donnell lost a man of great account amongst them and 47 others; but, notwithstanding he "yet possesseth some part of the Abbey."

* Note the use of the word. It is a shortened form of "impestered" which means "clogged." *Der. : in and pastorium.*

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I have taken O'Hanlon's brother in hand as security for the safe passage through the Pale; and, since then, have heard of no outrages committed there. I am also to receive pledges from Glasne McOnoghlein [or McMoghlein?] which I know he will labour to my lord to have released.

Sir Henry Davers is so weak at Armagh that he dares not [go out to] fetch more victuals till they are supplied; yet he keeps Sir Garratt Moore's foot and 25 horse and Captain Constable's foot with him at Armagh, which foot are directed by my Lord for the Blackwater.

I hear the enemy lost 100 men in the late skirmish.

P.S.—"The like skirmish hath not been seen in Ireland, for they met upon the skirt of a bog and fought upon good champion ground and for the space of half an hour the battles were not six pikes length asunder with multitudes of shot delivered on both sides. The enemy had the vantage of the bog upon our men; but (blessed be God) they came off without any great loss."

P. 1. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 67.

11 Sept.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

I understand to-day that the Deputy is to go to Kilkenny there to meet the President of Munster to consider how his lordship [the Lord Deputy] may be strengthened with some of the old Munster companies, now that the 2,000 men have arrived in Munster from England. If the Spaniards do not come—and I do not think they will now do so—I hope the Lord Deputy will look back unto Ulster, and carry to more perfection the work he has begun there; for to go no further against Tyrone before the sharpness of winter would be "to leave that war of Ulster to a winter war to be performed only by garrisons, by which course, though the arch-traitor might be stopped for doing much, yet he will be able to keep his own and so the war to pass on still from summer to winter and from winter to summer again, where[as] if his [lordship], after this little refreshing of the army within the Pale, and some small reinforcement of trained men out of Munster, do make a journey out of hand into the north before the extremity of winter," it may be an honourable service; especially if his troop take the route of Lecale and Clandebois to free those parts: and if Sir Arthur Chichester co-operate with his boats on the great lough for any exploit to be done upon Dungannon.

I dealt with his lordship in this matter when I lately attended him at Trim, and "eftsoons" took occasion to "remember" [remind] him of it when the new troops arrived in Munster. If he exchanges 1,000 old troops out of Munster he will add greatly to the strength of his army for operations in the late autumn in Ulster.

"I know not what to write of these new moneys, for though hereunto they have found reasonable good acceptance both with the army and the country, yet I see that one of her Majesty's

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main drifts which was, as I conceive, to withdraw the old sterling silver out of this realm, cometh not on so fast as were meet, for that the merchants underhand seek to engross it to themselves by giving 2s. in the pound or more, where the Queen by her proclamation prescribeth but 12d." If this course be suffered it will frustrate her Majesty's intentions which are, I believe, to draw as much of the old silver as possible out of the country. "This fraud being but newly discovered there is as yet no remedy provided for it; but it cometh on in an underhand course, as though the merchant might buy and sell the Queen's bullion as he doth his other shop wares, which in time will rob the exchange and reimburse to himself all the old silver in the realm. It is thought here by some that this state hath not power to reform this inconvenience though, for my part, I am of mind that, in all matters of deceit and fraud devised to cross the Prince's proceedings in causes of her profit, the state may make provision to prevent the evil and punish the offenders; yet, for clearing of all scruples, I humbly wish a streight direction to be sent from your lordships, giving authority to the state, or some particulars of the Council, to make orders, not only against this inconvenience but also against any other which, through malice or covetousness of bad persons, may be raised to hinder her Majesty's princely meaning concerning her proclamations" touching the new coins. This should be done at once.

"Moreover it were good your lordships would despatch to all the port towns in England trading with Ireland a strict prohibition, charging all passengers, merchants and other persons of what degree soever, being to come for Ireland, not to bring into the realm any sterling silver, but to leave it at the exchange, or otherwise to convert it that no part come into this realm. For of late some of us have discovered that some knights and other gentlemen of good sort, passing into Ireland, have brought with them good store of sterling silver and gold for their expenses, and yet none of them have exchanged a penny with the Treasurer or any of his ministers but, in all likelihood, have suffered their money to fall into the hands of the merchant who is ready (it is said) to give 2s. the pound for it." I have often conferred on these matters with Mr. Treasurer, wishing him ("being the sole officer in these new moneys") to acquaint your lordship herewith and ask your advice.

The Deputy has gone on from Trim towards Kilkenny "of which meeting of the two great estates of Ireland at the house of the greatest Earl in Ireland" you shall know more by my next.

Pp. 2. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 68.

12 Sept.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL of ENGLAND.

See *Cal. of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3, pp. 144-146.

This is the original, a copy of which is calendared in the *Carew Calendar*.

P. 13. *Signed. Add. Endd.: R. at London*, 24 Sept. *Ibid.* 69.

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12 Sept.
Shandon.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL of ENGLAND.

Directly after the Queen's new coin was made current here by proclamation, John Nott and Robert Pricktœ "did fall a counterfeiting the like." *Proceeds &c.*, as in *Cal. of S.P. Carew*, Vol. for 1601-3, pp. 146.

P. 1. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 70.

Followed by the deposition of John Nott and the description of the coiners as set out in the *Cal. of S.P. Carew*, above quoted, pp. 146-7.

These documents are the originals, of which copies are calendared in the *Carew Calendar*.

In all, p. 1½. *Endd. Ibid*, 70A.

12 Sept. MACSWYNE FANAT to [the LORD DEPUTY].

Desires to return to his country which he left not in the desire to rebel but from fear caused by certain events. Asks to be received into friendship on fair terms. Asks meantime that his hostages be kindly treated and that the Governor will soon write and express his mind to him.

P. ½. *Latin. (Hol.) Endd. Ibid*, 71.

12 Sept.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

When the forces arrived I had three letters from you dated 12 and 13 Aug.* I am thankful for the public and private news you send. I can, now that the supplies have arrived, keep any towns in Munster safe if the Don Diegos attack it, till relief is sent and "then I cannot account them to be better than *enfants perdus*. As for the "provincials" I doubt not of their good natures, being apt to villany, and am provided, as Tyrone's man said of his master, "to be crafty for crafty," and not put myself into their hands as so many people have done. The Lord Deputy desires to confer with me, and is pleased to meet me part of the way "for I am very unwilling to be far from the skirts of my government." I have answered him that I will attend him at Carlow on the 17th of this month. I do not know why he wants to confer with me; but extraordinary cause there must be; otherwise neither of us should be for one day absent from our charges. Since the taking of Nott, the coiner, another, named William Kirkham, has been discovered, but escaped to England. He is a Devonshire man and a soldier in Sir Anthony Cooke's troop. Nott made his money of tin cast into chalk and Kirkham of blanchet (?) copper. I hear there are others as yet undiscovered. Cormack Oge [McCarthy], son and heir to Cormack McDermond, Lord of Muskerry, is now in Oxford at school, by me recommended to the Dean of Christchurch. He is extremely beloved by his father and though another of the father's sons is kept as a pledge in the Queen's hands it would

* For these see *Cal. of S.P. Carew* at these dates.

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be as well to keep a quiet watch on the son at Oxford, "that he should not, unknown, return for Ireland. The boy is very forward, of a great wit and spirit, and at the least sixteen years old." Give notice to the Dean to be careful.

Ever since Pierce Lacy's sons were put into my hands they have been prisoners at the Queen's charge. Now that he is dead I think the Queen might be eased of them and the children enlarged upon sureties; "but yet because hereafter I am assured that within a few years they will be rebels, without direction from England I dare not let such whelps loose. Florence [McCarthy]'s son, (his father being prisoner), must either be enlarged or kept at the Queen's charge. I propose to allow his mother to take him over to England (for which I hear she will ask my leave) as it will save the expense of keeping him, and he is as safe in England as if he were in Cork. I should like instructions as to how to deal with Pierce Lacy's sons. *Details.*

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 72.

12 Sept.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Captain Holcroft is taking back to you a certificate that he brought 165 men from Chester to Waterford by directions from the Lords in England. I have no means of employing him here under me, and recommend him to you for further employment.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 73.

13 Sept.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CAREY to [SECRETARY CECIL].

Your last letters to Sir Geoffrey Fenton and myself show you are "mutche cambred [?]" least her Majesty's exchange should be "overburned" [overborne] and not redound to her benefit "as in such an innovation is to be expected."

You know that "in all things the beginnings are the hardest," and that no man can at first foresee all difficulties. . . . "The beginning is hard because there is more money returned into the exchange this first quarter of the year, very near by the one half, than will be this half-year following, which grows by reason these new moneys are not yet dispersed into all parts of the realm; and the merchants (who make the greatest exchange) at this time of the year do make their provisions touching their trade for the whole year following and pay their creditors in London for the year past, whereby the exchange is now more charged than it will be in the next half-year." For this reason I have not very much repined at the overburdening of the exchange; and also as we shall thereby have at the first more plausible acceptance of the new moneys, which being [is] now grown to have good passage. I have found by experience the inconveniences and mischiefs that grows through the abuses of the merchants who play upon the advantages of her Majesty's proclamation touching the exchange of the new moneys, which they seek daily and very greedily, and seek to defraud her Majesty

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of any benefit that might accrue to her thereby by engrossing all the sterling money and old copper into their hands, paying 18*d.* or 2*s.* in the £1 therefor; whereby no sterling or copper is brought into the exchange to maintain the bank as was expected. To meet this I differ [defer] the merchants from their exchange unless they bring in some portion of sterling, *i.e.* 20*l.* or 30*l.* with every 100*l.* of new money, and allow the Queen 5 per cent. both for sterling and for the new money. By this course I think I shall work the faster to draw the sterling money out of Ireland, than by giving 6*d.* in the 1*l.* for sterling; which is with loss of 50*s.* Moreover [if the latter course be adopted] little or none will be brought into the exchange because the merchants themselves give more for it.”*

This will delay the merchants in coming to the exchange and induce them to invest their money here and set people to work. This again will bring more quiet to the land; for now merchants who could not get credit for more than 100*l.* can get it for 300*l.* The reason is that no man wishes to keep this new money but is ready to utter it for gain. The merchant borrows to pay his creditors in England and to increase his trade, and presently comes to have his money exchanged. To meet these inconveniences which were not thought of at first, let it not be officive [officious] if for her Majesty's good, I digress a little from the course of the exchange since the merchants have first broken it to her Majesty's disadvantage and still continue to commerce underhand with the decried moneys and sell their wares at different prices according to the money they receive. The merchants complain against me to the Lord Treasurer and give out that he is mightily offended with me for taking this course, wherein I should dishonour the Queen and overthrow the service.

I hope I shall do neither and feel sure the Lord Treasurer will not condemn me unheard. The army [?] and her Majesty's servants hath [have] their exchange fully, according to the proclamation and so have strangers.

Your lordship and the Council should take steps to see that no man comes into Ireland without being searched to see if he is bringing in any sterling, plate or bullion, and that he bring his ticket with him and show it to the [port] officer, or otherwise be punished. If the old money be withdrawn and no other old sterling brought in, necessity will enforce the use of the new money; and unless the counterfeiters (whom I fear) do mischief, the reform will be carried through and prove a gain to her Majesty. I have received your conjectural computation but have not had time to study its details so as to be able to express an opinion upon it. I send herewith a brief computation which I think will fall out right; and though these new moneys were issued only a little before midsummer they will serve to pay the army from March 31, the sterling money being scarce able to clear [?] the accounts till then.

* The letter is very involved here, and not easily legible; but I think this abstract fairly gives its sense.

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We hear nothing of the Spaniards and I hope shall not do so. . . . The enclosed, from the Lord Deputy, will show what he designs. Pray send him speedily the 2,000 shot to enable him to go through with this service. I am overburdened with business and weary of my life. Pray excuse my "rude" writing.

Pp. 3½. (Hol.) *Badly written. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 74. Enclosing:—*

Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir George Carey.

As long as we are in suspense as to the coming of the Spaniards we have no policy to engage ourselves any further in the service of the North. If they come into Connaught we are utterly unprovided to meet the war there. If they come to Munster I must draw thither; so I have sent to the President of Munster to confer with me on matters of general import, and have come here to consult with him upon them and as to the disposition of his troops in case the Spaniards do not come. I hope also to hold some intelligence with Onye Macshane, who, in great secrecy, has written offering to bring me in Tyrrell alive or dead. On my return I hope to undertake something upon the MacMahownes; and think I have found a place where we may plant a garrison to ruin him [and] to assure the Fernye [Farney] safe [?] and may victual it continually without danger.

After this I mean to bend all my efforts to the war with Tyrone and utterly to ruin him this winter. This I can do if we receive supplies from England which we need to strengthen the northern garrisons. Pray go on with your good care for Sir Arthur Chichester, and send to Tredaragh [? Tredagh, Drogheda] victuals and tools; for it is thence that I intend to plant on the MacMahownes. There were sent to Wicklow a good proportion of tools that were never used. We might use them. We must have large supplies of oats for the northern garrisons or else be lamed of our horse, the most useful instruments we have. They are now too weak to provide for themselves. "God willing I will be but few days from you; and then to my work with all earnestness." I have lately had a very gracious letter all in the Queen's own hand. I endeavoured to answer the last she sent me by my last winter's work; and shall endeavour to answer this one by my work this winter. If you are writing to England say that if they do not send to the North 1,000 men, for whom we asked, our foundations, which were well laid, will be overthrown. Send me any news you get from England.

P. 1½. (Hol.) *Dated at the Nass [Naas], 12 September. Add. Endd. Ibid, 74A.*

13 Sept.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

As the Queen has appointed Mr. Linewraye Surveyor of Ordnance I venture to recommend him in regard of my particular

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knowledge of his ability and sufficiency. [*Details.*] He will repay all favours.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *An unctuous letter. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 75.

13 Sept.
Mullingar.

SIR THEOBALD DILLON to SECRETARY CECIL.

I am sorry you should think that I desired licence to become a suitor for my private [affairs]. That was not my meaning. I merely wished to see her Majesty and to let her know, as near as I could, "how men are given to further the service here which, to prevent mine own hurt, I may not write in particular. I have served her Highness this 28 years never making suit to any but to your honour; yet, I thank God, I wanted not until my castles and houses were razed, my living wasted and spoiled, my goods taken and my corn burnt in the fields, 37 of my kinsmen slain, besides many of my tenants and servants, having no means nor enablement (since my Lord Deputy's coming) towards the furthering of her Majesty's service or the taking revenge for these spoils and losses which I have sustained but [except] one foot company (who lie now at Mullingar), being never at my direction whereby I cannot go see my broken castles and lands in Connaught though other companies are there who, I fear, will never do any service of moment to her Highness.*

"I will forbear to write what I might but had . . . your father lived I should have been respected and have had better employment at such a time as this." For want of this I think the service goes more slackly forward, especially in Connaught, where I have served well under Sir Nicholas Malby, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir John Norris. Pray do not be angry with me for writing often.

"I have many kinsmen and dependents who have been several times preyed, spoilt and burnt by Tyrone, O'Rourke, Cormack MacBaron (brother unto Tyrone), Tyrrell, the O'Melaghlin and many others, endeavouring to root me out of the small living I have in Westmeath, near Athlone," as I and mine have been formerly banished out of Connaught by the rebels there; and have suffered otherwise. The rebels hate anyone belonging to me.

O'Donnell is in the co. Sligo with all his goods. He hath none in this country, but a ward at Bealashana [Ballyshannon?] and at an island, where he keepeth O'Connor Sligo, whether by his own consent or not I do not know; "but I would he never were borne."

The 70 beggarly Spaniards that came to Sligo went back 20 days ago. Tyrrell passed through Roscommon and over the Shannon through McCoghlan's country into Leinster, where he now remains with some 500 men. Our forces in Connaught are: the Earl of Clanricarde 150 foot and 50 horse; his brother, Sir Thomas

* Sir Theobald Dillon uses very long sentences.

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Boorke, 150, another Thomas Boorke (who has 2 brothers with the rebels) with a foot company; Captain Tibbot Boorke's company of foot and young Malby's 150 foot. They all now remain at a castle of mine called Galy (4 miles from Roscommon), where they do no good. "The castle standeth in very good stead and receiveth all provisions and means (which cometh by water from Limerick and Athlone) for the furnishing of the forces in the co. Roscommon. It is so strong a seat as the six soldiers of my company who are placed there now will defend it against all the rebels of Ireland." If those companies be sufficient for the service of Connaught I leave it to your honour, "being assured that, by their assistance, I shall never settle again my living nor build my castles. I was a servitor when all these were not. It is strange (I being desirous to recover my living and to revenge the great hurts done to me) but that such forces as would be in Connaught should be enjoined to take mine advice for the service, were it for nothing else but for mine experience. I beseech your honour if it be apparently known, and nothing to the contrary, that I am fit to serve her Majesty, that I may be made able and so accounted of during these troubles and the rather for my long service (before I was spoiled) without charge to her Highness, as Sir William Russell can constantly affirm. I protest unto your honour if the service of Connaught were well followed it might be brought to good state in forty days, and, had every man done his part well, more good had been done than yet I see (but no wise man will quench the fire wherewith himself is warmed). And therefore I would have all captains to serve far from their rebellious kynred and myself against the traitorous Boorke O'Roirck and O'Donnell, who banished me from my living and worketh all the means they can for my subversion and overthrow wheresoever I go."

I am as loyal as any man.

Protestations of loyalty.

Pp. 24. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 76.*

14 Sept.
Kilkenny.

The LORD DEPUTY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

See Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), Vol. II, pp. 445-8, where this letter is printed, presumably from Moryson's own copy. Where O.M.S. appears (p. 445, three lines from end) in that edition the original reads "Ony MacShane." Other trifling differences from the text as published by Fynes Moryson are to be found in this document.

Pp. 3. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd.*: "Received the 20th at Farnham Castle. *Ibid.*, 77. *Enclosing* :—

1. *Sir George Carew to the Lord Deputy.*

I was about to start to meet your lordship when I received the intelligence enclosed by the examinee himself. The examinee left the fleet at sea with much ado and reached Crookhaven. I think the Spaniards will arrive before I could come to your lordship, and therefore think I should stay here, [and not come to meet you]. I beseech you to arrange

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for the aids you bring with you to be in readiness. If you desire it I will attend you.

P. 3. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 77A.

2. Examination of Thomas Love of Plymouth, owner of a small ship called the Plowe of Plymouth, taken before the undersigned, 13 Sept., 1601.

Says that :—

On 27 Aug. by W. or N.W. the Rock discovered 45 sail of Spanish ships. Understood from a Spaniard which [?] he had taken before in Syria [?] that there were 70 sail with their yards across at Castales [Cadiz] ready to put to sea. He knew not whither they were bound. The Spaniard said they had 11,000 soldiers in them. The general report was that they were for Ireland. So far as deponent could see they bore up to the northward, either for England, Ireland or the Low Countries. The Spaniard told deponent that all the Irishmen that were in Spain were in this fleet.

Says further :—Deponent understood from a Portingale that 70 sail were at sea going to meet the fleet already mentioned, but where he knew not. Deponent asked the Spaniard why they intended to be at sea this winter, and the Spaniard said that the Kings of France and Spain were friends so that the vessels could put into any creek or harbour on all occasions.

Says further :—On the 4th of September he met “in the height of ‘43” with two Scotsmen who had before stolen out of St. Jone’s, near Lisbon. From these he received the same information that a fleet of 60 to 80 sail was at sea with all the soldiers that they could hold; and that they were bound for Ireland, as the report of the Spaniards was. All the Irishmen that could be gathered were on them. The burden of the ships was small, having but few men on board each to guard them.

P. 1. Signed by Carew. Endd. Ibid, 77B.

14 Sept.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

This is the original letter, a copy of which is calendared in Cal. of S.P. Carew for 1601–3 at p. 148. The last words in the text of the entry in that Calendar should be “was little” instead of “very little.”

P. 3. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 78. Enclosing :—

Another copy of the enclosure in the foregoing.

P. 1. Ibid, 78A.

14 Sept.
Dublin.

THE EARL OF KILDARE to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have learnt from my servant (whom I sent in connection with the taking of my evidences) your good opinion of me. I am grateful for it. I am now again obliged to importune you concerning the affairs of the young Countess Dowager. I understand

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that, without the privity of the rest of the Lords, or yours, she has got letters from the Queen to the Lord Deputy for preservation not only of her own jointure, but also in behalf of the elder Countess and the Lady Digby's titles. The young Countess of all others has the least cause to distrust me therein, as her husband's estate, whereupon hers depends, and mine were one, so as whoso would hinder her must prejudice me. Lady Digby is not contented to challenge what parts she listeth of my inheritance, but, by usurping the name of Lettice O'Phaly she would deprive me of the style of Earl of Kildare. Lately her husband, being here, preferred a complaint against me by name of Gerald Fitzgerald, Esquire. By these hard causes, proffered and countenanced against me here, I, being a stranger, am the less followed by "this countrymen," and prevented from doing her Majesty's service, and am often called from it to answer suits preferred against me. Pray tell the Queen of what a good impression I made on you and the Council when I appeared to debate on my evidences at your table, which I hope will remove any bad impression conveyed to her Majesty's mind by the sinister courses of my adversaries. I have explained my dealings in a letter to her Majesty, and hope she will accept it and thereon please to order restitution of my evidences to me if my taking of them is justifiable, and order that any claimants against me proceed by the course of common law, when I shall be ready to defend. Hoping for justice I take leave, &c.

P. 1. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 79.*

14 Sept.
Kenles
[Kells].

LORD DUNSANY to RICHARD HADSOR.

I must write shortly, having much to do and "choosing rather to have things not touched at all than to handle them scamlingly, as the tract of a short letter doth afford. But this much understand, that my known love to one hath bred me a grounded dislike and hate of many in Ireland; for believe it is as you read that, though the head be off, here is an hydra. Out of the burned ashes of the old there is a young phoenix expected." Since April I have been at Liskennan fort in co. Cavan and have sent my letters to Dublin. There they have been intercepted "and my hopes in one manner, my knowledge of the country generally concerning the errors of these times, and my advertisements to him of my own private wrongs, have been discovered." Many disgraces and oppressions are laid upon me for this. I intend to go there soon if I may have leave; but before, except there be some word from her Majesty in general to keep me in my place in her Majesty's service until I be hard [heard] myself, I shall be sure, in staying, to be smothered up, and, in going, to have advantage taken of my absence. I shall be ruined by calumny unless protected by the Queen, and must, unless so protected, perish or fly. Sir Oliver Lambert and the Bishop of Meath are my enemies, and are trying to make out charges against me. I took Maguire when practising a treason, as letters from him will prove, "yet had I blame and shame thereby, he being

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my Lord Deputy's creature ; and our Council here shewing themselves—as one excellently wrote—the echoes of the Deputy. I took the goods of Art McRoory and Bren Ne Sorragh MacMahone, being upon protection, because, in my Lord Deputy's absence, I found sufficient proof of their recombining with MacMahone," and that they had messengers with him. Being unable to take their bodies I presently restored 740 cows on Ever McCoole's bond that they should be forthcoming to answer what I should allege against them. This was the best tie that could be upon them "and [though as to] the one of them (being in before) it was proved before my Lord Deputy that he intended to take me prisoner to Tyreowne and attempted it [and, as to] the other, [that] I killed two of his nephews and . . . his uncle killed Patrick, Lord of Louth, and his cousin german killed my uncle Edward, whereby there is a perpetual feud between the Plunketts and the traitor MacMahons; yet these two gallants, because they were protected, forsooth I must be brought to judgment before them to glut their souls upon my disgrace and eight hundred pounds awarded for the pillage of my soldiers in taking of the said prey (notwithstanding I restored it as before)." Sir Oliver Lambert and Sir Gerott Moore both did the like, but they both, for such actions, were referred to commissions [?] and their doings compounded in such sort as they pleased. "But I must be tied to a stake before the state for a couple of slaves whose heads I repent me I took not as well as their cows." Now, if they can, they will deprive me of my government of the co. Cavan, I having brought in all the Relys and many others. Unless I am confirmed out of England, as before, until I have been heard, I see the end of my fortunes. Whatsoever Sir Henry Davers, Sir Oliver Lambert, Sir John Barkeley, Sir Henry Folliott or Captain Roper or Sir Richard Moryson, being ruinous [?], commit or omit, do or suffer in the service, their actions shall be graced, their faults and defects hid, their course of profiting themselves to the Queen's hindrance infinitely shall be borne with. Whereas the contrary course in all things is held with me. I desire confirmation in the Cavan, or else, with my charge of horse and foot, to be removed to Munster and placed under the Lord President there. [I desire that] Lord Soudley [?] who commanded before at Kenles [Kells] [be] commanded to come back here again." Without this I may be commanded to Munster "upon the known malice of the Relies and Mohones who daily seek my life by treason, by ambush and poison as it is known."

Pray grant one of these requests.

I had intended only to write to you on behalf of my kinsman Gerett Sutton (the bearer) that you would recommend him to Sir Robert Cecil and that [he would see that] the Queen would favour him in spite of his poverty. I desired to ask Sir Robert to do this as a favour to me. [Details.]

Pp. 23. (Hol.) *Badly written. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 80.

15 Sept.
[Kilkenny.]

Extract from the LORD DEPUTY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

[This is an extract from the letter of this date calendared in *Cal. of S.P. Carew* for this date. The extract begins "I find

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by my last" (see the *Calendar* cited, p. 149, l. 7) and continues down to "content myself" (*Ib.*, l. 30).

P. 2. *Endd.* as in heading. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 81.

16 Sept.
Dublin.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in Dublin to
the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We have yours of the 28th of August, sent back by the Lord Deputy from Carlow, on his way to Kilkenny. It is the packet which I, the Secretary, received the 11th of this month and sent after him.* His lordship desires us to consider the letter pending his return, when it will be fully answered. He desires 2,000 men at once as reinforcements of the companies here "which his lordship findeth very weak in English specially." These men will fill up the old companies, and not form new ones.

There is no news. Ulster is as the Lord Deputy left it, and the Marshal is prosecuting Tyrrell in Leinster. When there is news we shall send it.

P.S.—Pray send over Mr. Payton, the auditor. Owing to his long absence "there is no account of this kingdom can be dealt in, which is no small disprofit to her Majesty."

P. 2. *Signed* by Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor, Sir George Carey and Sir Geoffrey Fenton. *Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 82.

16 Sept.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I recommend Sir George Thornton who has served loyally here. I recommend that he be given the estates of Piers Lacey, lately killed in action, and I have, meantime, given them to him by *custodiam* and hope the Queen will grant him them. He has employed Patrick Crosby to solicit you.

P. 2. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 83.

16 Sept.

WILLIAM THOMPSON [clerk to Captain Leigh at Lough Foyle]
to his Cousin THOMAS KITSON in London.

I have already told you my troubles. I now hear that the Lord Deputy says he cannot enlarge me without leave from the Council in England. Mr. Ashe (the bearer) will tell you this. Pray be kind to him; for he has done much for me with the Lord Deputy. I send you herewith a statement of the charge made against me by my adversary Traves, and of my answer, as delivered before Sir Robert Gardener, to whom the matter was referred by my Lord Deputy. What was then proved will appear from the enclosed petition. Nothing beyond what I confess can be proved against me. For seven hogsheads of French wine I must and will answer; which were delivered to me by

* So it took less than five days to get to Carlow and back, excluding the necessary delays of writing.

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Traves and his agent not as part of the Queen's store, but at a price. He bought them from Scottish men and sold them to me, and I owe him for them. Pray shew my petition at the Council table in England; and, if there be occasion, further the other likewise, for what I have said is most true.

That done, please procure letters from the Council for my enlargement.

Polite and affectionate messages.

P.S.—Please make haste for my charge is great in prison.

P. 1½. Signed. Add. to Kitson in London or elsewhere. Endd.: "Papers concerning one Thompson, preferred by Mr. Kitson, the Earl of Shrewsbury's gentleman." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 84. *Enclosing* :—

(a) *Memorandum of the charges alleged by Traves against William Thompson and of his answers thereto.*

1. *Traves says I was partner to one Shawe in certain bills of exchange which, he alleges, the said Shawe should sell away.*

I answer that I had no such partner and knew of no such bill. Shawe told me that he had a bill of Captain Sidney's which he would redeliver to him for good consideration, and asked me to tell him so, and I did. Captain Sidney thereon sent his own clerk, one Cuthbert Jonson, to deal with Shawe for the same. This was effected without my further knowledge. Jonson will swear to this. [Details.]

2. *The said Shawe had butter he brought from Kinsale which Traves not only says is his, but charges me to be partners at the same with Shawe.*

I answer that I was not so. Had I been so I should not have let Shawe depart with the whole, as he did, and remained at Loughfoyle, as I did, when I might have kept my share of it and issued it to my captain's company at the Queen's rates and paid myself at the month's end on my accounts.

3. *He chargeth me with having given the Provost Marshal at Loughfoyle 40s. to let such butter pass, which the said Shawe brought away.*

Answer :—*I deny this. When Shawe was leaving Loughfoyle to bring Traves his books and accounts he said he had certain butter to take with him and asked me to speak to the Marshal, whom I knew better than he did, to let the butter pass out, and said he would give the Marshal 40s. if he would permit the butter to pass out. I agreed to do this and took the money to the Marshal, but I did not know how much butter there was or whether it was out of the store. The Provost Marshal avouched this since my first being imprisoned.*

4. *He charges me with certain hogsheads of French wine whereof he says there was seventeen left.*

Answer :—*I do not know how many were left; but heard there were ten full hogsheads left and had seven of these at a price from him or his servant. It was much drunk by the soldiers for it lay continually without covers. I held the money for*

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these to Traves' use and yet will pay it ; but it was not delivered me as part of her Majesty's store and is therefore to be answered as a debt.

5. He charges me with eight barrells of beef.

Answer :—I had none of these. When Shawe left, Traves' man had six barrells in a ship These were sold, Captain John Baxter buying two. This beef was not part of the Queen's store.

To conclude :—I never issued her Majesty's victuals, though often asked to by Traves and his men. Traves was short of ministers before he left Loughfoyle, and would have had me as one if I had consented to leave my captain, which I refused. Not long after Traves' departure, his agent, Worsoppe, fell sick, whereon he was discharged by the Governor from issuing further victuals, and the Governor authorised Captain John Baxter to take charge of the issue thereof. Worsoppe, continuing ill, asked me to take his half-year's account with the captains, and I refused. Other persons refused, and Worsoppe then under his hand authorised the said Shawe absolutely to deal for him. I never had the worth of a firkin of butter from her Majesty's store otherwise than in the proper course.

I have set down all these answers as given before Sir Robert Gardner and confirmed and confessed viva voce by the said Shawe before the said authority. I can prove many things against him, but am now rather to answer than accuse. He has made delay and sought, by many accusations, "to make me and others shadows for the better colouring his own dealings ; yet stand I no way in his danger ; neither is my whole body sufficient to make a shadow to cover so much as his head."

Pp. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$. (Hol.) Signed. S.P. Ireland 209, 84A.

(b) Petition to the Lord Deputy of William Thompson, clerk to Captain Leigh at Loughfoyle, and now prisoner in Dublin Castle, shewing that :—

Petitioner's last petition was referred by your lordship to Sir Robert Gardener, who sent for Traves in order that his complaint against the petitioner might be heard ; but Traves did not attend. He attended on June 15 and the complaint was heard, but Traves was unable to prove his case and soon after went away to England, thinking thereby to keep petitioner imprisoned. Prays for his liberty. Has been imprisoned for 25 weeks and has no means except his service. Prays, alternatively, for a fresh reference to Sir Robert Gardener, who best knows Traves' contempt in the matter.

P. 2 $\frac{2}{3}$. Underwritten with :—

(1) Order signed by the Lord Deputy referring the petition to Sir Robert Gardener.

(2) Report by Gardener thereon :—

Traves made great charges against the petitioner and one Shawe, who is also a prisoner. They confessed severally some parts of the charge (of small value) and offer satisfaction according

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to the offence. I gave Traves time to prove the parts of the charge which the petitioner and Shaue denied, but, without proving them, he went to England. They are strangers and will hardly find sureties.

P. 4. (Hol.) In all p. 1. Endd.: "Mr. Ash." S.P. Ireland 209, 84B.

20 Sept.
Carrickfergus.

CAPTAIN HENRY SEKFORD to SECRETARY CECIL.

By your favour I obtained my uncle's company and, on his arrival here, I hear of the Queen's order to the Lord Deputy to make me Constable of Carrickfergus Castle. I cannot lead my foot company, as I wish, while I remain here as constable; and ask that my uncle, and not I, may have the constablenesship.

P. 1. (Hol.) Add. Endd. *Ibid*, 85.

20 Sept.
Rome.

Pass given by CARDINAL MATHEIUS to RICHARD LANGTON.

Since it is our duty to favour in all ways those committed to our care we recommend to all the faithful and especially to all Archbishops, Bishops, &c., Richard Langton, who has come to Rome in the cause of devotion and is now going back to his native country, praying them to do him those charitable offices which pious men do for strangers.

P. 1. $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed. Underwritten with *visés* for the dioceses of — (6 Oct. and 11 Oct., 1601), of Novara (13 Oct., 1601), and Vercelli (14th Oct.). Two *visés* (one illegible, the other for Novara) are signed by H. Beso[nius ?] Vicar General, and Octavius Placidus, pro secretario, and the last by Jo[hann]es Franciscus Leo, Vicar-General. Endd. *Ibid*, 86.

21 Sept.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to the SAME.

The joint letter now sent declares how dishonestly William Dungan, clerk of the first fruits, has shifted himself to England. He knows that Mr. Treasurer and I charge him with great sums. I cannot think what he can say in his defence and expect he has gone over thinking that "the looseness of the times is a cover to him" to do as he listeth. You will probably think he should be punished there for deluding the state and defrauding her Majesty of her profit. He should then be returned here to pass his accounts, and receive further censure if need be. The auditor should be sent away here, for by reason of his absence all other accounts here are "lingered." The Treasurer's account for the revenues and the accounts of the Master of the Ordnance, the Vittlers [Victuallers] and the Clerk of the Works cannot be proceeded in until the auditor's return. These delays generally result in a loss, and never, so far as known, in a gain to the State. We should also have sent over a Chief Baron and the Master of the Rolls, who are Commissioners in all these accounts. By the

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absence of a Chief Baron of the Exchequer all her Majesty's causes "run to disorder," and debts and arrears grow more desperate.

The Deputy is coming from Kilkenny, where I understand the President of Munster did not meet him; but I conceive they will meet at Carlow to-morrow.

P. 1. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 87.*

22 Sept.
Cork.

JOHN MEADE, Mayor of Cork, to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

The Spanish fleet of 30 ships arrived at Kinsale on 21 September and landed their men at 6 p.m. that day. They surprised a castle called Rincorrane, lately belonging to Barry Oge. They attempt winning the town and give out that twice their number are coming to Cork, which I trust will be their undoing. *Loyal expressions.* I have informed the Lord Deputy and Lord President, who left here on Tuesday. I expect the Deputy here soon.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *Signed. Add.:* "to the Lords [&c.]" "haste, haste poste; haste, haste poste for your life." *Endd.:* "R[ecieved], 4 Oct." *Ibid*, 88.

Same.

SAME to SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I have sent to the Privy Council all my news of the "proud usurping Spaniards," who say they will come here. But, if that happen, your honour shall find "that as gold is tried in the fire: so shall the honest [?] bounden loyalty of this ancient corporation never stained with discredit appear." Pray let her Majesty know this, and that we shall seal our loyalty with our blood rather than yield to the tyrannical Spaniard.

P. $\frac{1}{3}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid*, 89.

23 Sept.
Kilkenny.

THE LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

See Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, (1907), II., 451 sq., where the letter is set out in full.

Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Hol.* by the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Ormond and Carew, Wingfield and Gardener. *Add. Endd.:* "R. at Richmond, 4 Oct." *Ibid*, 90. *Enclosing:—*

A. John Meade, Mayor of Cork, to the Lord [Deputy].

A post from Kinsale came in this hour advertising that 55 ships were seen this afternoon off the old Head of Kinsale. They are, I expect, our enemies; and the wind serves them well for this harbour or Kinsale.

P. $\frac{1}{3}$. *Copy. Dated, Cork, 21 Sept. Signed (copy). Endd. Ibid*, 90A.

B. The same to the President of Munster.

Repeats the information given in the foregoing enclosure. Kinsale was summoned to yield to the King of Spain. Does

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not know whether they will proceed to fortify Kinsale or go to sea again. Teig McCartie and an old servant of Florence McCartie are, it is believed, with them.

P. ½. Copy. Dated, 1 a.m., 21 [22] Sept., 1601. Signed (copy); verified by Sir George Carew. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 90b.

c. *Sir Charles Wilmot to Sir George Carew.*

Reports news of 45 sail off Kinsale bearing for Cork harbour.

Adds:—The Mayor of Cork has since discovered them at the mouth of Cork harbour, where I think they are now at anchor and will come into the harbour to-morrow. I have sent for all the garrisons, except that at Waterford, to come.

P.S.—I have not sent direct to England as the harbour is stopped up. We will try to hold out here till you return.

P. ½. Copy. Dated, Cork, 21 Sept.; verified by Sir George Carew. Endd. Ibid, 90c.

23 Sept.
Cork.

SIR CHARLES WILMOT to [SECRETARY CECIL].

I write in the absence of the President of Munster, being left by him in command at Cork. There are 28 sail in Kinsale harbour and eight more are expected which have fallen from them. There are some great ships of war and many smaller of divers nations, compelled by the King of Spain to take part in this expedition. The town, having been decided to be not worth preserving, has yielded, and the Spaniards treat them "respectively," paying for what they take from them. The "sufferayne" still exercises his place as he did before, and people here are pleased at this. "They likewise bewitch them with promises of ancient liberty, freedom of conscience, [and] religion, and sugar them in all they can, but the country, as I can yet learn, stand it firm and do not revolt, though I cannot but think they stand at gaze; but the sound and wise course my Lord President hath taken with the most suspected heads and chieftains of the country hath made them weak therein, though their minds were poisoned."

I have 1,200 men under my charge here, left me by the Lord President for guard of Cork; and I have, as authorised by the Lord President, summoned the garrisons of Limerick and Waterford to join me, and hope to have them here soon; and we shall then be able to bid them battle here rather than yield any coast town in Munster, unless they are in larger force than, in view of the number of their ships, I think possible. The general by land is Don Joan de Lagula.* The admirals I have not yet made out. The President will be back to-night, I expect, and when we have marshalled all the assembled troops and companies and have received provisions from her Majesty, "which of her princely bounty she hath hitherto done in a more royal fashion than all the princes besides in Europe," the Spaniards will soon be more anxious to be back in Spain than we that they had not come, for in my slender opinion their coming will despatch a speedier and sounder peace in Ireland than, if they had not come, we could have expected. The Spaniards were greater by reputation than

* His name is spelt in several different ways.

1601.

reality : and when the Irish see what they really are they will condemn them. If we are only well supplied here " I see no reason why the prosecution of the north should be hindered by the landing of the Spaniards in Munster ; but I will humbly call myself back, for I fear I have stepped too far to give censure who hath no judgment."

P.S.—The Spaniards landed on St. Mathew's Day. They are reported 5,000 to 6,000 strong.

Pp. 3½. (*Hol.*) *S.P. Ireland* 209, 91.

23 Sept.
Cork.

The MAYOR OF CORK to ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

The Spaniards entered the town of Kinsale (as I hear from eye witnesses) yesterday, and sent their own guards to guard the gates. They remain there making their brags to leave a guard there and assault us, which I hope, if they do it, will be their confusion. One Cormack McFynen Carty is a chief leader amongst them. Only 27 ships came to the town to surprise it. The first bore the English flag and the rest came in after her. After the surprise of the town there came in a great ship in which was one called Don Maurice. There are said to be more ships at sea to the west.

At Kinsale there was no English force but half a company of Captain Saxec's. These retired here before the surprise. I hear they have one Archer amongst them. If her Majesty's ships or army do not meet them they will grow to a great head, for Tyrone and the rest of the rebels will perhaps meet them in these parts.

I have written to the Lord Deputy and Lord President.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 92.

Same.

SAME to SAME.

Adds to the information contained in the foregoing:—The Spaniards have landed 27 pieces of ordnance at Kinsale and are fortifying two or three places thereabouts. They brag to come by land upon us and to bring their ships round ; which I hope, &c. [*loyal expressions*]. We are under arms night and day, and fortify strongly about us. We have not much ordnance, but, I hope, enough to undo the Spanish pride. I send this letter lest my other, with Mr. Bellman, miscarry.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd.*: "Post haste, &c., stay not for your life." *Ibid.* 93

Same.

SAME to SECRETARY CECIL.

I hope the fleet is at sea and coming here. If it meets the Spaniards at Kinsale there will be such a victory as will prevent them from making a strong head. One John Ward, who has recently robbed certain Frenchmen, was one of their principal pilots. Report speaks of other great ships sailing here. They

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brag to come here [*warlike expressions*]. I understand their shot are "paltry weak rascals," and if they be attacked suddenly I hope they cannot long resist.

P. 3. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd.*: "R. at Richmond, 4th Oct." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 94.

23 Sept.
Cork.

SIR JOHN DOWDALL to SECRETARY CECIL.

The Spaniards, on landing, asked particularly for Florence McCarthy. . . . In the country of the *Deeces* [Decies] it will be possible, I am assured, to draw out 500 men well affected to her Majesty's service.

Whatever happens to me, pray remember what the Queen owes me, for it is the portion of 14 sons and daughters.

If her Majesty's fleet came to Kinsale they could certainly take the Spanish shipping. There are only 5 or 6 Spanish ships of war. The rest are Scottish, Irish or French ships.

P. 3. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 95.

23 Sept.
Youghal.

SAME to SAME.

Adds to and confirms the news of the Spanish invasion. *Proceeds*:—I do not think the Spanish force is really more than 2,000 to 3,000 men. The ships are of very small burden. In the head of their troop, when they arrived, one spoke in Irish to have conference with the Mayor, and asked where Florence McCarthy was and James Fitzthomas. The sovereign answered they were in the Tower of London with the Queen, upon which answer made by the sovereign the man turned back again to his general. The English forces will be on foot at Cork the 25th of this month and will be about 4,000 foot and 150 horse. There will be as many well-affected Irish if they be commanded.

None of the Irish have repaired to them yet, and I think none will do so. "The doubt that I have is only upon the Clancarties, being without a head; and the vulgar sort desires rather to enjoy their own with peace than otherwise."

Repeats details formerly given.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 96.

24 Sept.
Kilkenny.

The LORD DEPUTY to SAME.

[*See Fynes Moryson's Itinerary* (1907), II., pp. 454–5, where this letter is published *in extenso*.]

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 97.

Same.

THOMAS, EARL OF ORMOND AND OSSORY to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

The Lord Deputy and Lord President have left my house here for Munster and, after we had sent the packet by Captain Roberts, I received the enclosed from the Mayor of Cork; and as it gives

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more definite news of the gaining of the town of Kinsale without resistance I thought it well to send it.

P.S.—The Cormack McFynyn Carty named in the Mayor's letter is said to be Florence McCarty's servant, and Don Morris mentioned in the postscript is a cousin german to the Earl of Desmond who was slain in his rebellion in the time of my government in Munster.

P. ½. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 98. Enclosing:—
The Mayor of Cork to the Earl of Ormond and Ossory [as Lord General of the forces in Ireland].

Similar to the Mayor's previous despatches. Mentions that Cormack McFynen Carty is a leader among the Spaniards. Mentions arrival of Don Morrice thought to be son to "the traitor, John of Desmond."

P. ¾. Dated, Cork, 22 Sept. (Hol.) Add. Endd.: "Received 24 Sept., late in the evening." Ibid, 98A.

24 Sept.
Kilkenny.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I know not what to write in addition to our joint despatch, and only say that my health is very much impaired by a very long journey which I took to meet his lordship; from which I look not in a good time to recover. But I do not repent my trouble "for without my presence, the state of Munster and the stores of victual, . . . not being known to my Lord Deputy, did before my coming much perplex his lordship." I can supply him out of what I have spared for a month or more till we are relieved out of England. Though our army is now 7,000 strong, I have saved this [amount or sum] by living upon lendings [?] ever since the coming of the new coin. I hope Cork will be safe till I come to it; for I have in the town 2,000 foot and 100 horse. The enemy have made no attempt as yet, as we have, and to-night the Lord Deputy will lie in Munster at Lord Dunsany's house. I shall advance on the enemy as fast as my weak body will allow me, and my Lord will follow with the best expedition he can. I wrote to you in Sir Edward Wingfield's behalf, and renew my suit. He is most anxious for your favour and I will engage that he will be faithful to you and beg you to accept of his service and raise him, who is altogether unfortunate. "Of my Lord Deputy in my next I will write more. He is a noble gentleman and all yours, or else he is a devill."

P.S.—Please favour this gentleman, Captain Roberts.

Pp. 2. (Hol.) Add. Endd. Ibid, 99.

24 Sept.

JOHN MEAD, MAYOR OF CORK, to SAME.

Details as to contrary winds. The general of the army is Don John de Aqueula [sic]. Forty-one ancients have been reckoned in Kinsale to-day and four ships came in yesternight. We have here 3,000 of the Munster forces and I hope, when the Lord Deputy*

* See p. 82, n.

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arrives, we shall be 5,000. This is enough to meet the enemy in the plain field, most being old experienced soldiers.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *Signed. Add. Endd.*: "R. at Richmond 4 Oct." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 100.

25 Sept.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CARY and SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

We send you a letter just received and shall send all further news. Please hasten away the 2,000 men written for in our last general letter. We hope Allen is at Chester with the munitions to take this good wind.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 101. *Enclosing* :—

The Lord Deputy to Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

The Spanish fleet has been seen off the old Head of Kinsale ; so please send no more victuals northward or elsewhere till you have further orders from me. If the Earl of Kildare has not yet gone to England, ask him not to go, "being so unseasonable at this time as both he and I shall be shent for it."

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Dated, Kilkenny, 22 September, 1601. Endd. Ibid.* 101A.

25 Sept

The EXAMINATION of JOHN EDYE, an Englishman, who had been a galley slave with the Spaniards, and who came to Kinsale and escaped from them and came to Cork the same day.

He says that :—

He served five weeks in the galleys and afterwards was taken for want of mariners and sent to Terceras [Terceira] to bring away hold [old] soldiers that now are here, being in number 1,000 ; that from Terceras they came to Lisbon in shallops, from whence he sailed forth about 7 weeks ago with 39 ships. The Admiral was of 900 ton and her name *St. Andrew* ; and the Admiral [commanding her] was Don Diego de Bracho. The Vice-Admiral was of 1,300 ton, with ——— Seriago commander in her. There was also the *St. Pedro* of the same burden, another called *St. Lawrence* of 500, the *Sight* of the same burden and the *Fee* of the same. All the rest were of divers nations, merchants and others. They had shipped 4,000 for land service ; and the Vice-Admiral with eight fly-boats, bearing 1,000 soldiers, is missing. Two other ships were sunk and the men of only one were saved. The admiral assembled the fleet after leaving port and told them they must go for Ireland and that, if any of them were separated, they should make for Kinsale where he would expect them. He says further that :—About 16 days ago mariners and soldiers were put to half the allowance of their victuals, and that they have not one month's victuals for landing ; that they hope for beef here and have brought great store of salt with them. They have eleven field pieces with them whereof he thinks that two are whole cannon. All the ships except

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[the] before four are to leave soon. The remainder are to stay for the intercepting of passengers.

They have 200 or 300 women and children with them and intend to fortify Ringeorran and the island * called Dromderidge [Drumderrig]. Their hopes depend on Tyrone, whom they have asked to join them. If he comes they have a determination to go for England next spring (this is on report only).

There are in the Admiral nine chests of treasure. Many priests and friars are on board, also three bishops, and one Archarde, a priest, that betrayed the Earl of Ormond. They have also brought nuns, and their chief pilot is Lambert Gould, who has brought his wife and children with him out of Spain. Another pilot is Captain Upton. In the whole fleet there are not above 25 Englishmen.

Antony Wells and John Loye, a Scott, [have been examined and] agree with the former; but say only there is a greater lack of victuals than this witness speaks of. They all agree that Don John dell Agola† [sic] is the general.

P.S. [in another hand].—Were there here some of the Queen's ships, they could not escape.

P. 1. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 102.

26 Sept.
Dublin.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in DUBLIN
to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We send a letter and two enclosures received from the Lord Deputy and the Council attending him. The greater part of the army must be drawn to Munster to make head against the invaders; and we therefore beg you to send over the 2,000 men written for in our former letters, and also to prepare a further levy of men to be sent over as occasion shall require and to such ports as the Lord Deputy shall direct. Please consider how needful it is to arm some of her Majesty's ships of war to come along the coast of Ireland, which being put forth out of hand cannot but do notable service both for coping in of the Spaniards already come and also to prevent further aids and provisions which may follow after. Observation of times past shows how useful such a step is. Pray also despatch Allen with the munition and powder; for the supply of these is very low here; and the action is now to increase and God knows how long it will continue.

We describe our wants because the Deputy, where he is, may not be so well able to do so. We shall do our best to serve the Lord Deputy in the other matters recommended to us.

P. 1½. Signed by Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor, and by Bourchier, Cary and Fenton. Add. Endd.: "Received at Richmond 2 October, 1601." *Ibid*, 103. Enclosing:—

A. *The Lord Deputy and Councillors at Kilkenny to the Privy Council in Dublin.*

Reports the arrivals of 50 sail of Spaniards. Proceeds:—
To oppose them the President of Munster is coming here to

* Not now an island, but a promontory, south of Kinsale town.

† See p. 82, n.

1601.

raise the forces and rising out of that province ; and we have sent Sir Henry Davers down into those parts, to bring hither such companies of horse and foot as he is appointed to command. To make them more efficient we ask that they may be now furnished with new clothes, though the time for giving them out has not yet arrived, and with shoes. The time for apparelling may be past before they return again. I pray that you give orders that Sir Henry Davers may be furthered in every way, for I, the Deputy, intend to stay at Clonmel till those companies are brought to me ; and then I shall join the army of Munster and we shall pursue the service together.

We also pray you to give notice of the arrival of the Spaniards to all the lords and principal men thereabout, with caution to restrain their light and unruly followers from breaking into revolt, or engaging in undutiful action.

As it is needful that you should have some man of knowledge in the wars with you we have left Sir Henry Power and his company, to whom we have written in that behalf.

P.S.—Pray send Sir George Bouchier here at once and as many canoniers, smiths, carpenters, wheelers, and workmen of the office as he can. We must not lack these. Let the officers and workmen be hastened here if Sir George's leg prevents his coming.

P. 1½. Signed by the Lord Deputy, Wingfield and Gardener. Dated, Kilkenny, 24 September, 1601. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 103A. Enclosing :—

A*. Copy of Sir Charles Wilmot to Sir George Carew.

For this see above, p. 82 ; No. 90C.

P. ½. Certified a true copy. Endd. Ibid, 103A*.

A**. Copy of the Mayor of Cork to the President of Munster.

For this see above, p. 82 ; No. 90B.

P. ½. Endd. Ibid, 103A**.

26 Sept.
Cork.

JOHN MEADE, MAYOR OF CORK, to SECRETARY CECIL.

Ward was not the pilot of the Spaniards, but one Lambert. They are not above 3,000, of which 1,000 are Italians. The rest are poor slaves not worth the reckoning. They have many women and children. One they call Siriago is by them expected. After their surprising of Kinsale they dare not look out and, for all their brags, I doubt not they will be met there before they come hither.

P.S.—I send news daily as I find it by those I send to spy. I expect the Lord Deputy and President to-day.

P. ½. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 104.

26 Sept.
Waterford.

THE MAYOR OF WATERFORD and Others to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Relates the arrival of the Spaniards at Kinsale. Proceeds :—On the 25th a Scottish ship came in laden with salt from St. Ovell,

1601.

near Lisbon, which she had left sixteen days previously. We send examination of the ship master and merchant's servant of the ship Pray send us help here. We have always been loyal and will do our best to defend this city with the last drop of our blood.

P.S.—Pray deliver to the bearer, Nicholas Luke, 300 pikes, 50 halberts and two last of powder, for provision and defence of this city; for which we will pay her Majesty's Treasurer at Wars here.

P. 3. Signed by Edward Goeghe, Mayor of Waterford, George Sherloke, [county] Sheriff, and Thomas Tracy, borough Sheriff. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 105. Enclosing :—

The examinations of the undernamed persons.

Silvester Steene of Leith in Scotland on oath says :—

The Spanish fleet of 55 sail, whereof five were great ships, put to sea from Lisbon on Aug. 26 last. Don Diego de Brushero was Admiral of that fleet for sea causes and his was of 1,000 tons burden. One Siriago or Sobeor was Vice-Admiral in a ship of 800 tons. The rest were French, Scotch or Flemish ships between 300 and 100 tons, save two ships of Drodath [Drogheda], one of Wexford and one of Limerick and a ship of Disard [Dysart] in Scotland, that transported some soldiers, and for her main lading had salt. He says that eight days before his arrival here he saw the Vice-Admiral, who had been separated from the rest of the fleet about thirty leagues from the Dorsey [the Durseys]. They gave out that there were about 6,000 Spanish and Italian soldiers in the ships, but he does not think there were above 5,000. Some of them are richly appparelled and furnished, whereof 500 at the least have golden chains. They are reported to have a treasure of half a million, and some put it at 8,000,000 ducats—and this report came from one who was present when it was lading. He says they have twelve cannon besides field pieces with oxen for their carriages and that they are victualled with bread and wine for six months. An old man whom he knows not is general for land service. The departure of the fleet was delayed by the non-arrival of the treasure from the Court. When it arrived the fleet started in 24 hours. So far as deponent heard, no reinforcements are to be sent them till next spring.

Christopher Galway, servant to Robert Coppinger of Cork, merchant, examined, says that :—

There are two merchants of Galway in the fleet. Their names are Andrew and Thomas Lynch. They are in a Scotch ship with soldiers and salt. There are also in the fleet James Archer, a Jesuit, Walter Lye of Kilkenny, James Nevell of the co. Dublin, a Spanish bishop who calls himself Archbishop of Dublin, and an Irish bishop whose name deponent does not know. Also Derby McCarty and Cormack McCarty, who were called captains.

In all p. 1½. Signed by Mayor Goeghe and the two Sheriffs as foregoing. Endd. *Ibid*, 105A.

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26 Sept.
Youghal.

HENRY PYNE to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have received a letter from my Lords importing that I should detain from Sir Walter Raleigh, Edward Batterst and Viron Martin above 4,000*l.*, refuse to give them any account thereof, work pipe and other cask boards in the woods belonging to them, and convert the profits thereof to my own use. These charges are untrue, and Sir Walter is much wronged therein by Martin. I have twice attended in England and stayed there long [*details*] only to finish accounts with them, which were delayed by the default of Martin and others in not rendering accounts.

For the matter of working Sir Walter's woods I have now been a suitor to my Lord President for a warrant to be directed to Captain Newce and one Warrener, agents and chief tenants to Sir Walter, for them to examine the country and see if I have offended in that point. The Lord President granted the warrant and ordered the clerk of the Council to write it out, but afterwards, thinking that he would be thought officious by their lordships and that Sir Walter would take it in ill part [*withheld the warrant*].

Pray direct the President to order an examination into that part of Sir Walter's charge which relates to felling of the woods so that my answer when I give it to my Lords may receive credit. As charges are made against me I must reply in my own defence, that Sir Walter is in my debt for woods felled to the use of the company, and that (by an account given me long since by Martin) he is in the company's debt above 1,000*l.* I acquainted him with this at my last visit to England and he said that he would not pay my loss and that "he entered into partnership to be a gainer and no loser."

I trouble you no further in these "frivolous matters" we being now all troubled with these Spaniards. The bearer will tell you all I can learn. These are times for honest men. [*Details.*] Pray give me leave to stay here a few days so that I may be able to bring over an authentical testimonial of my well-doing.

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 106.

27 Sept.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CARY to SAME.

The number of the Spanish forces is not known for certain. A Scottish man who came lately from Lisbon to Cork [*above p. 89*] affirms that they are 6,000 Spaniards and Italians and have supplies for six months and 12 cannon, but no horse. I hardly believe that, as the Scottish man says, the treasure on board is half a million. The Lord Deputy is either at Cork or Mallow with those small forces which he has, and has ordered the rest of the forces to follow after him as fast as they may. I enclose a letter which I received from one of my servants at Cork who is paymaster there.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd.*: "Received 2 Oct. at Richmond."
Ibid., 107. *Enclosing*:—

Francis Kyngeman [?] and *Edward Bruen* to *Sir George Carey*.
Tells of the arrival of "35" Spanish ships at Kinsale.
Proceeds:—*The Spaniards, on asking admission to Kinsale*

1601.

town, asked for it as friends, saying they were come "for the supportation of the Roman Catholic religion"; but the town rejected them and stood on their guard, on which they departed. This morning the Sovereign wrote to Sir Charles Wilmot that Don John de Agula had written saying that if they would give up the town they would be favourably dealt with, but that if it had to be taken by force they would all be put to the sword. The Sovereign also demanded reinforcements, as otherwise they must yield the town, having only 60 men in it. The only force sent them is Captain Saxe's 100 foot. All the other garrisons in the province are ordered there, except that at Waterford: so that we shall be able to make within two days 2,500 fighting men and 150 horse.

The fleet here is not thoroughly finished and many hands are at work on it, who purpose sooner to stick to that than to the town if the Spaniards should assault it. These are now fortifying at Kinsale, and told the citizens there that they had sent round twenty of their fleet to Cork. The Sovereign of Kinsale sent out two men to inquire who the ships were. They were carried aboard divers of the ships and shown the provisions and the horses which, the Spaniards said, were 150. Other details [as in previous letters]. The Spaniards were thirty days at sea.

The townsmen here were mustered to-day and found to be 1,000 fighting men, well armed. It is thought the Spaniards are 6,000; but give themselves out to be 11,000.

P.S.—I am forced, by the stirs that may arise here, to keep Edward Brewen here. Some of the treasure will be sent to take the field with the army, which will go out when the supplies arrive.

I much doubt the Spaniards will be here within these four days, by reason our fort is not finished, if our forces do not meet them.

Pp. 2½. Dated Cork, 22 Sept., 1 p.m. The letter signed by Kingman and Bruen, the postscript by Kyngeman alone. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 107A.

28 Sept
Cork.

CAPTAIN J. OUSELEY to SECRETARY CECIL.

Sends the examination of an Englishman who escaped from the Spaniards at Kinsale. If a fleet were here to keep the Spaniards into the harbour of Kinsale both ships and men were all ours.

P. ½. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 108, Enclosing:—

Examination of John Edye, born near the Mount in Cornwall.

This is similar to the deposition calendared above (pp. 86–7) but adds the following facts:—

If Tyrone, whom the Spaniards have written to join them, does not set forward upon return of the post, they intend to go for Scotland. Thence they have a determination to go for England next year. He says this only on report.

There are in the Admiral nine chests of treasure, every one of them nine feet in length.

P. 1½. Dated Cork, 25 Sept. Endd. Ibid, 108A.

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28 Sept.
Derry.

SIR HENRY DOCWRA to the PRIVY COUNCIL of ENGLAND.

In a former letter I partly told you how I had resolved to lodge my garrison for this winter's service. Since then I have been busy in supplying their places with victuals, munitions and a sufficient number of men to be always ready "to make roads [inroads] even from the very heart of the enemy's country." This would have been a most effective process if it had succeeded according to my hopes, and to the probabilities, as foreseen by all men. The first and chiefest of these places was Newtown, where I had gathered together enough supplies [details] to support a garrison of 400 men for three months. I had enlarged the place by having divers houses set up in the bawn, and spared sending the victual till I sent the men, knowing that by so doing I should make the victuals last longer.

The greatest part of these preparations being made, I sent one Terlogh Maguylson, at the earnest suit of Captain Atkinson, to accompany him with his Irish company of foot (which, after Cormack O'Neale's departure, I had given him in pay), to the end that, using both him and his men as guides, they might be stirring betime to make themselves acquainted with the country by the time a larger force came to join them. By this garrison, and by wasting also with the like garrison from Castle Derg, I should certainly have disinhabited the whole country of Tyrone even to the very Blackwater. To prevent treachery "which I ever made sure account to find in this nation—though, of them all, I must confess I had no suspicion of this man—I gave in charge to Captain Atkinson that he should always keep strong guard upon the body of the castle and a main guard beside in the bawn," and on no account suffer [any] Irishman to come within the walls; but purposely lodge them without in an outer court. This I caused to be made only for them to lie in, being open and under command of the castle itself and of the other bawn.

"Notwithstanding, a slight regard being had to my directions, this secret and unknown arch-traitor, watching his time, fell upon the sentinel that stood at the gate of the castle and likewise upon him . . . at the bawn door, . . . took Captain Atkinson himself prisoner upon the sudden, and most treacherously put all the poor soldiers to the sword."

"The man is so well known, of what reputation he was amongst us, how much both trusted and beloved of all men, and what his carriage had been to deserve it, as I shall need say the less to excuse Captain Atkinson, or almost myself if I had been in place, of credulity." He has served amongst us since Sir Arthur O'Neale first came in and has, to my knowledge, delivered up at least 20 spies to be hanged who had at different times thrust themselves into our garrisons. He hath set in prey since his first coming little less than 2,000 cows and hath killed with his own hands to all our knowledge not so few as 200 people of his own nation, besides those he hath drawn men to do execution upon, which have seldom spared any. He hath never failed us in timely intelligence. He was lately shot in service and scarcely recovered of his hurts.

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He was lately wounded in a private fray in which he slew one of Cormock O'Neale's men in defence of a quarrel between him and an English soldier. He was never refused things that he demanded of any man, for no man but loved and esteemed him the only trusty and true man of his nation. Not six days before his treachery he received 30*l.* for paying his company, and from myself and other captains not less than the like sum in mere gratuities. He drew the soldiers thrice abroad and every several time brought home some 100 cows, whereof part were presently salted for the garrison and part sent to Lifford [Lifford] and sold. "But three days before" he "was sent unto by a boy from Cormock O'Neale to be solicited to come and speak with him about two mile off from the place. This message he discovered to Captain Atkinson and delivered him the boy to be hanged; and so, joining their forces together, put their men in readiness, marched forth to the place, found them as the boy had said, surprised them on a sudden, slew a dozen outright, and so pursued Cormock as with much difficulty he escaped." He lived intimately with Captain Atkinson, and had received so many gifts from him that I think no one would have believed his being a traitor, even if he had been told so.

The strangest thing about this bloody treachery is that the author of it has not yet made composition with Tyrone, nor can be received on any such terms as he stands on; so that my only conclusion is that "even out of the mere disposition of a perfidious nature, delighted in the very quality of evil, he was moved thereunto by a sudden and mere instigation of the devill; and so doth himself confess, making offer to redeem his offence by a like murder upon the contrary side so he may withall be well rewarded for his labour." I do not shut my ears against this offer, as it gives me an opportunity of being revenged upon him.

At the moment of this treachery I received the enclosed letters from Neal Garve and the captains at Donegall; and send them to your lordships as well for the abridging of my labour as that your lordships may have the same information that I have. It seems, by the relation of the bearer of the officers' letters, that they killed above 60 of O'Donnell's men and lost about 30 English, whereof most were sick, and yet keep the place sufficiently guardable, as one end of the house is still standing wherein their victual and munition "is" most preserved.

My last letters told how I had proceeded with McSwyne Fanaght; and sent you his letter. He immediately after fled and joined O'Donnell, and I had to give his pledges their deserved punishment and was confirmed in "a perpetual and immutable resolution of never trusting any one of this nation whatsoever where it may with any facility lie in their power to betray me." I have therefore taken a new course with Inishowen and first possessed myself of the castle of Bert which I shall hold. Hugh Boy gave it up willingly, but in such a fashion and at such a time as he must either have given it up or himself. For the better settling of the country, I have also taken in new pledges. Many of the old had been released or escaped. This cannot be

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avoided, as we have no house or prison large enough to keep in so many people. I am therefore going to arrange with Hugh Boy that he shall receive them all and deliver me one of his brothers in place of all of them. This has been agreed on, and will shortly be done.

Much may be said about this country which I have endeavoured to reduce into a settled form of obedience to her Majesty's laws. I recommend that the care of it should be handed over to some officer of another nature, who may wholly attend to the administration of civil justice and draw them to what their ignorance and rebellious spirit will not allow them to give in to. I have not thought it right to strive with them too much by force, which will rather disadvantage them than do the Queen any service. In the case of men who have fled the country the goods which they leave behind would be of substantial value and would help to maintain the garrison; but whenever I asked about such goods "the answer they gave me was this—all the country goods and people whatsoever was O'Dogharty's, and whatsoever fell confiscate belonged of right unto him."

We had some earnest strife about the matter, till I saw the inconvenience would arise by standing too stiff on a right, and therefore gave way, concluding the matter in a friendly fashion that it should be referred hereafter to "the judgment and censure of her Majesty's law." I kept a note to myself of the parties and the quantity of their cattle, which are in that sort escaped: "but undoubtedly if this tyrannical lordship of the Irish be not taken away and the tenant allowed a propriety in his own goods (for thereon they ground their demand of all forfeitures and confiscations) according to the laws and customs of England, this people will never, while the world stands, be brought either unto civility or obedience."

I know I am taxed with being a favourer and supporter of whatever Hugh Boy does, especially in this, that I suffer him to lay an inhibition on the country for not selling their goods at our garrisons; and for raising the prices to high and unreasonable rates. He did, I know, forbid the bringing of cows to our market. I admitted his excuse because he was at this instant to deliver me in 300, by way of composition, for the army. He could not have got them if everybody had been at liberty to sell where he liked, for I was to give him but 20s. apiece, where [as] the victuallers (though they were forbid, and sometimes their meat taken from them after they had bought it) would give 30s. and sometimes 34s. or 35s. The Commissary of the victual, too, will testify that he received 600 cows from Hugh Boy for the general relief of the army, by way of composition, and that he has sent in 400 more to be sold at the same rates to whomsoever would buy, and is now again at this instant to bring in 100 more by contract. Whether it were fit I should yet impose a further price upon their goods, and force them to sell at other prices than they listed, I humbly leave to your lordships' consideration, "especially the money wherewith they are paid (to say the truth) serving them to little

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or no purpose at all ; for to traffic with a strange nation it is not current, and that anything here arriving should be sold unto them, or any of the nations I hinder as much as possibly I can, though all will not serve (I must confess) to accomplish the thing I aim at."

To conclude, my opinion is that Hugh Boy is false at heart and unfit to be a subject, and will shew himself so when he sees it advantageous to do so, "yet in his outward carriage cannot be touched (for aught I have ever seen) with anything worthy so much as to be discountenanced by," as things go. To many of his actions I might object ; but they are rather faults proceeding "from private humours, or malice, pride, covetousness (with which vices he is apparently infected), than from any treachery or treacherous intent that can yet be discovered." I therefore think he should be taken down in one way and favoured in another "by giving him some portion of the Church land, if not in recompense of everything I can say he hath deserved, yet to content and bind him by some obligation of bounty extended beyond that he could in right demand by way of composition." He has often asked for this and I have promised to deal for it as earnestly as I could. "If your lordships thought well to send for the young O'Dogharty into England, to have his education there for a time with an assurance of her Majesty's gracious favour," I believe his own people would be glad of it and willingly maintain his charge ; and that it would be a singular establishment to the state of the country ; and ease me of many doubts and jealousies which secret whisperings and underground informations, without proof, will, as things stand, never suffer me to take rest for.

Your lordships sent over a baker for the army, with orders that he should be paid 10*d.* for every cwt. of biscuit baking, and rateably for loaf-bread—which is, as we reckon, 12*d.* per cwt. ; and he has been paid accordingly.

But as I am told that the profit at this rate of payment is very large, and far exceeds that allowed in Dublin, I wonder whether it was really the rate intended by your lordships. I have kept back part of his pay, therefore, and await instructions.

P.S.—Since this letter was written Captain Dutton has also been betrayed at Castlederg, but with no loss other than that of his own person, for, walking abroad unadvisedly he was taken by Art McHugh Mergoh and one Hugh Mussey. Only the day before I had asked him to lay hands on and send these men to me as prisoners. I am told he received my letter, and, out of mere tender remissness, did not put it in execution. "I pity him the less and commend his lieutenant the more that though his captain was threatened to be hanged in his sight except he gave over the castle, kept it notwithstanding and doth still.

In all pp. 7½, the postscript *holograph*. Add. Endd. *S.P.* Ireland 209, 109. *Enclosing* :—

Captain Lewis Orrell and others to Sir Henry Docwra.

We think it right to let you know of part of the estate of Neil Garro, which breedeth such discontent in him that he was

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earnest to come himself and discover it to you. In the present state of affairs we thought this inconvenient ; so we promised him to give a general account of it to you. First his entertainment is very small, and does not yield to any of his followers more than 4d. a day. This is not enough to supply them with food, clothes and arms. Formerly he sustained himself by preys, which yielded him a good deal more than the Queen's allowance ; but his chance of preys is now gone. If he is not relieved by orders from you to the paymaster and victualler here he will have to disperse his men among the English companies here as they please to go ; and no doubt a good many of them will go off to O'Donnell. His idea is to leave his brothers with you and go, himself, to the Lord Deputy, and live with him a while ; and, if he gets no redress from him, to appeal further to her Majesty and not return here till he gets some relief. If, however, you will make him a better allowance, subject to confirmation by the Lord Deputy, he has no desire to leave the service until it be brought to better terms than yet it is. He and his followers have fought well in recent engagements, and it would be very prejudicial to the service if they, through shortness of means, should be forced to break.

He asks that you will not dispossess his people from Castle Derrick : but will encourage Slat [?] Art and his fellows who promised to be ready for the service with 60 horse and 200 foot ; and he makes no doubt of their performance and loyalty. And as for Art McHugh Mereogh he wants a company or such like for a time until the wars are better waded through and the country better established ; and then " if you shall find his right most thereunto, to seat him in it " ; in the meantime to let it be in Neale's possession. He is ready at all times to " effect " the " private matter " between you and Neale Garro when you shall wish it ; but he would like to confer with you before he proceeds. He and I both desire the coming of the Serjeant Plaice [?] and the foot and horse you spoke of. If the passage by land is too troublesome they may be brought by sea by Captain Plesinton and Mr. Hall.

Neil Garro has intelligence of O'Donnell's design to cross the Arne [Erne] to-morrow and leave his brother Rory here. What force Rory will have he will know to-morrow.

P.S.—(1) He thinks he should have more interest in Castle Derrick because he lost there 60 cows, and two men in the taking of it.

(2) In Docwra's hand. On this letter I wrote to the paymaster to give him 100l. in money to bestow upon his people ; but, for increasing the pay, I could not [consent], without express order from my Lord Deputy, to whom I promised to write concerning the same in his behalf.

In all p. 1½. Dated Donegall, 17 Sept. Signed by Captain Lewis Orrell, Paule Gore and Thomas Raude [or Rande]. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 109A.

1601.
28 Sept.
Derry.

SIR HENRY DOCWRA to SECRETARY CECIL.

A messenger has come from Neil Garve with the enclosed letters. It shows the state of that garrison and how importunately I am urged to give them relief both of horse and foot. As matters stand I cannot do this. I have, however, sent 40 foot by sea, and money, munitions, apparel and victuals; which, if it arrives in time, and the wind is favourable, will enable them to keep the place till new forces come either from England or else from my Lord Deputy. We have derived great benefit from the occupation of the place; for without it we should have been pushed at for the whole prey of Inishowen, if so great a number of that rebellious body had not been kept off by that garrison only. Besides, all Tyrconnell from within ten miles of our forts would have been reinhabited. This now lies waste and forsaken, save where the poor people, forced by necessity, are gathered together in remote corners for cutting their corn; the wasting whereof everywhere will bring a famine upon them next year. They will also fall, probably, into another by the want of their cows. These have been greatly reduced this year by our preys, by stealths from them of Connaught and by "the immeasurable imposition hath been laid upon the country for maintenance of the soldier." This would have been much eased had not O'Donnell been excluded from his own country by this means and his harvest wasted. I hope, therefore, that they [the Donegal garrison] will be supplied, and I shall do what I can for them, even beyond my "convenient ability."

I send the state of the army according to the last muster. I cannot say it is altogether the truth, but is tolerably accurate: and I have therefore directed the merchant to issue his apparel according to it; for that is due to the soldiers already and their need is exceeding great.

I would gladly ask that some favour be shewn to Neale Garve and the captains with him in their accounts. Neale Garve has a high estimation of his deserts and expects to be rewarded accordingly. He relies on nobody but me, and I will give him content though it is somewhat beyond my commission.

I have written on all these matters to the Lord Deputy, but the firing of Donegal took place since I wrote to him. It takes longer to hear from him than from England; and I have had nothing from him since Candlemas day but what came overland, short letters and little about business.

I think Neale Garve would be greatly contented by some letters of encouragement from the Lords of the Council; and it would prove to him that I love him, a fact of which I think he is as yet hardly convinced, for in former times I had reason to suspect him and he remembers how I treated him then. There is still some cause for suspicion; but the captains there are always carefully on their guard; and Neale cannot be sure that any promise which O'Donnell may make to him will be fulfilled. But as his conduct is good it is unworthy to "impeach the acceptance of his honest services." I spoke only to remark

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on the uncertainty of any conjecture that may be made about this people.

Pp. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd.* : "Received at London 12 Oct."
S.P. Ireland 209, 110. *Enclosing* :—

A. *Copy of Neale Garve to [Sir Henry Docwra].*

Our losses in the fire, both mine and the English, have been very great. Pray send supplies, without which we cannot hold out. I lost in the fire and by the fight my brother, Conn Oge, and 15 men. If we are not relieved it will be a great loss to the Queen and to us and you. The private matter between us I can at your pleasure despatch. Pray answer me on it. I have often asked you for many things and have had slow answers. Pray answer fully.*

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. Dated 24 Sept., Donegal. Followed by :—

Copy of Captain Paul Gore to [Sir Henry Docwra], sent at the same time.

Gives news of the fire. The wind was very vehement. The explosion of the munition shivered a great part of the walls. Details of losses : in all three sergeants and 26 men. The enemy then attacked. The castle, and the storehouse of victual (which was almost free from fire), the fort and the Provost House (of good strength) were defended. The main attack was on the storehouse ; it was repulsed with loss. The enemy pillaged part of the abbey. Supplies must be sent. If this company of Captain Raude's is dissolved to supply others it should be remembered that the writer has lost, by the fire, more than all the rest.

P. 1. In all p. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Endd. Ibid.*, 110A.

B. *John Forth, Commissary of the Victuals at Donegal, to Sir Henry Docwra.*

I suppose none of my late letters have been delivered and you have not heard of the misfortune which occurred to us last Saturday morning, whereby most of our munition with our utensils and necessaries, a great part of our victuals, 200l. of our money and all our beds were burnt and blown up ; and a great many of our men slain. I sent particulars of our loss by Ensign Disney who departed hence yesternight, with the master of the Yarmouth barque and some other passengers, in a small boat supposing to have found that ship riding at the harbour's mouth (where the master left it) and with her to have gone to Derry ; but Mr. Hall—who had lately lost his ship by wreck and had come up here and got some stores of the kind which were burnt—had taken the ship away to sea, most unconscionably ; and coming

* Sir Henry Docwra writes in the margin a note to this remark :—This private matter is an agreement with O'Donnell, under colour whereof he assures me by oath he will get Lough Esk into his hands and deliver it to the Queen. I have freely permitted him to deal in the matter.

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back this morning the master and other passengers [in the small boat] were set upon by the rebels, and, as we hear, either taken or slain.

As soon as I have a safe way to send, I will send you an account of our losses and remains; but pray supply us with all necessary provisions as soon as possible; for otherwise we shall be in danger and misery. All the provisions sent by Hall and Hunnings, 20 cwt. of fish excepted, were well and in good condition and would have been so preserved but for this calamity. On the blowing up of our munition the enemy came with force upon us and had almost gotten the storehouse walls, the only remain thereof, from us: but were driven off after a long and dangerous skirmish. From this you may guess the great need we have of supply.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. (Hol.) Add. Dated: Donegal, 24 September. Endd.: "Mr. Foords letter . . . the Commissary of Victuals." With seal. S.P. Ireland 209, 110B.

c. Neale Garve O'Donnell to Sir Henry Docwra.

Our abbey was all set on fire this morning. We do not know the cause of it. The fire was so sudden that we could only save four barrels of powder: and many of our men were slain. Other details as in foregoing. When O'Donnell attacked after the explosion his men got the wall of the storehouse, but were beaten back. Captain Raude was slain amongst the others. Mr. Hall's ship is cast away, and most of his men and himself and his son have escaped here. My brother Coyne Ooge is grievously hurt with the fall of a house and I fear will scarce recover. We have had to exhaust some of our munition in to-day's fight and I suppose will have to expend more, though many of O'Donnell's men are slain to-day. I have lost all my goods here and hope that my loyalty, shewn in action to-day, will give you a better opinion of me than Hugh boy McDaniell's false information urgeth you to. Pray send us men and all sorts of supplies.

P. 1. Signed in Celtic letters. Dated: Abbey of Donegal, Saturday night, 26 September, 1601. Add. Endd. Ibid, 110c.

d. Note of the provisions, &c. lost in the fire at Donegal on 19 September, 1601, by the Commissary of Victuals in that garrison.

13 barrels and 70lb. of powder, with all the match and some lead which was purloined away by the Irish.

List follows of pickaxes, spades, axes, beds, salt beef, money (210l.) and other commodities lost.

Wine, salt, beer and divers other merchandise were also lost, in addition to the captains' particular losses.

This is drawn from a letter of Mr. Forth; but I have directed special inquiries as to each particular loss, and the proof thereof. I have not yet received any answer to this command.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed by Sir Henry Docwra. Endd. Ibid, 110D.

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E. *State of the army according to the muster taken 24 September, 1601 :—*

Officers.	In list.	Captain and officers.	Able men.	Sick.	Preachers and Canoniers.	Dead-pays.	Deficient.
<i>Sir H. Docwra</i> ..	200	11	155	19	4	12	10
<i>Captain Digges</i> ..	100	7	38	24	2	6	30
<i>Coach</i> ..	100	7	41	25	2	6	26
<i>Wyllis</i> ..	150	9	63	40	3	9	35
<i>Sidney</i> ..	100	7	54	11	2	6	27
<i>Alford</i> ..	100	7	45	5	2	6	42
<i>Lee</i> ..	100	7	36	30	2	6	26
<i>Bingley</i> ..	150	9	80	18	3	9	40
<i>Pinner</i> ..	100	7	39	29	2	6	24
<i>Brooke</i> ..	100	7	40	18	2	6	34
<i>Orme</i> ..	100	7	36	24	2	6	32
<i>Vaughan</i> ..	100	7	62	9	2	6	21
<i>Sir Jno. Bolles</i> ..	150	9	59	36	3	9	44
<i>Captain Lloyd</i> ..	150	9	35	38	3	9	65
<i>Windsor</i> ..	100	7	30	25	2	6	37
<i>Badby</i> ..	150	9	66	37	3	9	35
<i>Bassett</i> ..	100	7	46	24	2	6	22
<i>Stafford</i> ..	100	7	51	12	2	6	29
<i>Atkinson</i> ..	100	4	26	4	2	6	62
<i>Dutton</i> ..	100	7	30	20	2	6	42
<i>Totals</i> ..	2330		1032	447	47	141	683
<i>In Donegal :—</i>							
<i>Sir M. Morgan</i> ..	150	9	72	41	3	9	25
<i>Captain Orrell</i> ..	150	9	62	48	3	9	28
<i>Gore</i> ..	150	9	77	43	3	9	18
<i>Sidley</i> ..	100	7	29	33	2	6	30
<i>Raude</i> ..	100	7	53	18	2	6	21
<i>Totals</i> ..	650		293	184	13	39	122

P. 1. *Endd.* generally and with note in Sir Henry Docwra's hand :—

The forces at Donegal are stated according to the last muster made a month ago, as no certificate can be had from them.

They are reported not above 100 able men.

P. $\frac{1}{4}$ *S.P.* Ireland 209, 110E.

29 Sept.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CAREY to SECRETARY CECIL.

Acknowledges letters and hopes his have been received.

*Proceeds :—*We are busy here putting up the forces with all possible speed to follow the Lord Deputy. Pray send away more men immediately, for our forces which have come out

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of the north are very weak for want of supplies; and it is a great grief that the munition is not yet come.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd.*: "Received at Richmond 11 Oct." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 111.

29 Sept.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

Acknowledges letters. *Proceeds*:—We have only flying tales as to the conduct of the Spaniards and how her Majesty's army acts against them. I know that the Lord President of Munster will commence acting against them at once, pending the arrival of the Lord Deputy with his army.

We are busy "containing the late submittees and putting the shires of the Pale to arms," to withstand Tyrone's invasion which will probably come soon to divert part of the army from the Spaniards. The gentlemen of the Pale in outward shew seem ready to stand against him and "to set up their rest in the quarrel." It is of vital interest to them for life, liberty and living.

I have this day written to remind the Lord Deputy of the strategem used in 1588 whereby certain barques [*describes* the strategem of the fireships used by the English off Calais in 1588] and whereby the Spanish fleet was made to break up in disorder. This strategem might be adopted in the road at Kinsale with some small barques from Wexford or Waterford, which "taking the commodity of some dark night," might work the effect of '88. I have sent to Sir Richard Boockley on this matter, who might fit the execution of the strategem from there or other the coast of Wales.

I do not know if the Spaniards will hold their fleet and forces together in one body or divide them to attempt landing in other places "to garboyle the realm in many places," and so to distract our forces. But I do not think that, as long as they see a strong army lying upon them and to be masters of the field, they will break up their forces, but will await a decisive action, which will either end the quarrel or drive them to seek their fortune further off. You will have news from Munster, and "here we are like to understand nothing but by the market, for that the ordinary ways between Leinster and Munster will be more and more shut up."

P.S.—*Further details* [as already stated in previous letters] as to the command, supplies, &c., of the Spanish force.

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid*, 112.

29 Sept.

EDWARD BRIMSTEDE to the ADMIRAL [of the Navy at Plymouth].

Relates arrival of Spaniards at Kinsale. Ten good ships [would] bring them all to ruin. They are besieged by the Lord Deputy this day with 7,000 foot and 1,000 horse.

P. ½. (*Hol.*) *Add.* the Lord Admiral at Plymouth, or, in his absence, to the Mayor of Plymouth. *Endd. Ibid*, 113.

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30 Sept.
Loughfoyle.

ANTHONY REYNOLDS to SECRETARY CECIL.

I enclose a state of the army as mustered on 24 September last. To satisfy your expectation I got twelve persons to assist me and to take view of every company as they were disposed in their several garrisons in one hour and at the same instant—to avoid fraud.

This muster shews 805 persons deficient. I feel sure the Governor will confirm the muster. I wish I could raise a greater check and believe that he did so [in the case of the last muster?] in order to procure supplies at an instant.

My last muster has been questioned by the Governor's certificate. It was accurate, but I have had some difficulty in maintaining it against the captains. *Details.* I think that in September there fell at least 300 in deficiencies. Thus on the 17th of September Captain Atkinson was betrayed and 50 of his men put to the sword. On 18 September 50 sick men were sent to England by the Governor's passport. At least 200 died in that time. This is a pity, but, as I have said, it is chiefly due to the captains detaining money due to the soldiers, and to the unwholesome victuals sent here.

The Commissaries do not save the Queen anything and might well be spared. If I could have the allowance of one man out of every 100, and that I may make choice of him, I shall have assistants in every corner to meet with all abuses and help myself against the injuries daily done me. I have done as much as all the Commissaries have done or can do.

Field is gone for England and has left the Governor's clerk of his company to supply his place. This is inconvenient. He should be either sent back or replaced, or else my pay should be increased so that I may be able to maintain assistants in my business.

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 114. Enclosing:—*

State of the Army at Loughfoyle and Donegal.

This is a duplicate of the state calendared above p. 100, q.v.

P. 1. *Examined the 30th of September, 1601, by Anthony Reynolds. Endd. Ibid, 114A.*

30 Sept.
Roscommon.

CAPTAIN MALBIE to SAME.

*Dutiful messages. Proceeds:—*The bearer will describe to you my present state. He knows all that I know and is trustworthy. He is going to England and I recommend him.

*P.S.—*Sir Thomas Bourke who is closely allied, and a good friend, to me, has freely offered himself to your honour; and as he shall be assured I doubt not but he shall worthily deserve. I join in asking this.

P. ¾. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 115.*

Copy of the PROCLAMATION of DON JUAN DE AQUILA.

[For an English translation of this see Stafford's *Hibernia Pacata* (1810), Vol. II, pp. 357–60.]

Pp. 2½. *Latin. Signed (copy). Endd. Ibid, 116.*

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Sept.

PATRICK CROSBIE to SECRETARY CECIL.

"Like as (no doubt) the Holy Ghost (when God saw his time to cease his wrath against those two noble houses of York and Lancaster) had stirred up that motion in Margaret, Countess of Richmond, which she made to the Duke of Buckingham, concerning the match between her son and Edward the Fourth's daughter, little knowing then the success of so profitable an union," so I think the same divine power induced your honour to suggest a matter which at first seemed for her Majesty's profit only, but also the most useful for the poor racked state of Ireland that ever was devised since the Conquest. This is the placing of soldiers on the country in lieu of cess and composition. I have considered this matter for three years and have consulted Sir Thomas Norreys and Sir George Carew in both their times; for I was bold with them. I know you are the fittest person to sound it in her Majesty's ears, and am glad to offer my services in the matter.

P.S.—5,000 foot and 500 horse may be placed on the 4 provinces of Ireland. I begin with Munster, because it is now quiet.

2,000 foot and 100 horse may be placed in Munster. The most convenient places to garrison in should be chosen. [*Details.*]

The number of counties and baronies in the province should be considered, and the number of ploughlands in each barony—also the number of ploughlands belonging to the Irishry, out of which there is no certain rent reserved for the Queen.

The entertainment of 1,000 horse and 100 foot should be apportioned on those ploughlands that pay no rent, allowing to every soldier and horseman the same entertainment that her Majesty doth, to be answered in wheat, malt, beef, butter and money, in the same sort as our Leinster task-workmen have been used to have, or the scholars at commons; and every quarter's entertainment to be paid together still beforehand.

To see what the composition of Munster amounted to, and what charge her Majesty was then at, over and above her composition and rents, she having but one company of foot, and the two small wards of Dungarvan and Castlemang [Castlemaine] in the whole province.

To see what the keeping of this 1,000 foot and 100 horse for one year will amount unto, and to note what benefit her Majesty gets by keeping them, and examine the difference between keeping 1,100 and 100 both for offence and defence.

When all this has been done and the 1,000 foot and 100 horse have been placed in Munster, then proceed with the other provinces.

2,000 horse and 200 foot must be quartered in Ulster, for it pays neither rent nor composition to her Majesty; and that it is more spacious and large than other provinces. Connaught and Leinster and Meath and Westmeath should each receive 1,000* foot and 100 horse, for these are little provinces and pay many rents.

* The writer writes "1" and "2" very much alike, as is common at this time, so that it is not quite certain that all these figures should not be 200, 2,000, &c., but the sense is against it.

1601.

These 5,000 foot and 500 horse will be always tried and trained soldiers, and continually in readiness to serve her Majesty—that number to be still kept full with English and “to remain for ever as a nursery or school to breed hardy soldiers that may serve upon all occasions as well at home as abroad.”

Then a certain book should be made shewing the whole of the Queen’s certain revenue in Munster, Leinster and Connaught (the composition being taken away); and this money should be used to pay the State’s principal officers and patentees. The whole of this will cost her Majesty less than when she kept only seven companies in Ireland; and “the subject being now master of his own shall live in better state than ever he did.”

To cut off the fee of the general of the army, the serjeant-major, and the other extraordinary, and, God knows, unnecessary officers.

The attainted lands of Munster, and all other lands which hereafter shall fall to her Majesty, to be disposed of to good, tried servitors, either English or of English race, and not Papists; and they to pay such rents as the undertakers do or to leave the country as the soldiers do. Either of both is beneficial enough for her Majesty, and better than to give the same to young Desmond or to give him any encouragement at all to go into the country; for his being here will do no hurt, and his being there will be but a breeding of mischief. If he is given any lands let it be but a small proportion for fashion’s sake; whereby he may be rather encouraged to sell it away than to dwell there.

In all pp. 2. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 117.

OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1601.

S.P. Ireland 209. Part II.

1 Oct.
Cork.

[Part of] the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We want victuals and munition here. Our provisions had to be scattered because we did not know where the Spaniards were going to land; and now that they are masters of the sea, and the passage by land dangerous, we can hardly use them in any one place; and they may be needed where they are. For instance, if Tyrone comes down, as is likely, none of the victuals from Limerick can come by sea or land. Moreover in case we operate in that direction those victuals should be kept there, and supplies be provided from England in quantities to supply 7,000 men. We shall need six pieces of battery, whereof demi-cannon may be the biggest, all mounted for the field with spare carriages, bullets for eight days’ battery, gins and all other necessities belonging to them, and with a proper supply of powder. There are guns at Dublin which would serve the purpose, but Ireland

* A rough abstract of the whole letter is given in Fynes Moryson’s *Itinerary* (1907), Vol. II, pp. 458-9; but does not represent its contents with accuracy. Accordingly the letter, so far as we have it, is calendared here.—*Ed.*

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affords no shipping that is able, with masts and tackle, to carry them. The wind at this time of year, too, is rarely from the east or north so that we cannot trust to them. We have sent for them, but should be supplied out of England. The great ordnance here in Munster are unmounted and lie upon the ground, and there is no timber here fit to mount them; and without artillery the Spaniards will hardly be forced, before supplies reach them, out of the place where now they lie.

We must have at least 60 last of powder and 50 tons of lead, and the like quantity of match, and 5,000 pioneers' tools. A good part of the munition and pioneers' tools had need be sent away speedily by land. You need not expect much service from us till all these wants are supplied; but we shall do anything that we can find means to compass. We have concentrated our forces, and thereby left the Pale so weak that it will not be able to resist Tyrone if he march that way; and our northern operations hang fire which I, the Deputy, hoped greatly to bring to some good perfection this winter had not these Spaniards arrived. We hope to go on with it still if we are victualled as we wish. We think the proper course is to prosecute the war "roundly" both here and in the North; but cannot do this without the supplies for which we ask.

We hear since writing the former part that the Spaniards have brought with them 1,600 saddles, and hope to find horses for them. They have great store of arms for the country people besides those for their own use; and it is doubtful if their shipping is returned, which we saw under sail the other day. We must have 1,000 quarters of oats at once for our horses, or they will starve; and the same quantity must be sent to Carlingford if the northern prosecution is to go on.

P.S.—We want a master gunner and six canoniers. Those here cannot be trusted in so weighty an action as this; also a master carpenter, smith and wheeler.

Pp. 2½. *A fragment.* Signed by the Lord Deputy and by Carew, Gardener and Walshe. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 118.*

1 Oct.
Cork.

THE LORD DEPUTY to SIR GEORGE CARY.

I hope you will turn your providence upon us "that are like to have Spain and Ireland upon us." If the Spaniards should prevail at first, all this province would out, and I fear all Ireland would follow. I am trying to protect this place at first. If we be royally seconded out of England we may go on this winter with the North, and continue our war here, which I am confident will ruin all our enemies in this country. If not, the King of Spain will make good what he has begun and put this kingdom to a great hazard. If the forces from England arrive in any time I will again strengthen the northern garrisons. If they trash [?] the North, Spain cannot uphold the "Irische" nor make their army to live in this country.

* These numbers run right on through the two bundles of the original MSS. which are bound up as "209, pt. I" and "209, pt. II."

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We have thought it good to establish a running post between this place and Dublin. Pray be careful to maintain it, that we may often hear from one another. When the army is here together we shall consume much victual, so pray enable us to keep together and go on with our purposes.

"It is good in your parts to extenuate as much as may be the power of these foreign forces, but if there be not present and sound opposition made against them they are in themselves mighty and will continually grow, and Spain will supply all their defects." "God I hope will prosper us our quarrel, being the same as was wont to be; and for my part I hope to beat their great breeches as well as ever I did the *Irische trowes*."

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 119.

1 Oct.
From the
Glasrom.
[Glasdrum-
man ?]

TERLOGH MCHENRY to the LORD DEPUTY.

Tyrone with large forces came into my country last night. I little expected his coming. I escaped from him with a few of my company but he caught most of my creaghts, and most of my followers have gone to him so that I am left with very few men. I will shun Tyrone till I hear from your lordship and beg for your warrant to parle [parley] with him and agree with him for myself and goods till your lordship come here, when I will join you. Otherwise I will not yield to Tyrone, and yet I know the same will be "my only destruction." My faith and promise made to my prince and your l[ordship] is so planted in my heart that I never mean to revolt again. "If I do not get this licence, Tyrone has threatened to give all my lands to another, and says he will not desist till I am banished hence. If I agree with him, it will only be done by assistance of some of my friends who are in his favour. I am not able to help the co. Louth, for Tyrone is too strong; but I will give notice to them when he is going to invade the Pale. *Protestations* of loyalty and poverty.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. *Copy. Endd. Ibid*, 120.

2 Oct.
Cork.

The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

[For this see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1907), Vol. II, p. 459-461].

P 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid*, 121.

2 Oct.
From the Fort.
[Plymouth.]

SIR JOHN GILBERT to SAME.

Encloses a letter.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid*, 122. *Enclosing*:—

Sir John Dowdall to Sir John Gilbert.

Announces the arrival of the Spaniards at Kinsale.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid*, 122A.

1601.

3 Oct.
Cork.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

[For this see Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 463-4.]P. 1½. Signed by the Lord Deputy and Carew, Gardener and Walsh. Add. Endd. *S.P. Ireland*, 209, 123.3 Oct.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

We want 2,000 men and some worthy martial man to be Colonel of Leinster in the absence of the Deputy. Differences will arise as to precedence between the officers in the Pale if this is not done. To repose the safety of the Pale on those of Irish birth would be very dangerous. In a much less dangerous time, namely against the traitor Desmond, Sir William Pelham was sent from England as Colonel of Leinster, whilst Sir William Drury, the Lord Justice, was fighting the rebels in Munster; and thus the Pale was preserved. Expense must not be considered when the kingdom is in the balance.

Pray haste away some ships of war to occupy the west coasts, and cut off the Spaniards from their reinforcements. If the Spaniards are fortified as it is said they are it will be very difficult to remove them by land service only, especially as they have strengthened their fortifications with twelve cannons, which cannot be dismounted from the land side only without much bloodshed. If a fleet is sent it will free Ireland from the Spaniards and rescue the kingdom.

I do not know Tyrone's movements with regard to the Spaniards; but as they have come here on his account it concerns him much to make up to them in person. Otherwise they will be suspicious, or else think that he is not able to make good his glorious promises, on which they have made this adventure. As, however, the passage to the south is difficult for him, and as the Queen's army is in the south before him, I think it probable that he will send his brother Cormack on the southern journey and himself stay and infest the Pale; and thus make the Spaniards believe that he can, to their advantage, split the Queen's army. I think few of the submittees of the North and northern parts will stand firm "yet of the south borders the offall of Feogh McHugh" make a good shew of obedience. I doubt if they will do so to the last.

P. 1½. Signed. Add. Endd. *Ibid*, 209, 124.

3 Oct.

An ESTIMATE of what money remaineth in MR. TREASURER'S hand in Ireland and what is needful to be coined and sent away out of hand.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
There has been sent away of the new moneys in all	152,000	0	0
There has been issued for half a year's pay ended the last of September, as appears by the book exhibited by his deputy, Mr. Watson	106,000	0	0
Balance	46,000	0	0

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	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To this is to be added the moneys retrieved [?] into the exchange and paid here with sterling within that time.. ..	33,000	0	0
So there should be in his hands alto- gether	69,000		[sic].
Out of this must be deducted the pay of the 2,000 men last sent, which [who?] it may be supposed have been a month or six weeks in pay	2,000	0	0
There remains in the Treasurer's hand for growing charges from henceforth ..	67,000	0	0
Out of this the army has to be paid for one month more by estimate before the new supplies can be there, which is for this month of October. At the usual rate this will come to.. .. .	17,166	0	0
If this be deducted from the 67,000 <i>l.</i> there will remain in the Treasurer's hand the last of October only	50,834		[sic].
From the last of October, by which time it is likely that the new 4,000 men will be landed, the monthly charge will be, at the same rate of lending as [?] is now allowed, 28,650 <i>l.</i> more by the month : so the whole monthly charge will be about or more than	20,000	0	0
So the Treasurer will only be able to pay the army for 2½ months—or up to January 15, without extraordinaries.			

Allowing a month for coining and a month for transportation,
the mint should be set to work at once, so that the money may
be ready.

P. 1½. *Endd. with date. S.P. Ireland 209, 125.*

4 Oct.
Cork.

The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

[For this letter see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1907), Vol. II,
p. 462-3.]

P. 1½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. with seal. Ibid, 126.*

4 Oct.
Dublin.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in Dublin
to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We leave to the Lord Deputy the description of affairs in
Munster. The Pale is in great danger and environed by strong
rebels on all sides; and so weakly guarded that we are driven
to ask for reinforcements. These cannot be drawn from other
parts of Ireland, for the whole force is distributed by the Lord
Deputy. We cannot trust the people living in the Pale, though
the sight of the army being drawn away to fight for them should
make them resolute in their own defence. The few companies
left in Leinster must guard frontier towns and forts rather than

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take the field. We communicate constantly with the Lords and gentlemen of the different shires, send them commissions and endeavour "to beat into them a true sense and feeling of their own condition." "As in Leinster and the Pale are many ancient English families, some perpetual true subjects, though some, in some times, have been tainted"; so there are also many corporate towns of great antiquity and of much use for the service. These are now "to run a great hazard; and to lose them is to put out the eyes of the Kingdom."

We therefore ask that 2,000 men be sent, for service solely in the Pale, over and above the other reinforcements asked for by the Lord Deputy. The longer these are delayed the greater will be the ruin of the Pale. We shall endeavour to prepare that country to victual them when they come, "upon their landings," which can be done, for it is well off in corn and provisions. Remedies should not be delayed to the heart when the body is ill.

As we write we hear that Tyrone is come into the Fews and sent down foot and horse in great numbers into the co. Louth, and took the prey of many towns, and killed and wounded inhabitants who tried to rescue them. The force in the Fews may at will break into the Pale at several places; and Tyrrell in the south parts and O'Rorke in Westmeath are ready to support it.

P.S.—No part of the munition is yet come, though the wind has long been favourable.

P. 1½. Signed by Archbishop Loftus, Cary and Fenton. *Add.* *Endd.*: "R. at Richmond 11 (Oct.). *S.P. Ireland* 209, 127.

4 Oct.
Dublin.

SIR HENRY DAVERS TO SECRETARY CECIL.

Polite messages. I will say little of this country's state for fear of causing needless anxiety. When the Spaniards landed the Lord Deputy ordered me to join him with most part of the northern garrisons, leaving the places provided for defence, and 100 horse in the Newry and Mountnorris to divert the rebels. "But though I used the best expedition I could yet Tyrone did attempt us in our drawing of[f], with no great garnying of either side though so unwilling he was any more to meddle that he hynged [?] looking on in the Fews." I victualled the forts of the Moyry and the Roeche [?]. Since my coming he "costes" [coasts] the co. Louth and will spoil there. I have confidently heard that the people there are deeply bound by oath at this time to revolt; "but so subject stands their state to answer the least of their offences that our disaster and no other thing can make them declare such as in their hearts they are."

Doubtless Turlough McHenry and those new received men will join with the rebels "yet in so modest a manner not to make their case irreconcilable that, as when they were subjects they did little good, so now they will do no great harm," unless the Spaniards prevail, which is unlikely at the unfit time and place they have chosen.

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I will now haste to my Lord and, I doubt not, to the defeat of the Spaniards. This will mean the instant reduction of this country.

P. 1½. (*Hol.*) *In an involved and unusual style. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 128.*

4 Oct.
Lisbruke.
[Lisabuck,
co. Mon.]

EVER MACMAHON to the LORD DEPUTY.

When the forces departed Tyrone came at once into my country and sent to me to join with him in his actions or otherwise that he will destroy my country and take my cattle. I cannot withstand him and, for aught I learn, I am not like to be relieved by the Pale, who, I fear, cannot even defend themselves. I think I shall take time to be advised of his demands, and so "make fair weather with him"; or, if this fails, make some composition to preserve my poor people's goods. I pray for your pardon for taking this course. I shall do my duty loyally during my life.

P. ¾. *Copy. Endd. Ibid, 129.*

5 Oct.
Richmond.

The QUEEN to the SAME.

[For this see Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.* III, 21-2.]

P. ½. *Copy. Endd. Ibid, 130.*

5 Oct.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Recommends the bearer Paul Arundell. He is of the house of the Arundells in Cornwall, a valiant soldier and trained as such in the "best exercise of the time in the Low Countries." Requests that he be given command of a company of the next reinforcements which are to be sent over.

P. ½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 131.*

8 Oct.
Cork.

SIR EDWARD WINGFIELD to the SAME.

Asks for favour. Proceeds:—"I have consumed my estate and lost much blood in her Maggestie's service," and have held important commands without discredit, "yet now serve as a private man because no man dares give me preferment" without your consent. Pray protect me and raise again "a decayed house" that will ever try to deserve your favour. *Relates arrival of Spaniards.* . . . Pray remember me that I may have a regiment. I have been Colonel longer than most of our captains here have been captains.

P. 1. *Spells "Deputy" "Debwtly." Add.: "To Sir Robert Cyttsell," &c. Endd. Ibid, 132.*

8 Oct.
Knockfergus.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER to the SAME.

I said in my last letters that I was prevented from prosecuting my business upon the borders of Tyrone by the perfidious revolt

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of Con O'Neale with 350 bonnaughts led by Ustone McDonnell, nephew to Randall. My endeavours on them have been so successful that Con is now prisoner with me in her Majesty's castle. Ustone, the Scot and divers others are slain. I charged their camp in the "fastnage" where they lay. This country is well quit of them. They had plotted a party with M'Brian McArte, they all to be assisted upon short warning from Tyrone, and, having gotten into the Duffren (of which the Scot wrote himself Lord, the country wholly revolting with him) all loose and idle men from his two uncles in the Roote and Glynnns resorted unto him"; and he would have been a dangerous enemy had not God overthrown his designs. I cannot accuse his uncles of anything worse than temporising, for, to my knowledge, they have not given any assistance to Tyrone since they were pardoned. I do not know what they will do when they hear of the Spaniards being in Munster. I have another nephew of theirs prisoner. Captain Egerton, who bears this, has been here to pass his estate of constablenesship of this castle to Captain Seckford, but Captain Seckford has not accepted it as he thinks that the possession of such a post might hinder his other advancements by the wars by keeping him away from following his company. If Colonel Egerton forgoes the place I wish it were given to some person that stands more upon his honour and reputation than upon the profit of the place. The town and myself are under the guard of the castle and all our munitions and ordnance are stored there. If I had had money I would have bought it; and would give him the greatest part of what the Queen owes me, if it were paid me, for his estate. Though poor, I will not trouble you by craving.

"We follow a painful, toilsome, hazardous and unprofitable war by which the Queen will never reap what is expected until the nation be wholly destroyed or so subjected as to take a new impression of laws and religion, being now the most treacherous infidels of the world and we have too mild spirits and good consciences to be their masters. He is a well governed and wary gentleman whom their villainy doth not deceive. Our honesty, bounty, clemency and justice make them not any way assured unto us, neither doth the actions of one of their own nation, though it be the murder of father, brother or friend, make them longer enemies than until some small gift or bienge [? buying] be given to the wronged party. This rumour of 3,000 or 4,000 Spaniards doth so tickle them," that they think they can overrun us. If I were as well supplied with good English as I should be "I would make 1,000 of them starve before May, and the grand traitor would not draw towards his new guests but I would give him a sufficient fire in Tyrone to lighten his return." I will operate against him unless the whole country revolts, of which I have some fears.

I have sent the news from Munster to Lough Foyle; and that from Lough Foyle and the state of Donegal to the Lord Deputy, so that some steps may be taken to relieve Donegal from Galway. "It is now told me by one of my spies coming from Tyrone's

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own house that Turlogh McHenry (whom my Lord Deputy has received and given entertainment unto) has sent to O'Neale to advance towards the borders of the Pale, and that he will join with him to damnify and overrun the whole country." On this, he says, he [Tyrone] is providing for the journey. If my Lord be gone it is very likely.

If the Spaniards are not more numerous than is stated I do not think that they will long delay the business of the Northern parts: and if they are once beaten it will dishearten all the rebels in seeing them on whom they grounded so great hopes overthrown. The best way to beat Tyrone is by operations from here, whence garrisons may easily be planted within 5 miles of Dungannon. This I know will be effective. Opinion is divided amongst those who serve here and most of us propound for our private charges. I respect the general, and only desire your good esteem and can content myself with another fortune when these wars are over.

The new coin has much impoverished us in these parts. Few or none will trade with us and Sir Henry Docwra tells me that the exchange shall be seated at Loughfoyle. "They are the greater number and fit to be more respected. I hope some respect will be had of this place, and myself pardoned by you if I leave it in far better state than I found it. Some exchange in Scotland would much relieve this North which, without some prevention for our misery, will suddenly fall into extremity."

Colonel Egerton has left one Whittington, a relation of his, as Vice-Constable. He has formerly filled the post and is careful and honest. I should like to have the place.

Pp. 3. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 133. *Enclosing:—*

State of the companies of this garrison of Knockfergus, horse and foot, as taken in September, 1601, shewing the country or province from which the soldiers come.

Sir Arthur Chichester's foot: In list, 200. English, 138. English Pale, 9. Ulster, 37. Deficient, none. Total, 184.

Sir Fulke Conway's company: In list, 150. English, 56. Pale, 7. Leinster, 4. Connaught, 3. Ulster, 40. Deficient, 28. Total, 110.

Captain Gregory Norton's: In list, 100. English, 41. Pale, 10. Munster, 3. Leinster, 4. Ulster, 26. Deficient, 8. Total, 84.

Captain Henry Sackford's: In list, 100. English, 50. Pale, 8. Leinster, 6. Connaught, 2. Ulster, 9. Deficient, 17. Total, 73.

These were the four standing companies of the garrison.

Similar figures are given for the companies of Captain Roger Billings (total, 106) and Captain Thomas Phillips (total, 82).

A note adds that 40 of Captain Billings' company have run away to the enemy since the muster, and some of these have been taken and hanged.

The total number of heads, sick and sound, at this muster, was 641; of whom 343 were English.

Deficient upon all these foot, 141.

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Similar figures are given for Sir Arthur Chichester's horse (total, 23) and Captain John Jephson's horse (total, 80).

Of the 54 Ulstermen in Captain Jephson's troop, 40 are Shane McBrian O'Neale's and Rory Oge McRuyllyn's. Each of these are paid [for] 20 on this list.

Similar figures follow for the ward of the Castle (20 in list : efficient 20) and for the ward of the Abbey (20 in list : efficient 17).

Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. in Chichester's hand. With note by him certifying the state and adding:—"I desire a supply as well in respect of our checks for that we are driven to foster vipers with what should be given to true servants"; and many of those present are sick. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 133A.

5 Oct. List of CAPTAINS who expect employment :—

Captain Cesar, brother to the Judge Cesar.
 „ Blundell, who came from Loughfoyle.
 „ Crompton, brother to the doctor.
 „ Orrell, a tall man, a follower of Lord Mounteagle.
 „ Devorax.
 „ Henry Holcrofte, recommended by the President.
 „ John Roberts.

P. $\frac{1}{4}$. Endd. as in title. *Ibid*, 134.

Same. Note on the CONTRACTS for supply of the IRISH ARMY.

Certain contracts (*details given*), were made on July 31 with Mr. Cockain and Mr. Jolly for supplies to be delivered at Dublin, Carlingford, Carrickfergus and Loughfoyle. These are spent, except those at Carrickfergus, which arrived 15th September.

Certain other contracts [*details given*] were made by Mr. Cockaine and Mr. Jolly, for delivery of victuals at various ports in Ireland. These have not arrived.

600 quarters of oats should be sent to Loughfoyle. This will last till April 30. *Details*.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. Endd. *Ibid*, 135.

6 Oct. Dublin. The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in DUBLIN to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We send to your lordships details regarding the Spanish force received from the Lord Deputy. They are in examinations taken from persons who came from the Spaniards, and are more accurate than any news hitherto received. We are doing our best to meet the Lord Deputy's desires as to despatch of other matters. The munitions which we heard were long since at Chester have not arrived here. Since the Deputy's letter of 30 September, I, the Secretary, received a letter from Cork saying that the remains of the Spanish ships, which then were not come in, were arrived at Baltimore; so as, we think that their whole

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fleet has by this come together. Tyrone is making daily raids into the Pale. He is, we think, going to co-operate with the Spaniards, and makes these raids to distract the small forces of the Pale whilst he makes his journey westwards. Pray send away soon the 2,000 men we wrote for to defend the Pale, which is environed on all sides with strong rebels.

P.S.—We expect that the ships which are said to be gone from Kinsale are directed to lie off and on at the sea, both “to intercept anything to come out of England” and to secure supports to be sent from Spain. Pray send ships at once, and others when they are ready, We press for this.

P. 1. *Signed* by Lord Chancellor Loftus, Carey and Fenton. *Add. Endd.*: “Received at Richmond 11 Oct.” *S.P. Ireland* 209, 136. *Enclosing*:—

The Lord Deputy and President of Munster to the Lord Chancellor other Privy Councillors in Dublin.

Send the examinations referred to in the foregoing letter.

Proceed:—We went to Kinsale yesterday to view the Spaniards and their shipping so as to see how we should best sit down by them when the time comes to take the field. The only danger is that those ships which are alleged in the examinations to have been lost at sea may have gone purposely to some other port. This is, however, scarcely probable when we consider how those at Kinsale do not fortify nor (as we hear) so much as mount their artillery; yet give out that they will keep the field until supplies reach them or the rebels keep their promise to assist and join with them, especially with horse, for which they are said to have brought 400 saddles. In all probability they expect assistance from the rebels and therefore we must needs take the field, and that strongly, so soon as the forces sent for come to us. Pray send us with all speed possible from thence the artillery, provisions and other necessities contained in the enclosed to Cork, together with Jolly, the master gunner, and all such others as have entertainment to attend the ordnance.

Those of you who are Commissioners for victualling causes must also send as many victuals as possible here and certify if any be come in lately out of England, or any munition, and what store of those two kinds is remaining. For sending letters from our headquarters to Dublin we have “laid posts” at those towns by the way which we think will most aptly serve that turn. We send you a note of them and beg you to establish them as well as you can especially in those towns which are next you.

We cannot provide for you so well in the Pale as we should like to, because we have to divide our forces here into two bodies to keep the rebels and Spaniards from joining. But we have allocated 550 [?] of the northern forces to lie where you*

* The writer (Fynes Moryson) writes a figure which might stand for “2,” “3” or “5.”

1601.

think fittest, and have told 650 [?] to lie at Carlow. There they will be near enough to answer any occasion that may happen, and yet will both assure the passage and, we hope, stop Tyrrell from doing any great hurt if they be stirring, as we make account they will be. Pray let Sir Arthur Chichester and Sir Henry Docwra know of the arrival of the Spaniards in these parts and wish them to do their utmost to keep Tyrone busy at home, or, if he be come thence, to spoil him as much as they can. Sir Francis Stafford can easily send to Sir Arthur Chichester, who often communicates with Sir Henry Docwra; so you can send to Sir Arthur Chichester, and, through him, to Sir Henry.

P.S.—The state of the kingdom depends on our ability to keep the field. If we break for want of victuals the country will revolt and then the Spaniards will take the towns. We therefore urgently press you to despatch victuals at once. Pray send here the Dutch engineer that was with me, the Deputy, at the building of the fort at the Moyry, and as many with him as he shall name fit to assist him. Send them speedily. His name is said to be Leuni [?] Rose or some such name.

Pp. 2½. Dated: Cork, 30 September. Signed. Add. Endd.: "Received at Dublin, 6 Oct., 1601." S.P. Ireland 209, 136A. Enclosing:—

A. A copy of examinations of John Edie, born near the Mount in Cornwall, and others.*

[For Edie's evidence see above, p. 86. It is here repeated.]

Anthony Wells says:—

He served on the ship of Serriago these seven months; and on Sunday five weeks they put forth from Lisbon and were directed by the Admiral to Kinsale. Otherwise agrees with the foregoing examinations.

John Loyle, a Scot, being likewise examined, agrees with the rest.

All agree as to Don John de Lagola being the general of the land forces.

P. ½. Signed (copies). Endd. Ibid, 136A.*

6 Oct.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Thomas Gardener, who brought your letter here on his behalf, is returning as he finds a void here. I hope, as you favour him you will prefer him to a company, and am sure that, if he is appointed, he will justify his promotion.

P. ½. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 137.

6 Oct.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CARY to SAME.

Part of the munition has arrived in the harbour, which is lucky, as the Lord Deputy has sent for a great proportion of the same. Pray send over 2,000 or 3,000 men as soon as possible to strengthen

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the northern garrisons. They will either cause Tyrone to leave a great portion of his forces behind, or else spoil his country. We have written to Docwra and Chichester to be stirring lustily at this time.

There must be ten or twelve of her Majesty's ships about here, or else we shall hardly be able to put up the provisions for which the Lord Deputy writes; for their ships will lie nightly [or mightily?] on our coast. Please have 25,000*l.* ready, though I think I shall not want it before Christmas.

We hear that the rest of the Spanish fleet is in Kinsale.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 138.

7 Oct.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

The munition, both that sent by long sea and that sent by land, has arrived, and that opportunely, for, before its arrival, the store of powder was drawn to so low an ebb as is not meet to be advertised. We are sending five last of the powder to the camp in Munster in a bark with victuals. These arrived with the powder; and also spades and other necessaries for fortifying and entrenching. The companies drawn out of the north should now be near the Lord Deputy; and then no doubt he will take the field and "lodge by them": but the way to speedy service is to haste away some ships of war. If these combined with the land forces the defeat of the Spaniards would be more swift and bloody.

Tyrone remains in the borders of the Fewes and the Fearnay where he is dealing with the submittees, Tirlagh McHenry, Ever McCooley and Magynness to revolt. These men, I am told, are ready to rejoin him, only they "hover to hearken further of the proceedings of the Spaniards, and how the Queen's army prevails against them." I am told that they are considering whether Tyrone should go up to join the Spaniards and, if he does so, whether he should go up in force, or "steal up singly by the way to avoid encounters." They differ on this matter and nothing had been settled up to October 6th. "Yet he begeth much his going, holding himself deeply taxed in reputation not to answer them at their first landing" as he had promised. I think he will steal to them as closely as he can, leaving his forces on the border to annoy the Pale. If he did not join them, but merely sent messages, they would become suspicious of his ability to keep his promises.

If he steal up to Munster, it cannot be but by favour and winking of some Leinster men of the better sort: "whose unsoundness we may suspect." We can do nothing to prevent this, however, so I have written to the Lord Deputy to use all means to "lay for him" in those bye ways which he will seek out, both for going and returning, especially through Ormond and Tipperary.

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid,* 139.

1601.

7 Oct.

At the camp
before Kinsale.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I recommend the enclosed from Sir Richard Moryson. He is a gallant gentleman and "cannot accuse himself of any misdemeanour towards you, but yet cannot free himself of jealousies that you are hardly conseeded of him because he was so well esteemed by him that is dead. Pray notice in your next that I wrote to you about him, that he may receive some comfort. He is infinitely dejected at the thought that he is out of favour with you.

P. 3. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 140. Enclosing :—

Sir Richard Moryson to Sir George Carew.

Subservient and polite expressions. Proceeds :—*Pray recommend me to Secretary Cecil. As long as my Lord of Essex was the Queen's instrument in the command of the war, I honoured him much, both for himself and for the many favours I received from him. This bond of mine "never stretched further than the limits of honest thankfulness might justify." These are "only circumstances to make you to know my freedom before I engage myself to a new vowing [?] of my service," which I much desire to recommend to Mr. Secretary and by your lordship's means. If he patronises me I will remain always devoted to his service.*

P. 3. (Hol.) Dated : Lecale, 15 September. Add. Endd. *Ibid*, 140A.

7 Oct.

Newry.

SIR FRANCIS STAFFORD to SECRETARY CECIL.

The arrival of the Spaniards has altered the course resolved upon for the suppression of Tyrone, which was likely to bring about peace and quiet here. There were at the Blackwater, Armagh, Mountnorreys and the Newry above 2,000 foot and horse in garrison, but these are all drawn away to Munster, and there are only left at the Blackwater Captain Williams's company of foot, at Armagh Sir Henry Davers' company of foot, at Mountnorreys Captain Atherton's company of foot and Sir Samuel Bagnall's 50 horse, and at the Newry, where I command, my own companies of foot and horse. These remote garrisons are weak, and it is impossible but that, if they are left unrelieved by men and victuals, some great dishonour should fall upon them.

Tyrone has advanced to the co. Louth and will spoil the borders of the Pale. The best way to curb him is, in my opinion, to strongly reinforce the garrisons under Docwra and Chichester, which would compel the traitor to use his strength in protecting his own people. If he is free he is strong, and his strength brings impoverishment to the country, of which it has little need, prices, especially the prices of victuals, being so high here.

Tyrone, I hear, is trying, by messengers and letters, to stir his neighbours into a fresh revolt—I mean Terlogh McHenry, Sir Oghy O'Hanlon, Magenis, and Ever McCooley. All these

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have submitted and been pardoned by the Queen. These men are "people of Ireland, perfidious, ungrateful, and apt to wind with every innovation," and are not to be trusted. I have, however, some hope of O'Hanlon and Magenis.

I have spoken to them since we heard the rumour of the Spaniards and, "as by their speeches and oaths," I can conjecture they have not forgotten their late savage life and the misery they tasted of, which I think will now be a cause of their better obedience.

Tyrone is burning and spoiling in Louth and will remain there, where he is not resisted or impeached. The Council remaining in Dublin, are, except some few of them, so much amazed with this sudden accident, and so unacquainted with the managing of a matter of this quality and consequence, that I think they will only consult with you for the defence of Dublin and the Pale and Munster. Pray remember the poor Newry and the garrisons adjoining it. If they are not supplied with great forces they cannot but be ruined, and places which have been providently erected will be destroyed, to her Highness' great charge and the loss of numbers of her soldiers and subjects.

There is no better place for forces to land than Carlingford, as well for the defence of Newry, Dundalk and Ardis [Ards]. If landed there they will not only frighten Tyrone, but will keep McHenry, McCooley [*names as above*], the captain of Ferney and Magenis in check. I am told that Tyrone labours all he can to get 1,000 Spaniards sent round to Carlingford, out of the numbers now arrived in Munster. With these he says he will do much, for they will unite their forces and probably draw in a number of the Pale, and much endanger the taking of Tredagh, "that people being in their conditions seditious, and very much affected to Tyrone."

News has just come to me that Tyrone is in co. Louth, four or five miles beyond Dundalk, and has done great spoils and all freely, without any head made against him, which will make him rage the more. But I understand that not one gentleman of importance has yielded to him or gratified him in any manner. I am glad they are more constant now than they were heretofore in times of less danger.

P.S.—I hear that the Spaniards have lately sent three special messengers to Tyrone to labour his coming into Munster. The best way to keep him at home is to speed away numbers of men to Loughfoyle and other garrisons. This will keep the Spaniards and Tyrone from uniting and will lead to the speedy ruin of both

Pp. 2½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 141.

9 Oct.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW TO SECRETARY CECIL.

The Lord Deputy is preparing to take the field, and I am glad to say I am able to feed 6,000 men for a month out of Cork alone. In Limerick I had my greatest store, "which must by a long navigation come to us." If the Spaniards had landed anywhere

1601.

else I do not know how the army could have been provided, till next summer, with victuals and carriage to lodge by them. Unless we are supplied, when our small store is spent, we shall have to interrupt the siege and retire to Cork. Pray send us help. I do not enforce the horse and foot for which the Lord Deputy and Council have asked, but they are greatly needed, for the enemy expect supports from Spain (when their fleet gets home) of 8,000 foot. If these supports come before we receive ours, the whole country will rise into revolt. Nobody worth a garron has as yet adhered to them; and only a few of Florence McCarthy's men have joined them. These have compounded for entertainments and means. The province remains firm, which men think miraculous. We must not expect their swords to fight for us. They are honestest than I expected. This shows that the Irish rebellion was suppressed and that I was right in my opinion that no revival of a merely Irish rebellion would take place. I think that if the Spaniards had landed in the English Pale the people there would have been more distempered than in Munster. There is no appearance of war in the province except at the walls of Kinsale. When Tyrone comes amongst them their faiths will be proved, for then the enemy's part will be the stronger.

All the townsmen of Kinsale, except the poor and one George Roche, a merchant, have left the Spaniards on a proclamation to be received to the Queen's mercy, but George Roche protests to run [?] their fortune. He is a man against whom an accusation was delivered to you by Patrick Stronge of Waterford about twelve months ago, to be [*i.e.*, that he was] a dealer for Florence McCarthy in Spain. The accusation was laid before me and the Council here, but as no pregnant proof was adduced by Stronge to prove it he was delivered, on heavy sureties. These sureties are now at the Queen's mercy; and the event proves Florence to be a traitor.

The Spaniards, relying on the country, have brought no large supplies. What they have consists of bread and suat [suet?]. Their greatest relief is the townsmen's provisions in Kinsale. They have no wine—except the officers. The soldier drinks only water. We keep relief from reaching them from the country, so that, but for their supplies coming from Tyrone and Spain, the war would be soon ended.

If, however, we cannot (for want of men, munition and victuals) defeat them and Tyrone before their reliefs come out of Spain, it will be a long and tedious war for the Crown of England. They give out that their King intends to make war on England, and to combine with the Irish for such a war, that this is the first great enterprise the King has undertaken since his coming to the Crown, and that he feels himself bound in honour to see the enterprise through. Suryago [*sic*] and the other ships which were parted from them in the storm have not yet arrived, and they think he is lost. Their ships have all left, and they know they cannot hold the town long, as it is so weak. This makes me believe that they are sure of present [prompt] supplies.

1601.

If any of the Queen's ships were in the haven of Kinsale the town would be instantly ours, for the ordnance from the sea would so annoy them that they could not lie in the town.

Three days past I sent Captain Flower with 300 light shot who at daybreak skirmished at the gates of Kinsale. The Spaniards shewed great fear. Our men are in good spirits and ready to fight, and I think them better than the Spaniards. The enemy gave these men "great reputation" and asked if there were any more so resolute. Had they not been called off by Captain Flower they would have set fire to the gate. Although our force was small and the day cloudy, the Spaniards would not sally.

Pp. 4. (*Hol.*) *S.P. Ireland* 209, 142.

9 Oct.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I am glad the Spaniards have chosen to land at Kinsale; for if they had chosen any other place, it would have been worse for us. I thank you for your care for me, but I and the Lord Deputy agree that I should not go to England now as a relator, for my absence may not now be admitted except the province be left at liberty. No man knows as well as I do how to "temper the provincials" and the Lord Deputy, being a stranger in Munster, will gain by having my assistance in the making of the war "for the whole burden and care lies now upon me, which no man but myself can discharge."

When the Lord Deputy gets to know the country, then, if the war continues longer than I hope it will, I will come to you: for I can be entreated to go over whenever I find the time meet for me to be spared.

"The Lord Deputy useth me with great respect, and if he be not in love a servant to you and unto me a parfayte and an affectionate friend he is the most false man living. Heaven and earth are witnesses of his vows which if he break, from such *libera me Domine*. For 3,006 and 2,048 God amend them or end them; and when I write of 2,047 I will remember the caution you gave me. For the *Island of a Dream* I received it and let it pass, and do well believe the other proffers of the same unto others. If he have his desires, pray remember it."

I am very grateful for your favours and promise to remain your faithful servant. *Protestations of service*. I dislike being away from you, but when these forlorn hopes of Spain are ruined, which I think they will be, I will repair to you and, if I may, be the framer of my own fortune. Whether the Queen relieve my estate or not, I will never after depart from you "for on you my thoughts attend, and no other fortune than yours I mean to run."

"I never feared that you would fall into Turpis' humour, but the party you mean I cannot call to mind; neither do I hear that you are in any sort suspected. If anything come to my ears I will acquaint you with it, and reserve my thoughts here until your pen shall make relation; but howsoever from such peccadilloes I do absolve you *a pennâ et culpâ*."

1601.

As you desired, I return yours in this; and "though I am near many swords that are ready and willing to cut my throat, yet thank God I never had less care in my heart than now and cannot believe but that I shall pass over this play without any great danger, and do conclude myself to be no more mortal than before, and (to deal plainly with you,) in my own opinion in much less danger now than when I came into the province to fight against James McThomas and his buonies. This is a more noble enemy, but the other more dangerous. Pray write freely. Your letters cannot miscarry while my wife lives" to whom they may be delivered.

"So end, wishing a shameful end to myself when I shall fail to be your honour's faithful true servant,

George Carew."

P.S.—1. Recommends the bearer, Captain Arundell, for a company if Cecil will so favour him.

2. "If you write again I beseech your honour so to write in a letter or part that I may shew your letter to my Lord Deputy, for he looks to know all things that come from you. In another letter you may write private causes, which course I do observe with your honour. I durst not shew him this enclosed."

Pp. 3. (*Hol.*) *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 143.

9 Oct.
Cork.

[GEORGE] LORD AUDLEY to SECRETARY CECIL.

I am devoted to you and am freed from the Earl of Essex by his disloyalty to his prince and country. I renew my old suit for the Glynne. If I get it I will pay the Queen the accustomed rent. My company was 200, but, at my return forth of England, I found both my Lord President's, the Earl of Tomunde's [Thomond's] and mine brought to a hundred and fifty a piece. As theirs have been reduced to their first number I crave a like favour.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Hol.?*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 144.

10 Oct.
Dublin.

JOHN KING (Deputy to the Treasurer of Ireland) to ———.

I sent you a bill of exchange in June last for Sir Robert Napper of 130*l.* 15*s.*, not knowing he had been discharged of his place. But it appears by her Majesty's letter brought over by Sir Edmond Pelham, the new Chief Baron, that Napper's entertainment ceased on 20 April, 1601, so that only 16*l.* 15*s.* of the sum is due to him, and the residue is payable to Sir Edmond Pelham as, on perusal of this enclosed note, you will easily find. My master has therefore given direction to Mr. Watson to make stay of so much only of the foresaid bill, and commanded me to advertise the same to you for Sir Robert Napper's better satisfaction.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Underwritten with* :—

1601.

Note of the fees due to Sir Edmond Pelham for half a year ending Michaelmas, 1601. These are :—

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For his fee	26	16	3
For his proportion of Magenis' beeves "after 20 <i>l.</i> per annum"	10	0	0
For his house rent	10	0	0
For John Nettervilles portcorn for that harvest, 1601	13	10	0
For Mr. Baker's portcorn for same	12	0	0
For his dead-pays at 5 <i>s.</i> per diem from the last of September following	45	15	0
Total	118	15	0

These sums are now due to Sir Edmond Pelham, except 5*s.* a day, from 31 March to 20 April, 1601.

Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 145.

12 Oct.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

News regarding the Spanish forces is confidently reported by ships from here and Scotland which came with the enemy's fleet. All the examinations taken concur in saying that the enemy set out from Lisbon 4,000 strong or a little less. They were well appointed with munitions, victual and treasure, and were addressed for Limerick and Galway, but were driven to put into Kinsale by contrary weather. A further force of 6,000 is to be sent before Christmas, for which sundry of the ships have returned to Spain. The Jesuit Archer, who betrayed the Earl of Ormond to the O'Mores, and some other Irishmen have come with the fleet.

Tyrone's "bruytes" spread abroad among the Irish agree with these statements; for he says that his agreement was for 10,000 men to be landed in Ireland at such places as were known to him. He boasted this to Sir Garrett More on October 9th, "they having communication together after he had broken forrey into the Pale as far as the river Boyne."

I understand too from a servant of mine whom I keep in the bosom of Feagh McHugh's sons that a particular force was set apart for a landing in Leinster "to set up the Irish government there and to distribute creations and titles to the Irishery after their ancient savage customs." The hope of this is the chief deterrent to keep Feogh's sons and Daniel Spanniogh awaiting the arrival of the Spaniards before they rise. The same project is probably laid for Connaught so as to "garboyle all the provinces of the realm at once with strangers except Ulster, where I think Tyrone cannot brook that a force of Spaniards should take footing." If therefore a second force of 6,000 is intended this will be the plot of their distribution.

"Now to break these haughty designs of the Spaniards, if her Majesty, either by the French King or the Low Countries, cannot use means to entangle Spain with some great war" . . .

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the best course is to place enough men in Ireland to engage the Spaniards in the various provinces and encounter them and their factions in every province with a force equal to their own, before their supports come. "To set upon them in one country and leave another open to their wills were but to sprinkle water upon the fire and linger the work to a long charge to her Majesty. And yet, the danger of a foreign conquest (which is aspired unto) remaining still doubtful, rather than prevented, to this [it] might give great help if the King of Scots could be drawn to send into Ulster 2,000 or 3,000 of that nation, though that were with some charge to her Majesty," so as her Majesty appointed most of the superior officers. This force, if it engaged Tyrone in Ulster, would keep him from sending his forces elsewhere. "But where[as] against this plot the old impediment may be objected that it will be hard to get the Scots out of the country when the service is ended (an objection which I confess I have maintained heretofore, for that I found it always against the ancient rules of government to bring Scots into Ireland), now seeing the alteration of times and accidents must be followed with change of counsels, that difficulty of expelling the Scots after the service ended need not be strictly stande [stood] upon. . . . As the state of the north of Ireland standeth garboyled at this present, the difference cannot be great between the kearne of Ulster and the Scots, touching their settling here, so as the house of O'Neill be supplanted, which hath been always the firebrand of Ireland; and I do not think but that the Scots will carry a better conformity to the government of England and yield her Majesty larger tribute and rents than ever did those savage kearne of Ulster." This is my opinion.

Finally and most important of all, haste away the ships of war. Without them, all plans of attack and defence will fall to the ground.

Pp. 2. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 146.

13 Oct.
Knockfergus.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER to LORD HUNSDON, Lord Chamberlain of England.

Captain Worlock, the bearer, has taken a great deal of pains in the position of sergeant major of this garrison for the past year and a half. He has held worthier commands and desires to go to England to present himself to you in the hope of getting a better command. He is loyal, an ancient captain of her Majesty's and a servant to you and your father. He will give you news of these parts. I recommend him.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 147.

14 Oct.
Waterford.

ROBERT WALSH, MAYOR OF WATERFORD, to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Captain Morgan arrived here to-day with your instructions to find out about the landing of the Spaniards. *Refers* to previous information sent as to the Spanish landing. *Proceeds* :—Since

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then I hear from Sir Nicholas Walsh, who wrote from the Lord Deputy's camp, that Kinsale, Ringcurran and Castleneparkey are in the Spaniards' hands. They are about 3,000 and have some twenty-three [Irishmen] with them, including James Archer and Ferrall, a titular Bishop of Connaught. The Spaniard who called himself Archbishop of Dublin is amongst them, and others, most of whom depend upon Florence McCartie. Some Englishmen also came with their navy but men of no name. Some English, with Frenchmen and Scots, have run from them, and some Spaniards, Portingalls and others are brought prisoners to Cork.

At his first coming Don Juan d'Aquila promised that those citizens who wished to depart might go away freely with their goods, and now they cannot have any, Don Juan saying that he meant that they should *presently* depart and *presently* take away their goods. Four of the citizens, whose names are Mortell, Philip and George Roche, and Galway, waited in the hope of being allowed to come away with their goods; but since we published a proclamation licensing them to repair to us and pardoning their offence in staying, they are more strictly looked into; neither can they enjoy the full benefit of their goods, and some of them have been put from their beds to make way for sick Spaniards. They have many sick.

The country people do not resort to them, but "skowtes from us that do keep upon them." They are offering to buy horses. Their ships of war have gone and have left about 13 merchant ships in the harbour of Kinsale. They expect assistance from Tyrone and further supports from Spain; but I hope that, before these come, they will receive some blows from our camp. Our soldiers are very anxious to fight and make booty of their treasure, which, it is said, is half a million of ducats.

I hear, now, that the 13 or 14 merchant ships have departed. A letter of October 6th informs me that the Spaniards marvel much at not hearing from Tyrone whom they expected to see as soon as they landed. Tyrone cannot come for want of munition, and fears further loss at home. He may incur losses on his journey too, for he will be "well laid for" and "must look upon the fire at his back." He has sent to Scotland for munition, and may make that an excuse to the Spaniards for delay.

Tyrrell burns some towns in Ormond and expects the coming of Redmond Bourke. Those friends of James Fitzthomas and Florence McCarty who were most doubted have come in and offered their assistance to us. The Spaniards have no "access" to them, except a few vagabonds of Connaught who steal to them. They offer great wages, especially to horsemen, whereof they are destitute. Their soldiers have only bread, which they call "rusk," and water. Our forces increase daily and will be at least 8,000 or 9,000 ordinary bands of foot beside the countrymen and others who are left to attend the succours expected by the Spaniards. We intend to be in camp next week and then to commence the siege.

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Since the above news came in, there arrived on the 11th a ship of this town which left Cales [Cadiz] in South Spain two months ago. They were detained there ten months and by hard usage were driven to steal away at night without their merchants. I sent away the purser at once to give information to the Lord Deputy. The shipmaster, being examined by me, says that the report at Cadiz was that the Spanish force was 11,000 men—some said more, some less. When wind-driven to Pontifideo in Galicia he heard that the fleet sailed on 26 August for Cork or Waterford. He heard also from some Portuguese [*details*] that they had met the Spanish army in the height of Selly [Scilly?] about 13 September last in two fleets, one consisting of 50 sail and one of twenty. *Details*. He also says that one Holleran of Galway, being at Court, certified by letters that Tyrone, [h]is son, and the Bishop of Clonfert were gone to Lisbon to join the fleet.

Pp. 2½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 148.

14 Oct.
Waterford.

[CAPTAIN] W. MORGAN to ———.

I was at the Mount discharging certain of my men [*details*] when I received a letter from Sir John Gilbert* with a copy of your letter. I then made haste to Plymouth where I found Mr. Stalledge very ready to perform all things which were to be done with proper haste. I then went towards Kinsale but when off Dungarvan was caught in a violent storm and driven into Waterford and all my sails and tackle spoiled. I found a ship going for England, but detained the master until I had spoken to Mr. Mayor, and sent you any information which might be obtained from him. I asked him to send all the news he had to you. I found further that there is a doubt that there were 20 sail of great ships that passed through St. George's Channel, for there is a report that there were 20 ships then athwart of Silli [Scilly], which bore north-north-east in the morning, which "leded" them rightly to St. George's Channel. The same ship met a fleet of 50 Spaniards the same night, but knew not to what nation the fleet of 20 belonged, but descried them to be "great ships."

The most credible report is that 43 or 44 sail left Portugal with 6,000 soldiers. Of these 36 came into Kinsale, and, a few days later, 22 left, leaving 14 in the harbour. These were thought to be victuallers. They remained there some ten days after and then left. Of the 6,000 soldiers not more than 4,000 were landed; and many of them are sick. It is said that 1,000 were sent back again to Spain with the ships. The *Vice Admiral* commanded by Seiragua [Siriago] and six small ships—in which they say there were 1,000 men—are wanting.

There arrived at Crooked Haven [Crookhaven] a flyboat with a great leak. She was grounded to stop her leak, and put ashore 300 men who stood on their guard. It is reported that

* From Plymouth fort. See *Cal. S.P. Domestic* for 16 Oct., 1601.

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they have 2,000*cwt.* of rusk, 1,500 tuns of wine, a good quantity of salt and other victuals. It is reported that the Lord Deputy has 8,000 or 9,000 men ; and that [force], together with the Irish nobility and gentry, so pent them in that it is impossible for them to receive any succour from the rebels. His lordship has separated his Irish force from the English, appointing the Irish to guard the northern parts towards Limerick, with Lord Barry in command, and the English to guard the easter parts towards Cork, where he intends to make his approach with all speed. A cannon and a culverin, which we embarked at Dublin in a "whoy," are now at Green or [Greenore] bay 10 miles west of Waterford and will go to Cork when the wind favours. Two more culverins have been laden "at passach" [Passage?] for Cork, one from Waterford and the other from Duncannon. Her Majesty's packet may be sent safely to Cork or anywhere to the east of it.

It is said that the Spaniards have half a million in coin and 500 chains of gold. They brag much of a greater supply. *Reports* Tyrone in the Pale. *Proceeds* :—He has already broken his promise to be with the Spaniards within 14 days of their landing, and it is thought that he will prove a craven. He is about 4,000 strong. His people, being about 500, came to the Boyne within a mile of Tredarth [Drogheda].

There is great inquiry when the Queen's ships will come, and how many soldiers will come with them. I gave out that 26 ships would come with not less than 10,000 men. Here is a general murmur about the mixed coin. "The Irish were never so mild as they are now ; they hang down their heads like hens that have been in the rain use to hang down their feathers"; and if present order be taken to destroy those that have come there will be no further trouble either with Spaniards or Irish. If the Spaniards are defeated the hope of those Irish who are rebels, but not declared rebels, will be gone.

The Irish generally are Papists and therefore, I think, wish victory to the Spaniards. If, however, men and ships are sent over, all the Spaniards who have already arrived will be destroyed before any reinforcements reach them ; and the Irish will also be held fast. If, however, the succours come from Spain before the enemy already here has been defeated, then I think most of the Irish would be Spaniards ; but now that it seems likely that the Spaniards will be cut off "they, instead of joy, hang down their heads as men going to the gallows."

I am sending your letter on by post to Cork. *Details.* I am ready to waft over the munitions and victuals here, which are but a small quantity, hence to Cork so soon as the wind serves. *Professions of loyal service.*

Pp. 9½. *Endd.* S.P. Ireland 209, 149.

15 Oct.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CARY to SECRETARY CECIL.

The Lord Deputy and President of Munster are encamped hard by the Spaniards. The Spaniards are discontented that none of the country come to them. I send examinations of some

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men who belonged to ships of Galway, Dublin and Tredath, and were taken up by the Spaniards in Lisbon, but have since been released. All the King's ships, as soon as they had landed men and provisions, departed in great haste for Spain some thirteen days ago, either for fear that the Queen's ships should be about or to procure reinforcements from Spain, since the promised aid from the country has failed them. It is said that Bryttendona stays at Lisbon and will come with the supports, which will land in some other part of Ireland. The Lord President did very wisely in apprehending Florence McCarty, for he it was, they say, who drew the plot of the Spaniards landing at Kinsale. I am glad that, if they must needs come, they landed there.

All those whom I have examined say that the Spaniards' provisions are very great, but that they are meanly victualled as they have neither rice, oil, fish or flesh. They have only very coarse bread, full of worms, and very little wine. They brought salt in large quantities expecting to get beef here; but I hope the Lord Deputy and President, being now in the field, will disappoint them of this hope. They wait anxiously for Tyrone but he is not yet ready. Last week he broke into the Pale with 1,500 foot and 300 horse and took a great prey. Terlogh McHenry and Ever McCowly were with him. They joined him as soon as he came into their countries and they heard of the Spanish landing. They left as soon as they heard that our forces and the country forces were joined together, and withdrew to their own countries "with a determination that the next bright moon" they will return again, to do what mischief they can. They hope in this way to draw the Lord Deputy back, but will not succeed in doing so. Tyrone is anxious to go to relieve the Spaniards; but his confederates are against his going lest, in their absence, their countries should be spoiled.

I am very sorry that, as the wind stands, I cannot send from hence the munition and victuals for which the Deputy asked. If, however, the provisions sent hence have reached him, he is well supplied till supplies are sent from England. The Spaniards have no horses, "neither ape nor asse," and were in poor case if 4,000 or 5,000 men were sent over to reinforce the garrisons in the North and repair the companies that are with the Lords; and if the Queen would send about 12 ships to keep off the Spanish succours by sea these wars would soon have an end.

The garrison of Loughfoyle is in want both of victuals and men. Sir Arthur Chichester writes constantly for reinforcements of Englishmen, for want whereof he is compelled to entertain many of the Irishry. This is not good for they are ever full of treachery. I think that 2,000 men should be sent to the Lord Deputy and President, 700 to Loughfoyle and 300 to Knockfergus, 1,000 to the Blackwater, Mountnorris and Armagh, and 300 to the Pale. This would be excellent, and the list need not be exceeded above 1,000. The charge is chiefly in setting out of the men [?] now in this time of extremity; and the list,

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when the brunt of the service is passed, may be diminished and her Majesty's charge eased.

Pp. 31. (Hol.) Add. Endd.: "R[ecd.] at Richmond the 19th." S.P. Ireland 209, 150. Enclosing:—

A. *Examinations of the several persons underwritten, taken before the Mayor and Recorder of Galway, Captain Hayles, Thomas Smyth, Marcus Lynch Fitznicholas, Peter Lynch, and James Darsie, aldermen, the 4th of October, 1601.*

Andrew Lynch Fitzjohn Fitzharry, merchant, of Galway, aged 52 or thereabouts, sworn, for evidence on his voyage from Galway to Lisbon and from Lisbon to Kinsale and back to Galway, says:—

He left Galway about the middle of May last in a Scotch ship the St. Michael, of Desert in Scotland. He arrived in Lisbon fourteen days later. There went with him as passengers one Ricard boy and his boy Tho[mas], Martin Lynch Fitzjames and Bartholomew Font. As soon as they came to Lisbon they were arrested both ship and goods to the King's use. Their ship was laden with ashén poles and salt hides. These were delivered to Henry Skidmore there, who said that they should be forthcoming (both ships and goods) to the King's use. They [the deponent and his friends] were petitioners to Sir Teighe O'Farrall, now named the Bishop of Clonforth [Clonfert], and were allowed to relade their ship with salt; but when it was laden the King's officers would not permit them to depart lest they should bring news of the army so coming, and so they should be frustrated. The King's desire was that all Irish should be well treated, both as to ships and goods, so they were Catholics; and about six weeks ago there was shipped aboard deponent's ship twenty-five soldiers with orders to "way" and follow the fleet. Next day deponent was taken out of his ship and brought aboard one of the King's ships, the Crucifix. Whilst he was there a great controversy arose between the captains and the general of the fleet about the number of their men. During the controversy one pulled out a note which was a list of the whole army, amounting to 4,500 men. "And what is that," said he, "to invade a strange country?" And they often replied that there was one Bryton Donne [Bryttendona] appointed governor of 6,000 Tuscans and Italians to second them if they only set foot in the country, and they would be here at Christmas next at the furthest.

There were at the first coming out of Kinsale 39 ships, of which 18 were the King's—vizt., six galleons of 600 tons and upwards, one of the six called the Saint Pedro being of 1,000 tons. The rest were "biscans" of three hundred tons or thereabouts. The rest of the fleet was Flemings, Scots and Irishmen of which there came into the harbour of Kinsale, on [blank] September, 28 sail. Others came after and seven ships under Surriago came into Baltimore; and one great ship called the Golden Lion was lost. After being eight days

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in Kinsale he received the forementioned Scotch ship with her lading of salt and had leave to depart to the town where he dwelleth.

At deponent's departure from Kinsale news came of Surriago with seven ships, and pilots went to bring them from Baltimore thither. By foul weather they were driven into Limerick. [details] and ultimately arrived here at Galway. Whilst he was on board the Spanish ship, deponent heard from one of the pilots of the Admiral that if the wind should hold they had come for Limerick or Galway, but that owing to the wind they were driven southward and so put into Kinsale. Before deponent left Kinsale he met with no violence when he was there. The day before his departure he was in the Bishop's chamber, and there came two out of the country and tendered help, as it appeared, by conference; for he heard Archer say "Is not 700 foot and 100 horse a good matter?" And the Bishop cursed them that, they coming to defend them, sought money before they would do any service. Before deponent left three pieces were mounted on carriages and brought into the middle of the town. They were but small pieces, as "sacars" [sakers] or such like. As to numbers, they were certainly not 3,000 when he came from them. Deponent knows this because he was present when they were mustered on a hill outside Kinsale.

Thomas Lynch Fitznicholas, doctor of physic, aged about 32 years, having lived in Portugal for the most part of 18 years, was sworn and examined on his knowledge of the Spanish army. He says:—

He heard as long as three years ago that O'Neale and O'Donnell had been soliciting for the coming of the Spanish army. Every year there was a report that they would come. Details corroborating the foregoing deposition. The total number of soldiers on the ships was said to be some 5,000. Provisions of money, powder and shot were put on shore, and he heard that the transports were all to be discharged, and that the King's ships should return to Spain when the vessels under Surriago, which were at Baltimore, came to Kinsale. There came one Matthias Deovedo to be Archbishop of Dublin, Teige O'Farrell, Bishop of Clanfarth [Clonfert], Father Archer, a Jesuit, a friar of St. Dominick's order with many other Spanish friars and priests, Walter Lea of Waterford, married in Spain, Cormott McCarta, Dermot McCarta, Ulick Lyce, Donnough O'Healey and others. Heard there were some Englishmen in the army but cannot recollect how many.

Asked why he now came to Ireland when he had lived so long abroad and had married there, he said that his mother wrote him a letter of the death of his elder brother and desired him to repair home to her. He did so the more willingly because his wife had died abroad a year ago.

In all pp. 3½. S.P. Ireland 209, 150A.

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B. Further depositions of John Clerk and others.

John Clerk of Desert [Dysart] in Scotland owner of the ship Michael of Desert, about 48 years old, examined on his proceedings in his voyage from Galway to Lisbon and Kinsale and back to Galway, says :—

Left Galway in May. Was freighted by Mr. Valentine Blake, merchant, of Galway. Corroborates the statement of Lynch [above, p. 129] as to the voyage out to Lisbon. The passenger Ricardboy had a passport and confect of the Deputy Mayor, Ulick Lynch, who was deputy for Francis Marten [Mayor of Galway]. After the seizure of his ship and goods at Lisbon they were released on sureties, vizt., that he and his ship and company should not depart without being orderly released. Andrew Lynch, being the merchant's factor, put in the like security for the goods to abide the King's pleasure. Deponent often asked for liberty, but got no other answer but that "they should go when they went because we are bound for Ireland." Further corroborates Andrew Lynch as to the sending of soldiers on board the Michael. Deponent was himself taken out and was carried on board the San Pedro which was Admiral of the Fleet. There were in that ship four captains and their companies which were reported to be 140 each company. He was detained in the San Pedro to ensure that his ship should set the 25 soldiers and one woman on shore in Ireland. Though the fleet was of 39 sail when it set out, only 30 arrived in Kinsale. The rest were scattered or lost. A flyboat of Tredath [Drogheda] was lost at sea and the King's ship Lion lost at Baltimore; and a ship of Limerick is missing.*

Four days after the arrival, deponent saw the mounting of the pieces in the churchyard. Does not think that the whole number of men laden was above 3,000. They were mostly Spaniers, but a few English and Irish. They have no corn but what they get in the town, and the townspeople forsake them because they kill up their cattle without payment.

Don John De Aquila commands the army and Surriago the shipping. The shipping at Kinsale waited for Surriago to come from Baltimore and then—as was reported—would go to Cork. Deponent solicited for and obtained his ship and liberty and came to Galway.

Thomas Leamon and Thomas Roo Lynch corroborate.

Pp. 23. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 150B.

15 Oct.
Maynooth.

SIR ANTHONY STANDEN to SECRETARY CECIL.

I send you my views on this important affair. Ten of her Majesty's ships, 6,000 foot and 100 horse, sent over to us at once will "break the neck of this business yet before Christmas." We should have 2,000 for the Lord Deputy, 2,000 for Loughfoyle, and the third 2,000 for Armagh, Blackwater fort, Mountnorreys,

* The pronouns are confused here. Ed.

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the Newry and the Pale. If we had these "this gallant that now so triumphs over us would be quickly quayed and their Spanish supply no happier success than their predecessors have had." This must not be neglected, for it is a shame to "give place to such saucy indignity of the Spaniard." I must tell you that in '91 I was by Parsons and Englefield[s] means called out of Italy into Spain. When I arrived in that Court I found Stanley Owen and some others newly come out of the Low Countries. At that time something was "hammering" about Ireland. The old King had then put over into Brittany "this newe come hither Aquila" with 15,000 foot, whom he landed at Blaevet [Blavet or Port-Louis] and fortified it under the favour of Duke Mercure there. Eighty-four sail were in order and in Ferol and 23,000 men in them apparently in order to countenance the fortification and to "entertain the rest of the world in a gaze."

The navy lay there 16 months and the infantry ashore monthly all well paid, but doing no service. To Stanley was then offered, this fleet—8,000 men were to be by him conducted hither. We were all "largely offered" to accompany him. He had time to give his resolution after viewing the army. It was to this effect—that he could do a good deal for three or four months, but that when her Majesty resolved to put the fleet to sea he would be overcome. He condemned the Spanish Navy and exalted the English, for which free speech he was much disliked.

I think "this broil now here doth sympathise with that of Brytany." If ships are sent the rebellion can be broken. Your Deputy here is "a painful and careful man and goes about his business like a workman." The Lord President is also a worthy man; and it would be "great want" if they should not be well seconded.

My chief abode is with the old Countess of Kildare, "who by the loss of her sons, and her kin far from her, is in some distress—namely in the midst of these Gherardines, a lewd, affected people to the State and venomous to her [?] dangerous and crafty." I think the new Earl has a sincere mind to the Queen, but his plain meaning and want of insight may be abused, if it is true, as I hear, that Tyrrell has taken a strong castle near the borders of Offaly wherein was a great store of wheat. This place was committed by the Earl to the care of a Gherardine, and, as I remember, he was appointed for that post here and his appointment confirmed from England. It would have been better to give him no command of horse or foot or any government, for all is abused by them. They govern him altogether. I live amongst them, and know them and that they are the most "perilous people of this Pale."

God grant you may guide the ship of state no worse than your father did. If your cousin Antony Bacon had not embarked "on so ticklish a bottom I had not now been to seek of a friend." *Details.* I am loyal and at your disposal.

Pp. 3. (Hol.) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 151.

1601.
17 Oct.
Dublin.

SIR THEOBALD DILLON to SECRETARY CECIL.

I was ordered to prosecute a very notorious traitor called Doughdally O'Kelly, who has done much harm in Roscommon. On the Spanish landing I was ordered to the Lord Deputy to Kilkenny and then sent to Carlow to attend Tyrrell. I was there only four days. Tyrone coming to Dowlike [Duleek] three miles above Drogheda, and intending to come into the Pale, I was sent for in post and came to Donboyn near Dublin, where I remain in hope to interrupt Tyrrell, Tyrone or any other traitor. Tyrone is in the Ferney [Farney] and Tirlogh McHenry and Ever McCooly, who came in to the Lord Deputy, are with him. O'Donnell attends Neill Garowe continually, but (God willing) will not prevail, but I fear Neale is in some distress with an abbey in Tyrconnell.

Relates arrival and provision of the Spanish force at Kinsale as in previous letters. *Proceeds* :—I do not think Tyrone will join them though he swears he will. I expect he will send down Tyrrell with as many knaves as he may through woods and moors to Munster to play the rebels, thinking thus to draw off some of the Lord Deputy's forces, and, in some sort, to help the Spaniards. I think they are lost men.

I would "a light army" were sent up and down the country to follow Tyrrell and such other villains night and day. Such a course would banish all the rebels (except those in the north) in three months. "At this instant the Council received letters that Tyrrell upon Saturday last burned, preyed and spoiled my tenants, kinsmen and defenders within three mile of Athlone, and took the cattle of a town of mine, the sheriff of the shire being then at my house. The country flieing their cattle from O'Royrk towards Athlone, he with all his forces was before them and took 400 cows, many garrons and other things," and burned villages belonging to my brothers and kinsmen. "The same day that Tyrrell did this to me, being three score miles off, they were afraid of him within five miles of Dublin."

I am still employed far away from my private property; yet I have no other charge than the meanest captain in the kingdom. My company is stronger and better able to serve than three other companies. Lord Delvin has written to the Council that Tyrone meets shortly with 7,000 men at Mullingar. His lordship and I are made friends and I hope he will turn out not to be the man he is suspected of being. I hope you will write to the Lord Deputy and Council to "inhable me for her Highness' service according my deserts." If you knew how these traitors desire my overthrow you would think it a pity that I was not countenanced. I have now nothing left. My best houses are rased and broken, my land all wasted; and I hope, by your means, to be enabled to take revenge.

I have sent my son, who is young and tender, thither, for his safety and for his education, and have appointed this bearer, John Conley, to supply his wants. Pray see that, for his maintenance, and the payment of my debt in England, he receive

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the 192*l.* which is due to me, and promised by the Lords of the Council at my last being there if the debt were certified by the Deputy and Council here. They have since certified it by *concordatum* under their hands.* Also 230*l.* odd is due to me for beeves delivered at various times for supply of the army. These [sums] have been entered by the Commissioners sent here for such causes. *Details.*

Pp. 2½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 152.*

17 Oct.

From my
Chamber in
Garnet's
Buildings in
Shere Lane,
near Temple
Bar.

RICHARD HADSOR to SECRETARY CECIL.

Relates the evidence of persons from the four Irish ships which had been pressed into the service of Spain at the coming of the expedition to Kinsale [see above, p. 128 seq.]. *Proceeds* :— On the third of this month Tyrone encamped at Barnmethe [Barmeath], co. Louth, and burned the sea coast towns in Louth to Drogheda, accompanied by Ewir McCoolle, supposed chief of the Farney, who was lately received into favour, and Tyrelagh McHenry, who had a troop in her Majesty's pay. He came to Duleek on the 9th of this month and burnt it and its mill, in the most civil part of the English Pale, and a great part of the country between Duleek and Slane. It was thought that he would encamp that night at Slane or in the wood of Mellifont, within four miles of Slane. He spoils without resistance, for the army is with the Lord Deputy and only a few garrisons are left to guard forts.

O'Reilly, and Captain Hugh O'Reilly with his company which he had in her Majesty's pay, armed and furnished by the Queen, are now entered into rebellion.

I drew a discourse which was presented to you last winter by Captain Fitzgerald, imparting the genealogy of all the great houses and gentlemen of the mere or wild Irish, setting forth their descent from the ancient Irish Kings, their kinship, &c. It set forth how little trust is to be reposed in them, and how they have always revolted whenever they got an opportunity since the English conquest "aspiring continually to their pristinat and absolute rule of that realm." Mr. George D'Arcy of Plattin, who was with your honour last July twelve month, and whose ancestors descended of the D'Arcy of the north, was slain in the co. Louth. He was accompanied by Mr. Taaffe of Braganston in that county, chief of that name, who was then wounded in service against Tyrone's forces.

The company given to Mr. Plunkett of Rathmore last winter was cast soon after. He desires one now. I recommend him as one of the best of his name. He has lost much by the rebels. It is better, in my view, to employ [as officers] him and a number of sufficient gentlemen of the Pale who have lost greatly in these wars and are known to the state to be loyal, than any of the mere Irish, of whose disloyalty we know so much. I understand that the gentlemen and inhabitants of the Pale are unarmed

* The sense of the document is not very clear here.

1601.

and unable to defend themselves. *Details.* Refers to his brother, who lives eight miles north of Drogheda.

P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. *Signed.* Add. Endd.* S.P. Ireland 209, 153.

20 Oct.
Massereene.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER to SECRETARY CECIL.

The hopes of this nation to abolish the Queen's power in Ireland by the help of a handful of Spaniards makes them all run to Tyrone, who is preparing either to waste the Pale or draw to Munster. Amongst others Randall, the Scott, who, this summer, received a pardon with many protestations of loyalty, has written to me that "he must in person assist the Traitor with his risings out and is so blockish to ask my allowance therein." His brother Nice [?] a nearer neighbour, writes and says that his brother will be for the enemy and asks that he [Nice] may be taken for a subject; but these delusions are so treacherous that I have drawn a few men together and threaten to enter their countries and destroy all I can if either of them joins Tyrone. This keeps them at home [they?] having raised a force of 100 horse and 600 foot. On the other side Brian McArt is ready to do the like with more foot, but love of his corn and cows (with which he knows we will be doing upon his departure) deters him from action. It is said that Tyrone, hearing of the weakness of the Spaniards and of my Lord Deputy's strength, often alters his purposes, thinking it dangerous for him to advance so far from home. He "better trusts himself with 20 kearne naked in a wood or bog than with 5,000 Spaniards in a town."

I lie ready to do damage on Tyrone or any other part, if he starts. This Lough water is, in a storm, very rough, our boats weak and of small burden, and the weather hath been so foul that I have been forced to turn, when half way over, and run the boats ashore, for safety of our men, upon the enemies' country near Toome. I am overmatched with numbers on every side if the Scots revolt, and so "pestered" with disloyal Irish in our own companies that we cannot without great danger attempt much. Pray send on supplies, that we may free ourselves from the Irish and serve with such as we may better trust. I sent a roll of our musters in my last by Col. Egerton, shewing our various nations. Since then many Irish have run away and others [have been] taken and hanged by us; but for the present we must entertain them or kill our men with painful duties.

Tyrone's design in these parts is to overrun those that hold for the Queen in Ulster, betray or surprise the garrisons and burn the town of Knockfergus, if he cannot possess it with Spaniards, which he most desires. The town is slightly fortified and I must draw the whole force thither if any attempt is made upon it. Sir Henry Docwra writes to me that the Castle of Clooney [Collooney] is taken by the brother of O'Connor Sligo; and that he found there O'Donnell's sister and mother and other good

* The signature, and the writer's name in the endorsement, are carefully erased, but are still visible.

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pledges of the country. He preyed the country, and killed [*i.e.* lost?] many good men [in] holding the castle, which is well victualled, in the Queen's name. Pray send me the money "motioned." I am in urgent need of it and have asked this bearer, my brother Perrott, to "remember* your honour in my behalf."

P. 1½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 154.

20 Oct.
Ardraccon.

THOMAS [JONES], Bishop of Meath, to [SECRETARY CECIL].

Tyrone has burnt the country between this house and Tredath [Drogheda], and his confederates, the pretended O'Rely and Maguire, have burnt between this house and Delvin. I have seen the flames they have kindled. I am safe here, but expect, on his next return, to receive a like measure at his hands. *Reports* Tyrone's first incursion into Louth, his burnings, &c. *Proceeds* :— His next incursion was into this co. of Meath, whither he brought his wife and four women of account amongst them "to be beholders of his villainy"; and in this he spoiled 22 villages, burning both houses and corn. The prey is estimated as 2,000 cows, 1,000 garrauds [*sic*], 4,000 sheep and swine. The force of his malice has fallen chiefly upon Sir Edward Moore and his tenants in the lordship of Mellifont, who are ruined. He also fired seven or eight principal villages, the inhabitants whereof, driven from their homes by his men, are now begging up and down the country. He then, on some message received from the Spaniards at Kinsale, departed for Dungannon, leaving 700 or 800 men behind him under O'Rely and Maguire, to keep in the fire and continue the flame begun in the Pale. They came on the 16th within two miles of this house, and spoiled, &c. *Details.*

Lord Dunsany with 50 horse and 150 foot and Esmond's company under his command were left here by the Lord Deputy for our defence, and this is the "best and chiefest county of the kingdom, having in it a Viscount and four lords besides a number of knights and gentlemen of good sort and quality." Lord Dunsany had warning from the Council of the coming of Tyrone, but his force of horse was scattered and could not be got together to do any good. "True it is that his lordship with some 40 or 50 horse entertained by the country did view and look upon the rebels as they committed these hurts, but they did no service; and some twelve at the most of his lordship's troop, after Tyrone's return to the woods, came galloping two in a company and four in a company *pro forma tantum* to shew a kind of readiness." Only Sir Garrett Moore, a brave and wise gentleman, took his opportunity and killed some 10 or 12 of the rebels, some of whom were horsemen and of account. The rebels, with their spoil, returned in such disorder to their fastness that "if Sir Garrett had then been accompanied by some sixty or fifty sound and faithful horsemen besides his own, such a day's service had been by him performed as in man's memory hath not been done in Ireland;

* *i.e.* "remind."

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for both Tyrone and his son Hugh, his bastard son, his brother, Tyrlagh McHenry, Ever [?] McMahon, Harrie [?] Oge and all the heads of this rebellion in Ulster had been either taken or killed."

I write not this of Lord Dunsany from malice, but because I think he has been remiss in the Queen's service, which I prefer before any private respects. As I understand it is the Queen's pleasure that he shall hold a kind of command upon this border, amongst his cousins and near allies both amongst subjects and rebels, (where her Majesty's service is little regarded), I wish your honour to admonish him against the remiss course he has hitherto followed. He was appointed and armed all last summer to chastise the Brenny rebels, but has worked to get them contentment from this State in their unlawful desire to upset the Queen's settled establishment in that country, called the Brenny, and again to bring in the Irish Government of an O'Rely into a district which a few years ago was as loyal as the co. Dublin. His lordship also lately delivered the fort of Liskenan to the pretended O'Rely, which greatly increased that rebel's power and enabled him to attempt and commit the late outrages; for in that fort (which as yet I cannot learn how it was delivered, whether by warrant or without warrant), it is very certain there were delivered to that rebel two barrels of powder, seven barrels of match, forty barrels of butter and 1,600 fishes; whereby those rebels who formerly were restrained to live in want in the remotest part of that country and in need, are now able to hover night and day upon these borders, wasting and spoiling; and notwithstanding their late pretence of conformity (wherewith they seem to have abused his lordship, and so got their corn in last harvest) they have rejoined Tyrone and do all the harm they can.

As for the other lords and gentlemen of these parts I may not but wonder at their untowardness and backwardness in this so dangerous a time. These are so great that, I confess that, were it not for the dishonour to the Queen which would be caused by their being over-run, they well deserve to be so. Whatever commissions are sent from the State to the lords and gentlemen of this shire to gather together their forces for their defence "they do either by cavills or delays make frustrate." When Tyrone approached the Pale, they received very earnest letters from the Council to marshal their forces and keep them together; yet they would not agree to do anything more than raise 90 horse, and that only for 7 days. In fact only 60 horse were raised. Forty of them joined Lord Dunsany and looked on at Tyrone's late raid. Though the danger continues they refuse to assemble their forces or keep them together for their defence, "but some plead their ancient freedoms that they cannot be charged without their own consent." Others proudly demand her Majesty's pay and say that they will serve if paid. All endeavour to delay from day to day hoping to get rid of the burden; whilst, meanwhile, they are over-run.

By my procurement, the Lord Deputy's warrant was sent to Sir Francis Shane to apprehend the freers [friars] of Multifernam

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[Multyfarnam] and burn their friary. This was done "so I hope mine enemies will not hereafter wrongfully devise to charge me with the maintenance of that or any such monument of idolatry—a matter both in my profession and religion by me abhorred."

P.S.—I write this to fulfil my duty. Pray keep it secret.

Pp. 4. (*Hol.*) *S.P. Ireland* 209, 155.

20 Oct.
Office of
Ordinance.

RETURN shewing the total MUNITIONS delivered out of her Majesty's Store for supply of IRELAND from 15 May, 1600, to 20 Oct., 1601.

This list contains details of the powder, match, "muskets furnished," "calivers complete," and pikes which had been delivered within the above period.

P. 1. *Endd. Ibid*, 156.

21 Oct.
Camp near
Kinsale.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

The new companies, despatched by your lordships in July, arrived here on September 4th, from which time they have their warrants of entry. Mr. Treasurer offers to defalk from them so much money as your lordships imprested them in England, 35*l.* apiece. They are grieved at this because they say that either the money was given them to bear their charges till they came hither [*details*] or that you should allow their warrants of entry to bear date August 9th, at which date they received their companies at the water side. We think this reasonable, but leave the matter to your lordships' determination. Meantime we have ordered the Treasurer not to defalk anything out of their growing entertainment: for if any of their means be taken away at the present time we do not see how they or their officers can live.

P. 1. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy and by Carew, Bouchier, Wingfield, Gardener and Walsh. *Add. Endd. Ibid*, 157.

23 Oct.
Camp near
Kinsale.

The LORD DEPUTY to the EARL OF NOTTINGHAM (as Lord High Admiral).

I hear that five last of powder have come to Cork harbour. I hope to begin active service with this. I commend myself to you "being full of a restless desire in this great work" to deserve the Queen's favour. We pray for your supplies out of England, on which our hopes depend, and our enemies' fears. If those supplies do not come quickly we shall have all Ireland out upon us. I hope God has ordained this enterprise to be a swift and sudden end of the Irish war, a block to the King of Spain's ambition and a means for an honourable peace with England "which if I do not above all respects desire let my soul have neither peace in this world nor in any other; being determined to embrace no mortal glory but to serve and please my dear and Royal mistress to whom the Lord of Heaven send the fullness of all happiness."

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid*, 158.

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24 Oct.
Camp near
Kinsale.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

[See for this letter Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1907), Vol. III, p. 3 seq.]

Pp. 53. Signed by the Lord Deputy and Carew, Bouchier, Wingfield, Gardiner and Walsh. Endd.: "Received at Whitehall, *28 October." S.P. Ireland 209, 159. Enclosing:—

A. List of the Foot Companies in Ireland since the coming of the last 2,000 into Munster.

The last 2,000 arrived on 4 September, and brought up the total to 16,000.

When the news of the Spanish arrival was received various companies were drawn out of the northern parts. The whole number are placed as follows:—

At Loughfoyle	..	..	..	..	..	3,000
At Carrickfergus	..	..	..	..	..	1,000
In Connaught	..	..	..	..	..	1,150
In Leinster and the forts northward as far as Blackwater						3,950
In Munster	..	..	..	..	..	6,900

Total 16,000

Of the companies in Munster one is converted to the Earl of Desmond's use and divers other companies were placed towards the borders of the province to help the country. The old hands are weak, having been continually in service, and not supplied of a long time. Many are in necessary wards, some sick, and many hurt in the recent skirmishes with Tyrone, tho' with good success, a little before they were sent for.

P. 2. Endd. Ibid, 159A.

24 Oct.
Dublin.

B. The Archbishop of Dublin [and Lord Chancellor of Ireland] to Sir Robert Gardener.

Asks for news.

P.S.—Since I wrote Sir Christopher Plunkett came to me. A priest, whom he sent to Tyrone's camp for news, brings word that Tyrone is fully resolved to draw to Munster with all the force he can get from his country and Connaught. The priest sets down this number at 6,000 foot and near 1,000 horse, which is a larger figure than I believe. He says that all Tyrone's horsemen are clad in English cloth, after the Spanish fashion, and orders have been given that every horseman, shall at his setting forth rough-shoe his horse, and also carry with him a set of new shoes with nails in his budget; that he has coined a great quantity of his new standard and has already distributed above 5,000*l.* in the Pale. If Tyrone does go he will no doubt collect all his forces for the purpose; and I wish the Lord Deputy may write to the Earl of Ormond to send him all the forces in Tipperary, Ormond and Kilkenny. These may be spared because Tyrrell and his force attends Tyrone thither.

In all p. 1½, the letter and postscript signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 159B.

* A quick journey; four days from Kinsale to London.

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24 Oct.
Camp near
Kinsale.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to [SECRETARY CECIL].

Refers to his previous letters. *Proceeds* :—Our army by the poll is weak, not over 4,300. The northern companies are weakened by service and the Munster garrisons must be guarded unless we are going to permit the country to “run at large.” No men of good quality have as yet “defected” in Munster; and only 50 of the lower sort who are in Kinsale. “The gentlemen of living make shew of constancy and the worst disposed do but stand at gaze, to judge of the success before they declare themselves.” Until Tyrone comes, which we daily expect, we shall not really know what is the general attitude of the country. I wonder they are not all in arms since their long-expected Spanish friends have come to them and they have “the persuasions of their priests, who unto the well-affected preach damnation, and indulgences to the traitors.”

Don Juan is a “cold commander.” I wish he were more harebrained, for nothing can persuade him to fight, wherein the main chance may be endangered. We skirmish daily, but he very sparingly; and, as yet, we have had no losses. We offer battle freely and have slain many of their men, and ours are “in blood” so far as they desire nothing more than to fight. We have not enough munition to lodge closer to them; and though in all men’s opinion an attacking force should be as strong as the force it attacks, yet when the powder we have sent for comes from Dublin we shall lodge close to their walls and hope, if Tyrone do not make the more haste, to end this work before his coming. If he comes before the supplies reach us from England we shall have to make a retreat and can, we think, make it. I press for some ships. If they were here the town would be ours within five days, and the coast would be secured from further succours from Spain. The enemy are 4,000, but daily sicken. They have only rusk and water, and no meat or wine.

Our first attempt must be on Rincorran Castle. It is hard by the town and close upon the sea, and commands the harbour. That place taken, all shipping may ride safely from the town. I do not know how it can be taken from us except we be beaten in the field; and I do not think we shall be so beaten owing to our superiority in horse. If Tyrone comes down upon us we shall have to rely on our horsemen, and therefore I hope the horse required will be sent to us.

Captain Morgan, sent by the Lords to discover the Spanish fleet, has been used to good purpose by the Lord Deputy for a month on the coast of Kerry “to forbid the Baron of Lixnaw [Lixnaw] the Knight of the Valley and Dermond Moyle, Florence his brother, to attempt that country.” They have procured galleys from the Moyles [?] and Flaherties “to move new rebellions in the same.” Even now the Queen’s pinnace, the *Moon*, and another man-of-war have come into the haven of Kinsale and ride close by the castle of Rincorran. The Spanish garrison will be much annoyed by them, for out of their ships they may beat the castle in such sort as no man shall dare to look over the walls;

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and no boat can enter or leave Kinsale for fear of them; so that Kinsale is now blocked up and cannot receive supplies from the country, of which hitherto they had received small amounts for payment in cash.

You have not as yet sent us any munitions or supplies except such as the weak magazines of Munster could afford. If I had not been a "sparing steward" in preserving these I do not know how this army could now keep the field, and how, without one, the country could have been kept in subjection. If supplies do not come with the next easterly wind you will not believe the inconvenience which will ensue. Nothing keeps the country here quiet so much as the expectation of reinforcements from England.

I am exceedingly bound to the noble Lord Deputy for his favours daily done unto me. I beseech you to take notice of it, for I cannot shew myself too thankful to him.

Pp. 4. (*Hol.*) *S.P. Ireland* 209, 160.

24 Oct.
Newry.

SIR FRANCIS STAFFORD TO SECRETARY CECIL.

Tyrone has, since I wrote, done great damage in Louth and Meath. He himself crossed the Boyne into "the garden of the Pale." Having taken all the wealth of that country, he retired to his own, and has now commanded a levy of the greatest strength that himself and his confederates can assemble, and of six weeks' victuals. I expect he intends to thrust up suddenly into Munster to join the Spaniards, who earnestly urge him to come. This makes it more necessary that the garrisons of the Newry, Loughfoyle and Knockfergus should be strengthened, as I lately suggested; for this is the only way to distract Tyrone by making him continually act for his own defence at home, to restrain the late submittees of Ulster, and to prevent Tyrone from doing further damage in the Pale. If this is now neglected infinite difficulties will fall upon her Majesty.

O'Connor Sligo's brother has lately taken Collooney, a castle of some importance in Sligo; and herein has laid hold of O'Donnell's mother and sister, and sundry other the best pledges of Tyrconnell. He says that he keeps both them and the castle for her Majesty. If he persevere in this, it will be a great advantage to the Queen, as well for the enlargement and recovery of O'Connor Sligo as to stir disagreement between him and O'Donnell hereafter.

I venture to draw your attention to Sir Edward Moore, an old servant of the Queen, and his son Sir Garrott, and crave your favour for some suits they will soon exhibit to the Queen and you there. They will ask that the 700*l.* or 800*l.* owed to them by the Queen may be deducted from the rents they have to pay her for their lands. This would ease them greatly, "especially their livings standing upon forfeitures for non-payment of rent." I particularly know of their losses by the wars, and by the waste of their lands, and the forwardness of Sir Gerrott* at all times in her Majesty's service. He has drawn as much rebel

* The writer spells the name 'Gerrott' and 'Garrott' in the same letter.

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blood as any man, and is highly respected by the Lord Deputy. He alone resisted Tyrone in his late invasion of the Pale, and killed "three of his gentlemen of name"; but most of his [Moore's] cattle were taken and seven of his best towns wasted. If he should be favoured he and his father will be very grateful.

Pp. 2½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 161.

25 Oct.
Cork.

JOHN COPPINGER, Mayor of Cork, to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have to-day, in manifestation of our zeal for her Majesty's service, "sent to the camp four colours of this city's, sufficiently accompanied with citizens, upon the city's charge, to remain there during my Lord Deputy's pleasure." You will hear from him of our citizens' efforts in the Queen's service.

P. ½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 162.

26 Oct.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SAME.

Tyrone, O'Donnell and others of the Ulster traitors have lately had several deliberations as to in what sort they might pass to the Spaniards, and how leave the North protected in their absence. These plans are now resolved upon, as I heard yesterday from a spy I keep in the lower parts of Tyrone. Tyrone will shew himself to the Spaniards and will march in force through Westmeath and "the Irish countries of low Leinster," which was the way he took on his last journey to Munster. His force is much exaggerated, some people putting it as high as 5,000 or 6,000 foot and 700 horse. Others estimate it at only 4,000 in all. But as I know in what countries he is to raise his force, and how much he can apportion on each particular lord, and how many men he has to leave behind to protect Ulster, I do not see how he can raise more than 3,000 in all, "and yet 1,000 of these must consist of horseboys and cowkeepers." Tyrrell cannot bring more than 400 men to join him "besides churls and other skom of people usual to follow such a camp for spoil."

He intends, I understand, to march by night and lie close by day, using the moonlight. He takes no provisions with him but meal [?] and butter, "every soldier bearing his own allowance thereof, and of powder and shot; a course which freeth him from the trouble of carriages; and every horseman carrieth double shoes for his horse, and every footman double brogues for himself. With these provisions he intendeth to pass till he meet with Tyrrell, who is to relieve him with some prey cows, and tarryeth for him, as I am written to, about the borders of Carlowgh or Leix."

He is making preparations, and is in difficulties owing to the differences of opinion amongst his followers "who are not of one taste" touching his going. He has already wasted a month since the Spaniards landed, and his march will last ten or twelve days more. This has given great commodity to the Queen's forces to distress the Spaniards, and may cause the Spaniards

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to doubt whether he will come at all, "which may make a perpetual separation between the two nations for ever."

Some priests lately came from Don John D'Aquila to go to Tyrone, but, finding they could not pass to Ulster, they went no further than Tyrrell's quarter in Leinster. Here they offer 5s. a day to as many horsemen as will go to Kinsale and join the Spaniards, and give out that they have brought with them an excommunication which they will denounce against the subjects of the Pale when Tyrone shall be entered into his march. They think this will induce many to rise in their favour; but I doubt it, for, by doing so, they will "put in hazard to lose a better freehold than will be in the power of the Spaniards to give them." I feel sure the 2,000 men are ready to come here soon, and the Queen's ships to Kinsale. If so "the work against the Spaniards will be both short and honourable."

P.S.—I hear now that it will be yet seven days before Tyrone begins his march, if he go up at all; but this may be a message sent to blind us whilst Tyrone may cover his passage up.

Pp. 2., the signature torn off, but endd.: "Sir Jeff. Fenton," &c. Add. S.P. Ireland 209, 163.

28 Oct.
Dublin.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in Dublin
to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Enclosed will show how things go at the camp, and how urgent is the need to send men, munition and victuals. They are needed both to expel the strangers and to strengthen the army for local purposes. It is, as the commanders tell us, very weak. We are greatly surprised that the "artilleries," munitions and other supplies had not reached the camp before this letter was written; for we took great trouble to send them off in sufficient time for them to have reached it before it was despatched. We expect they are now arrived, unless the ships bringing them have met with exceeding foul weather. We took all possible pains in the matter. *Loyal professions.* From this poor magazine of Dublin we have sent to Kinsale victuals for 6,000 men for a month, thirteen lasts of powder, and lead and match proportionable, a cannon and sundry wheels for mounting of great artilleries, together with all other kinds of materials which his lordship wrote for. These must now be with or near the Lord Deputy.

We have done and shall do our best for the expulsion of the Spaniards "who we are not ignorant how far they aspire to draw the state of the whole kingdom to a Spanish government." For this purpose they expect, and announce, that they will be supported from the Low Countries and that "seconds" will reach them before Christmas. This combination of a potent foreign Prince with a mighty faction of rebels within makes it necessary that the Queen should send large forces and supplies, and that before they make their footing stronger. *Prayers for more supplies and men.* It is necessary, that the Lord Deputy should be able to fight the foreigner in a short time, and that we

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should be able to defend ourselves in Leinster and “stir coals” in Ulster to work diversions of Tyrone. We hear that another force is in readiness in Spain to invade some other parts of Ireland, and feel sure that once his force is landed here, the King of Spain will spare no pains to increase his hold if he be not dislodged at the outset; and he will be supported not only by professed rebels but by a large number of doubtful people if they find that the Queen is not strong enough in the field to defend them.

*Relates Tyrone's project of marching to Munster as in foregoing letter. Proceeds:—*The forces which can be opposed to him in Leinster to delay his march and prevent his spoiling are so small that it would be offensive to you, and grievous to us, to mention them.

Please send away the men at once and let us hear from you, which will be a comfort to us in these difficulties.

Pp. 3½. Signed by the Lord Chancellor [Loftus], and by Carey and Fenton. Add. Endd: R[ecvd.] at Whitehall, primo Nov. S.P. Ireland 209, 164. Enclosing:—

The Lord Deputy and Privy Councillors in camp to the Lord Chancellor and Privy Councillors in Dublin.

No supplies have as yet reached us from you or from England, so we are not able to take the field. We thought it unwise to give further ground for the suspicion of our weakness which was formed owing to our remaining inactive at Cork and therefore, on the 16th, we came here, within a mile of the town of Kinsale. We keep guard round about the enemy so that nothing can reach him, and have been successful in all skirmishes when we have gone out to take view of the town. On Tuesday night 1,000 of them, as we “ghesse,” made a sally to take some of our guards or do some mischief to our camp; but Sir John Barkeley with 300 of our men—those who came latest from England—bett them back into Kinsale after “a very good charge.” We found some of them dead next morning, and divers of their arms and other good booty. The soldiers were very pleased with these, and desire to have many dealings with them. “And yesterday Cormack Macdonnogh of the Muskery having brought hither the risings out of his country that we might both see them and make use of them as we should think fit, being directed to draw them near the guards which the Spaniards keep in trenches hard by the town, after a slight skirmish falling off, as is the manner of the Irish how well soever we had provided for their second, our horse commanded by Sir John Godolphin, seeing a man of the Lord President's engaged and ready to be carried away, did charge upon them with such an unusual resolution as they entered even close to their trenches, rescued the distressed party and came off without loss from a very great number of their shot to all men's view poured in their faces.” This is taken by the whole of our army as a happy sign of success; for we saw some of them killed and others carried away.

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If our pieces for battery were once come, and such things as we need, we could at once begin our approaches and hope you would soon hear good news from us. Pray send us such things as we write for ; and second our letters to the Council of England for supplies. The companies are weak and the sword and season will eat up many men.

P.S.—Dove's ship of Dover came in since the above was written.

Pp. 2½. Dated at the camp near Kinsale, 22 Oct., the postscript dated 23 Oct. Signed by the Lord Deputy and by Carew, Bouchier, Gardener and Wingfield. Add. Endd.: "Rec. 27 [Oct.]." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 164A.

28 Oct.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CAREY to SECRETARY CECIL.

Regarding Sir Richard Maisterson's company and Lord Barry's warrant for one. Lord Barry concealed his warrant till Maisterson had received means for the company.

P. ½. Signed. Add. Endd. with the following postmarks:—
Arrived at Holyhead 7 November, 2 hours after midnight
[i.e. 2 a.m. November 8].

Arrived at Beaumaris, 8 Nov., at 8 a.m.

Conway, 7 November, 3 p.m.

At Ruthland [Rhuddlan] past 5 the same day.

Chester 3 o'clock [a.m.] on the 8th.

Nantwich at 9 o'clock the same day.

Stone at 1 p.m.

Towcester [?] at 9.

Brickhill at 12.

St. Albans at 5 [a.m., Nov. 9th].

Barnet at 7.

Also other illegible marks.

Also endd. generally. *Ibid*, 165.*

28 Oct.
Whitehall.

SAME to SAME.

Enclosed shows what the Lord Deputy wants. His ordnance and some of his munition has, I hear, come to him and he has now moved nearer to the Spaniards, and has set him[self] down within musket shot. I send you also some scribbled intelligence sent in haste by the Lord [Bishop] of Meath. I believe the news true for I have often used the intelligencer and he has always brought me good and true espials. Pray keep the names of the parties secret as otherwise some mischief might ensue.

I grieve that the contrary wind prevents our soldiers from coming over, for we assume that they are at the waterside and ready to embark. God send favourable winds, for our state is miserable when the provisions which I send from here hardly come to his lordship in camp in three weeks. This unconstant people, seeing no succours come out of England, and the rebels increasing, become doubtful and backward. Pray send more

* The endorsement shews that the post travelled from Holyhead to Barnet in 48 hours.

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munitions, for our present store is not sufficient to answer all our needs. *Details.* A fair proportion of victuals must also be sent over quickly. If the Lord Deputy is well supplied and the northern garrisons better strengthened, I think the coming of the Spaniards will greatly hasten the end of the war; for if they are beaten before their supplies come or their seconds fall upon some other part of the kingdom, the rebels' hearts will be clean broken and all hope of foreign support would be gone. Help us to pull out these Spaniards before they settle there for ever.

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 166. *Enclosing:—*

A. *The Lord Deputy to Sir George Carey.*

Though you seem very careful to send us everything that we want, little or nothing has come to us; and we are here besieging a town in which the enemy is as well provided as we are, if not better. Captain Button came to-day and gives us hope that the hoy is coming about into this creek, called the Oyster Haven of Kinsale, and hopes the ship of Dover will soon be here. We have been fortunate in skirmishes, and have written earnestly into England for supplies of all kinds. Pray second our appeal.

You did well to stay the impress from McHenry when you knew he was at the burning with Tyrone and I expect, as you say, that if Sir Arthur Chichester is not stirring it is because he is not strong. When the forces land here you shall quickly know my mind. I do not forget the Northern business, but for the present wish to have all things here that we may despatch this.

P.S.—Confirms arrival of the ship of Dover at Cork with artillery and munition. Adds:—Pray send 2,000 suits of apparel here by the next shipping. They are much wanted.

P. 1½. *Signed. Dated at Camp, 22 Oct. Add. Endd. Ibid, 166A.*

B. [*The Bishop of Meath*] *to Same.*

Enis[?] Daly has come in. He left Harry Oge's house last night and his news is as follows:—

On Thursday last Tyrone left Dungannon for Clandeboye. He went to reconcile O'Kane and San [John], Reley's son, and to leave order for withstanding the forces at Loughfoyle. He leaves this duty to O'Kane and to Cormack McTyrlagh and to Henry McArt Oge. He will return to Dungannon at the end of the week and, in the beginning of the next week, starts towards the Pale. He received letters from the Spaniards about 8 days ago and has answered them that he is ready to do as they direct him, and will be in readiness, upon the return of his messengers, either to join them or to continue to waste the Pale as he has begun. So he stays until he has answer from them.

Tyrrell lately sent to him wishing him to take his journey through the Pale and promising to meet him about Dunboyne or Mullahuddert with 1,000 men, or at Balemerne [Ballymonie?] in Delvin whichever Tyrone appoints. He stays Tyrrell's messengers with him till he hears from the Spaniards.*

* I owe this suggestion to Dr. Flood.

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Meanwhile he has appointed Harry Oge, Art McBaron, Con, his [Tyrone's] bastard, McMahon, Patrick McArt Moyle, Tyrlagh McHenry and Ever McCowle with 1,500 foot and 200 horse to repair to the borders of the Pale and this day Harry Oge begins that journey. He is directed to hover on the borders and get what spoils he can, and he comes into the Brenny and there will camp, either at Lough Sillin [Lough Sheelin] or Loughrawre [Lough Ramor]. He says letters were sent to the Relys to be ready with victuals and change of shoes for the horses and the men. The spy thinks that Tyrone will, if he goes to Munster, go through Delvin; but he waits first for news from the Spaniards.

The following forces are, as the intelligencer learns, being raised by Tyrone for his expedition:—

Cormack, Tyrone's brother, raises 800, and of these he has raised 400 already.

Maguire	..	..	..	600
The Relyes	..	..	..	400
From the Farney	..	..	..	100 foot and 24 horse
McMahon	..	..	..	400

To all of these Tyrone promises Spanish pay, and they are straining themselves in order to get men in hope of Spanish gold. Tyrone, the spy says, will carry O'Relye with him and as many of the Irishry as have lately submitted themselves. Ever McCowle will, he thinks, be left in the Farney; but Tyrone's sons and Tyrlogh McHenry must, he thinks, go with him. The sons of O'Hagan alias Art Bradagh must keep the Fewes in his absence.

He heard the Quins and O'Hagans earnestly ask Tyrone to be allowed to burn Delvin, but Tyrone and Harry Oge answered them: "What boots it us to undo that great nobleman, who is of kindred to us, and whose wife is nearer to us in kindred than himself? Let us first go to the Spaniards and if they and we prevail he will be ready to join with us at all times and so will all the rest of the noblemen of his country."

During Tyrone's being in the Pale, Neale Garo* entered the country called Sleight Art, took 800 cows "and there killed man, woman and child."

Captain Legh has certainly put 40 beeves into the fort at Blackwater. The intelligencer heard very proud language used, and says that he heard Tyrone say that he made no doubt that now he and the Spaniards would have the kingdom. The intelligencer does not think that O'Donnell will go to Munster but that he will stay in the north to defend his own against the English at Lough Foyle and Neale Garow.*

I am sending Ewis down again to-day to find out as much as he can, and am recompensing him as before; which I hope will be considered.

Pp. 4. (Hol.) Dated Ardbraccan, 27 Oct. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 166B.

* The variations in the manner of spelling this name are very numerous even for these days of variable orthography.

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About
28 Oct.

TABLE shewing the issue of the proportion of MUNITION that arrived here at Dublin 4 October, 1601, together with the Remain[s] in store in Dublin Castle on 27 October.

Gives a list of the corn-powder and snaphaunce calivers sent in several instalments or at different times to Lord Delvin, Sir Fra. Rushe, the Naas, Cork, Richard Langford the gunner, the Navan, Captain Ghest, Sir Edward Harbert, the Newry and Carrickfergus, and to the citizens of Dublin between Oct. 6 and Oct. 23. Shows also what remains in Dublin.

Pp. 2½. *Endd.* S.P. Ireland 209, 167.

29 Oct.
Dublin.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in Dublin to SECRETARY CECIL.

A few hours after our last despatch we received the inclosed letter and list, with sundry other warrants directed to the several captains mentioned in the list, commanding them to rise presently with their companies and draw to his lordship. We sent these warrants abroad at once to the parties so that no time might be lost. We feel sure that the Lord Deputy, whose reasons for ordering this concentration you will learn from his enclosed letter, knows what dangers are involved in thus depleting the Pale of its garrisons. He has the Spaniards at his back and Tyrone in his face, and ready to march up to him, and must be strong enough to deal with both; and for our part we have "no reason to disallow of his providence" in concentrating at the point where the matter is like to be put to a trial, considering the danger which must follow if he should be defeated. We cannot see how the heart of the Pale can escape the utmost violence of Tyrone. This is deplorable at a time of year when their corn, being drawn into their haggards, is in danger of being burnt. The poorer sort of people will hardly be able to escape utter undoing, though the gentry and such as have castles and strong houses may be able to defend themselves to a certain extent. Some of them, haply, may make their peace with him to save their goods, or do worse: "and how far the corporate towns may be engaged when they see the main body of the country under his fury, and themselves left with nothing but the strength of their walls," we hope the best but doubt the worst. We therefore pray for some comfort of men, so often asked for, so long expected. If we had these here now, we might still make some manner of defence and prevent spoiling; which otherwise cannot be done. We also urge the despatch of ample provisions and stores. The disease is at its worst and this is no time to spare anything which may prevent the utter destruction of the body.

We will send Allen for the munition and pray it may be ready to come.

P. 1½. *Signed* by Lord Chancellor Loftus, Cary and Fenton. *Add.* *Endd.*: R. 10 Nov. at Whitehall. *Ibid*, 168. *Enclosing*:—

A. *The Lord Deputy and Privy Councillors in camp to the Lord Chancellor and Privy Councillors in Dublin.*

We find ourselves too weak to deal with Tyrone, who is drawing hither to the Spaniards, and have therefore sent for the

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companies in the enclosed list. Pray hasten them hither. Though the Pale may be ravaged, it is more important to have the army here able to prevail against both or either of our enemies than to have any place strong. We think, too, that, with the companies yet remaining with you, the towns that are walled and the castles of any strength will be able to defend themselves sufficiently against Tyrone, for we think he will bend his whole force here. If we win here the rest will all be ours, and if we lose here the rest will all be his. We feel sure you will give your best furtherance to these letters and ask the lords and gentlemen of the Pale of best ability to strain themselves awhile for their own defence, and likewise for the incorporate towns. Lord Dunsany's and Lord Delvin's companies are to follow Tyrone after he has come up, with the main force of the country.

P. 1½. Dated: Camp at Kinsale, 25 Oct. Signed by the Lord Deputy and by Carew, Wingfield, Gardener and Bouchier. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 168A. Enclosing:—

A*. *List of companies appointed to come to the camp near Kinsale.*

*The following have letters to come when Tyrone is passed by:—
Earl of Kildare, Lord Dunsany, Lord of Delvin, each with 150 men.*

The following have letters to come presently under the command of Sir Christopher St. Lawrence:—

Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Esmond, Sir Samuel Bagnall, Col. Ghest, and Sir Francis Rush, each with 150.

Sir Wm. Warren, Sir Francis Shane, Sir Tybott Dillon, Sir Edward Fitzgar [Fitzgerald], Sir Henry Harrington, Sir Garrett Moore, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Edward Harbert, each with 100 men.

The following horse are to come presently:—

Earl of Kildare, Lord Dunsany, Sir Francis Stafford, each with 50 men.

Sir Christopher St. Lawrence and Sir Garrett Moore, each with 25.

Sir Arthur Chichester is to come presently with all the horse and foot that garrison in Lecale, some 30 horse, and Captains Norton and Seckford's companies to guard necessary places.

P. 1. Endd. Ibid, 168A*.

29 Oct.

EXTRACT out of a LETTER from ULSTER, dated 29 Oct., 1601, (shewing Tyrone's forces).

	Foot.	Horse.
O'Donnell, O'Rorke and the Connaught men	3,000	.. 120
McSurley's son	400	.. 40
O'Chaan	400	.. 40
Maguire, in person	200	.. 60

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				Foot.	Horse.
The McMahones, in person	500	.. 80
The Brenny	400	.. 60
Tyrone himself and Cormack	Henry	Oge			
McShane	..	..	..	1,200	.. 120
Total	..	..	..	6,000	.. 520

All these have given their handwriting to answer this project. Tyrrell brings 800 foot and 50 horse, and is appointed to receive Tyrone on the borders of Ossory.

P. 1. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 169.

30 Oct.
Mellifont.

SIR EDWARD MOORE to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have for two years often asked for the entertainment due from the Queen to myself and my son on my rents. These [entertainments] in the time of Sir Henry Wallop being her treasurer amounted to near 800*l*. I paid these hitherto with the help of some small revenue I had in England : and might have continued the same but for the wasting of my estate in the late incursions of the arch-traitor into Louth and Meath. I am by this utterly undone unless I am allowed to set off the entertainment due to me against the rent due from me. I am under a strict duty to pay her Highness' rent by a day, on pain of forfeiture. Unless I am relieved, as desired, I am undone.

My losses and that of my tenants by burning of farm houses and carrying away of cattle is more than 3,000*l*. The former must be rebuilt before the land will yield anything. If I am given this relief, I will rebuild my farm houses, if necessary, by sale of my revenue in England.

P. 1½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid*, 170.

About
Oct.

Note on STEPS taken to send ships, men, &c, to Ireland.

Thirty lasts of powder to be sent, and all things proportionable. Men to be levied. A Privy seal for "barks" of discovery.

Five ships of the Queen's to be victualled for 250 men for 3 months.

Victuals for 1,500 landmen for one month.

Three ships of London to transport victuals. Each could carry 300 men, to be levied in London. The ships to be fitted accordingly.

A direction to Stallenge for a ship and a pinnace.

P. 1. *Endd. Ibid*, 171.

NOVEMBER, 1601.

4 Nov.
Dublin.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in Dublin to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

The Bishopric of Clonfert is vacant by the death of the late bishop. The bearer, Thomas Baugh, a fellow of Peterhouse in Cambridge, who, since he has been here, has given evidence of

1601.

“learning and good carriage” as a preacher, asks us to recommend him for the see. We do not usually write on these matters without the Lord Deputy; but he is now far away, and the road to him has lately become so unsafe that this gentleman could hardly travel to him. We recommend Mr. Baugh.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed by the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Meath, Cary and Fenton. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 172.

Copy of Petition of SIR GEORGE CARY, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, to the Commissioners for taking the accounts of his office, shewing that:—

On examination of the petitioner's accounts as Treasurer at War in Ireland for thirteen months to the 31st March, 1600, the following items of payment to divers of the army for entertainments grown due in the time are disallowed him by the auditors of his accounts. He states the reasons for these payments, and for his demands for moneys paid out by him for her Majesty's service.

1. He paid certain sums to the Earl of Essex for his official salary between 13 March, 1598, the date of his patents as Lord Lieutenant, and 14 April, 1599, the date of his receiving the Sword, and a third part of his salary for 20 days to 16 Oct., 1599. These were disallowed because the Queen only allows this entertainment from the time of taking the Sword. The sums come to 108*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*

By the Queen's letters and the establishment petitioner is ordered to pay him [the Earl of Essex] 10*l.* a day for his entertainment and the wages of 50 horsemen and 50 foot from 7 March; but he did not pay the earl for his horse and foot till 13 March, or pay his entertainment till 15 April, at which time he received the sword. Further, two parts of the said allowance of cess, being due to the Earl of Ormond as Lord Lieutenant of the army, was saved from him during that time; so that the whole sum saved to the Queen by petitioner's means was 500*l.* Prays for allowance of this sum.

He also paid to his lordship, as part of two months' entertainment, from 17 October, 1599 (to which day his lordship was [in] full pay till his departure from Ireland), by virtue of his lordship's warrant of imprest to him . . . 388*l.* 15*s.* 2*½d.*

This was for 20 days beginning 27 Sept., 1599. *Details.* The Earl of Essex received this sum as part of a 1,000*l.* imprest at the time when he was leaving Ireland. The auditors will not allow it because the Queen's letter directed the petitioner to pay the Earl of Essex two months' entertainment if he should demand it, which sum was to be defalked [deducted] from his [future] entertainment. He left suddenly without the petitioner knowing it and without the petitioner knowing what other deductions (for victuals, beef and cheques) well nigh amounting to the said sum were [then] chargeable against him [the Earl]. Prays allowance of the said sum as before.

He paid to Laughlin O'Hanlon for 25 horse on the Lord Deputy's warrant 45*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

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Prays for allowance of this sum. The said company was discharged at Dublin long before the paymaster at Newry could hear it, so that the said sum could not be deducted in due time.

Paid to Phelim O'Hanlon at (?) Carrickfergus [*details*]
78*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*

Prays for allowance of this. O'Hanlon was kept in service at Carrickfergus through ignorance of the fact that he had been discharged at Dublin.

Paid to Sir Robert Constable for 21 horse, who was discharged at Dublin before his impress ran out or notice could be had 42*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*

Paid to John Spilman and John Wood of London (*full details*) 21*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.*

Paid to Dermot McMorishe Kavanaght, leader of 40 Kerne at 6*d.* each a day, by the certificate of Sir Ralph Lane, muster master, by warrant from the Lord Lieutenant, dated 27 Aug., 1599 46*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

He is surcharged for sums paid to the fifteen captains sent out of the Low Countries to Ireland with their companies for January and February, 1598(–9). Their companies were often 150 or 200 strong, and paid accordingly, whilst the auditor only allows for companies 100 strong. *Details.* The sum surcharged on this head is 80*l.* 5*s.* 8½*d.*

He desires payment of his salary as a joint Lord Justice of Ireland from 10 Jan., 1599 (1600) to 28 Feb., 1599 (1600), the day when Lord Mountjoy received the Sword. This, with all allowances, amounts to 123*l.* 7*s.* 8½*d.*

He asks also for allowance of portage money for the treasure sent out of England between 1 March, 1598 (1599), and 31 March, 1600, and for other sums of victualling money sent over. *Details.* These amount to 151*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

He asks for payment of wages paid to a trumpeter and 30 horsemen at 12*d.* each a day to Sir Christopher Blunt, late marshal of Ireland, for 180 days to 7 Sept., 1599, by warrant from the Earl of Essex. This has been surcharged as exceeding the list 277*l.* 9*s.* 0*d.*

He asks further for the costs of sending over his deputy, Charles Huet, and clerks to England in charge of documents, "lidger" books, &c., their travelling expenses and charges during the time (a whole year) they were kept in London. *Details.* Sum asked for not stated. He asks also for his expenses of travelling to England in connection with these accounts and on her Majesty's special service.

Pp. 5. *Endd.* S.P. Ireland, 209, 173.

4 Nov.
Camp before
Kinsale.

PAUL IVE to SECRETARY CECIL.

The enclosed map* accurately expresses the haven of Kinsale, though the town is not so thoroughly shewn as, by God's grace it will be hereafter. When the ordnance is planted before it the

* For this map see "State Paper Office : Maps, No 9."

1601.

enemy will soon be removed. I am anxious to make my son fit for your service, and did not answer your demand for him because I thought a years' study and private practice [?] would improve him. If "by the handling of his pen" you think him fit, pray receive him.

P. 1½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 174.

6 Nov.
Knockfergus.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

The bearer, Captain Jephson, who commands 100 horse in this garrison, has been licensed by the Lord Deputy to go to England to ask for supply of horses for his troop. For two and a half years they have been without any, "through which continuance they are much decayed in English and the time doth not suffer us to have assured confidence in men of this nation." If his suit is granted he will provide suitable horses and see to their transportation. I make this request because I know of the Lord Deputy's design to prosecute the war against Tyrone from these parts, "from which he shall find a more easy and less dangerous access than from the parts he hath already attempted"; and we desire to be able to support him strongly. This is a better base for attack than Armagh or Loughfoyle.

Some boats are already built upon the Lough, and materials are coming for others. With these I hope to make a sure plantation in Tyrone, within 5 miles of Dungannon, and in other places, from which the country will be wasted. I hear that on the late increase of the list of his army the Lord Deputy has appointed our garrison to be 1,500 strong. I have asked that they may be lodged in the Government; not in Lecale or other places, for I never had use of such troops but of the service they did in the place where they remained. The forces first placed here are already with his lordship, except those which are guarding castles. Had I those forces with me, and supplies for them, I "shall" give a good account of my doings for my number, and will join with those of Loughfoyle for any attack on O'Cane or Randall, the Scot, lately revolted; and if other commands do not divert me I shall plant at Coleraine, at this side of the Bande [Bann], and prepare many things against the coming of a greater army. O'Cane and the Scot are two of the richest and strongest assistants of Tyrone.

Tyrone and most of his "adjutors" were at Toome on 25 October, drawn thither by the Scot, I think, to try and capture our boats. I defeated them by sinking the boats in a place where, in less than a day, we may recover the use of them. Some sudden news or foul weather made him withdraw without attempting anything further on us, though he was urged to do it by the Scot, who had prepared "clashes" with hurdles for him to pass his forces [on], forgetting his oath of loyalty and the pardon given by the Queen to himself and his chief dependents. At the dissolving, orders were given to every man to be at Dungannon in ten days and to bring one month's provisions. *Speaks* of Tyrone's intention to go to Munster. *Proceeds*:—I think he

1601.

will not go so far, though the weakness of this garrison and that at Loughfoyle may tempt him to do so. The Scot attended him with 2,000 foot and 40 horse, but no one else. They keep themselves "strong upon us." I shall operate against any who may "be once on foot."

Since the landing of the Spaniards many have revolted who pretended obedience to the Queen.

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 175.

6 Nov.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER to SECRETARY CECIL.

Knockfergus.

Captain Jephson, the bearer, who has served long here [*details*], is going to England, owing to the weakness of his old father. His only brother is dead without leaving children so he takes this opportunity to "prevent a remediless harm." He wants supplies for his horse. [*Details* as in last letter.] Pray favour and dispatch him, for he wishes to return and serve under the Lord Deputy in these parts, on his [the Lord Deputy's] coming out of Munster.

P. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid*, 176.

7 Nov.

Camp before
Kinsale.

The LORD DEPUTY and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in camp to the
ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

This letter is printed in Fynes Moryson's Itinerary (1907), Vol. III, pp. 24-26. The name of the officer referred to as "Captain A." in Moryson's copy is given in the original as "Captain Bostock." Moryson, moreover, does not give the whole letter. To his copy must be added:—I, the Deputy, have written to Sir Henry Docwra and hope to quicken him as your lordships' desire.

P.S.—On intelligence from Dublin [and] from the Earl of Ormond and Clanricarde that Tyrone is already on his way hither with 6,000 foot and 520 horse (besides Tyrrell's supports), it was resolved in Council with the advice of the officers and colonels that I, the President, should go against him with two regiments of foot and 325 horse, to try to stop or hinder his coming. Whereupon I left the camp this morning.

The forces of the Pale and Connaught are appointed to follow Tyrone as soon as he has passed by. Please send some oats or our horses will starve.

Pp. 2. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy and by Carew, Wingfield and Gardener. *Endd. Ibid*, 177. *Enclosing*:—

*Journal into Munster on the intelligence of the Spanish Army being landed at Kinsale.**

Sept. 27. Lord Deputy arrived at Cork, accompanied, &c.

* See Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 455 to end, and Vol. III, pp. 1-19. His account tallies closely with this: and the document here calendared may have been used, or even written, by him. This document, however, contains information not in his narrative, and his narrative contains facts not given here. I thought it best to give the full substance of this document only where it differs from or is not already given in Moryson's work.—*Ed.*

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- Sept. 29. Lord Deputy and Councillors went and viewed Kinsale. They found that the Spanish shipping had left the harbour.
- Oct. 8. M[aste]r Marshal, who was sent from Kilkenny to draw forces out of the Pale, arrived with Sir George Bouchier at Cork. Sir John Barkely also arrived.
- Oct. 9. Sir John Barkely's companies reached Cork.
- Oct. 10. Sir Henry Davers, who was sent for the forces about Armagh, came to Cork with Sir Henry Folliott, Captain Blaney and divers other captains.
- M[aste]r Marshal and Sir John Barkely with some horse and foot, went to Kinsale to view a fit place to camp in.
- Oct. 11. The companies which Sir Henry Davers went for arrived. Some horse and foot sent forth to keep the Spaniards from victuals.
- Oct. 12. Two Frenchmen were voluntarily taken, and said the Spaniards were 3,500 besides those not yet come in.
- Oct. 13. It was resolved to take the field, but nothing yet come to enable us thereto.
- Oct. 14. and 15. Weather too wet for us to move.
- Oct. 16. The Deputy left Cork and encamped with the army at Owny Buoy, five miles from Kinsale. The supplies were not yet come from Dublin, but it was thought better to take the field than let the country discover those facts and so fall away.
- Oct. 17. The army rose and marched within half a mile of Kinsale, where they encamped under a hill called Knock Robin, having no means to entrench. Captain Morgan and Jolly the gunner, arrived. Some of the provisions said to be come to Waterford from Dublin, where they are detained by southerly winds. A few shot were offered "to disquiet the camp," but were beaten back with very little disturbance.
- Oct. 18. Sat still. No artillery yet. Many places viewed to sit down before the town. Another offer made by the enemy to disturb the camp at night, but was readily answered and repelled. No loss on our side.
- Oct. 19. Lay still there expecting the provisions. Some slight skirmishes in viewing of the town. Sir John Barkely was appointed to give an alarm to the town and "bet in" all the guards without the town into their trenches.
- Oct. 20. This night 1,000 or 1,500 Spaniards came to the top of the hill near the camp to cut off some of the scouts or guards and to attempt somewhat on that quarter. They were discovered by a party of ours, not much exceeding 200, that were of purpose sent out to lie between the town and our camp, who had with them Captain Morris. They set on the Spaniards, killed four, wounded many and took some arms, and bet them back to the town. Our loss was three wounded.
- Oct. 21. Relates the arrival of Cormack McDermond from Muskerry, his being sent into action, the retirement of his men and the gallant reinforcing action of Sir William Godolphin and Captain Henry Barkly [as related above, p. 143]. Four Spaniards killed: no English.

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- Oct. 22. Captain Button of the *Moon*, who had the wafting of the victuals from Dublin, arrived at camp. Reported provisions coming. Was despatched to bring his ship round to Kinsale harbour and Captain Ward ordered round too. He [Ward] had before been guarding such provisions as we had at Oyster Haven. They were "willed to try if they could annoy the castle of Rincurran," held by the Spaniards. They tried to do so but failed, their guns being too small. They therefore lay off the harbour to prevent relief from coming to the Spaniards by sea.
- Oct. 23. News that the shipping from Waterford has come in at Cork. Orders sent them to work round to Oyster Haven, where they are to unlade their artillery and provisions.
- Oct. 24. Preparations made to move close to Kinsale. Captains Blayne and Flower sent out to oppose the Spaniards, who had come out of the town, in case they should come towards our quarter.
- Oct. 25. Army ready to rise, but orders given not to do so on account of foul weather. Four "natural" Spaniards came in and surrendered and were sent to Cork. At night Sir John Barkely went out with 300 men, and selecting 60, fell on them in their trenches and bet them into the town. Spanish loss:—20 killed and wounded. English:—Three wounded.
- Oct. 26. The army dislodged and encamped on a hill called the Spittle, more than a musket shot away from the town on the north. Rescue of the prey taken by the Spaniards. [See Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 11.]
- Oct. 27. We awaited the artillery. Perfected the entrenchment round the camp which was left imperfect the day before owing to the extreme foulness of the weather. At night Sir John Barkely, Sir William Godolphin and Captain Bodly were sent to view the most commodious place to plant artillery.
- Oct. 28. The two culverins were landed and all means used to mount them, but could not be done till next day "so ill was everything fitted by reason there had been no use of them for a long time."
- Oct. 29. The two culverins were mounted and all made ready to batter the next day. The Spaniards, seeing our design, tried last night to relieve the fort by means of boats, but were valiantly repelled by Captain Button with boats and shot out of the ship.
- Oct. 30. Fire opened on the castle with two culverins. One received a flaw about 2 p.m. and the carriage of the other was broken after a few shots. It had to be remounted. Other details of Spanish action, as in Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 15–16.
- Oct. 31. The journal gives here substantially the account given by Moryson (*op. cit.*, pp. 16–19) of the attack on and surrender of the castle of Rincurran down to the point (p. 19, l. 5) at which it relates the sending of the surrendered Spaniards to Cork.
- In all pp. 10. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 177A.

1601.

7 Nov.
Camp near
Kinsale.

The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

A full abstract of this letter is given by Moryson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 26–31, *g.v.* To this abstract must be added, “I send my consent to the Marquis’ bill in a separate letter, for you to shew as you think fit.”

Pp. 6, *with an autograph postscript. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 178.

7 Nov.
Dublin.The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in DUBLIN
to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We are grateful for her Majesty’s care of this kingdom. *Expressions* of pious horror at the rebellion of the Irish. *Proceeds* :—“We hope that, their cup of treason being now filled up to the brim, God will defer no longer the last stroke of his justice against them by the hand of her Majesty, whom they have so unworthily and infinitely provoked.”

The Lord Deputy having withdrawn the garrisons of these parts to the camp, and the defence of the Pale being left to “God and the country,” we took occasion to “*expostulate** with the gentlemen of the five shires the estate of their present dangers” owing to the Spaniards’ invasion and the rebellion of the Irish. We urged them not to ask for help from the army which was now gathered into one bulk to defend the whole, but to do their best to raise the strength of the country and to be themselves an example to others.

On the arrival of your letters we have renewed this motion, and added authority to exhortation, charging them to raise the strength of their countries. We have encouraged them by speaking of great levies of men in England for Ulster and Munster, and of a contract made for 3,000 or 4,000 Scots to make a descent in Ulster to entangle Tyrone at home. The result of these efforts cannot, however, be known till we see what Tyrone will do, whether he will settle to spoil the Pale or pass it over till he see some further event of things in Munster.

Intelligence as to Tyrone’s movements varies; but our last and most credible news is that Cormack and O’Donnell will move up to join the Spaniards and that Tyrone will stay at home and vex the Pale by incursions, and thus attempt to divert some of the Lord Deputy’s army. We hear from several sources that O’Donnell, Cormack and O’Rorke yesterday passed the borders of Westmeath into “the Irish countries of Low Leinster.” They divided their companies into troops of 200, 300 and more, and have separated, to rejoin on the borders of Ormond. There they have appointed a rendezvous with Tyrrell, who, it is thought, will meet them with 500 or 600 men. It is said that their gross is 4,000 horse and foot; and we dare not make them less, since they are certain to be augmented as they go, allowing, as they do, free pillage and spoiling. Considering, however, the force which

* “*Expostulate*” is, I think, used transitively here, though there is something like a comma after “shires.” If it is not so used, the sentence is ungrammatical.

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they must leave behind for defence and for attending our garrisons "we hope, though their numbers may rise high in multitudes of rural people yet, in the reckonings of fighting men their strength will not be so great as is given out by our advertisements." Tyrone is reported to have drawn to-day with some forces to the borders of the Brenny; but whether he desires to countenance O'Donnell and the rest of the Munster expedition or to invade the Pale we do not know.

We have acquainted the Lord Deputy with our espials and informations and hope he may lie in wait for Tyrone's men and stop them from joining with the Spaniards; and we hope that God, for "the preservation of his own honour and worship and the safety of a most lawfully anointed sacred prince, his magistrate upon earth, will give his lordship an honourable issue to this service, which upon the knees of our hearts we beg at His hands, who hitherto hath borne up His own cause by the ministry of her Majesty against the pride of all foreign and home enemies."

We think the project of contracting for Scots to invade and entangle Tyrone in his country is a good one. Pray hasten the matter on. We send a copy of a letter just received from the Lord Deputy and Council at the camp. We hope to be able to send further good news soon.

Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed by Lord Chancellor Loftus, and by Cary and Fenton. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 179. Enclosing:—

The Lord Deputy and Privy Councillors in camp to the Lord Chancellor and Privy Councillors in Dublin.

We send a list of the companies which we have ordered to join us. These were ordered before Rincurran fort was taken and its capture enables us to concentrate our forces which before were so spread out (to guard the artillery for battering Rincurran) that we were very vulnerable. This capture, and the promise of reinforcements from England and the news of a Scotch inroad against Tyrone, alters the case so that the companies for which we sent are not now required. We therefore direct you to stay them either where they are, or for the defence of the Pale. We send a journal re Rincurran.

P.S.—If you hear for certain that Tyrone is coming here direct those companies to follow after him and annoy him.

P. 1. Copy; with copies of signatures of the Lord Deputy, Carew, Wingfield, Gardener and Bouchier, [appended to the P.S. only] of the Lord Deputy. Endd. Ibid, 179A. Enclosing:—

A*. Abstract of such of our Journal as concerneth the gaining of the Castle of Ryncorran from the Spaniards.

This extract repeats what was stated in the extract calendared above, p. 155, from 28 Oct.—1 Nov. [inclusive]. States that amongst the Spaniards who tried to escape from the castle on the night of Oct. 31—Nov. 1 was an Irishman of great reckoning, Dermot McCarthy, called by the Spaniards Don Dermuchio. He has been 15 or 16 years in Spain, and was the principal agent used by Florence McCarthy to bring the Spaniards hither. There were also apprehended about

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100 poor miserable Irish. The castle was pillaged by our men under Captain Roger Harvey who "had the killing of ten of them upon the rock without the castle where he took Dermot McCarthy, and the killing of two others at his first entry into the bawn."

Relates the surrender of the castle by the rest of the ward under an alfero or lieutenant. [See Moryson, *op. cit.*, p. 18-19.] States that the number of the garrison who surrendered was 65 [Moryson says 86 and four women, besides Irish churls, &c.] and that they were in the same day sent prisoners to Cork guarded by 400 citizens.

P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. *Endd.* S.P. Ireland 209, 179A*.

7 Nov.
Dublin.

SIR HENRY POWER to SECRETARY CECIL.

On the Spaniards landing I was sent by the Lord Deputy to front Tyrone upon the northern borders with forces which the Lord Deputy has now drawn to himself. I am going there and will send all particulars. They are 3,000 and are to rendezvous on the 10th of this month at Holy Cross in the co. Tipperary. There Tyrrell and Donnell, Florence McCarthy's brother, are to meet them. After this meeting they will be 4,000.

A few of the Irish have come to the Spaniards; amongst them Rooche, Captain William Power's cousin, and his horsemen. I think they will increase rather than diminish, for, of their 7,000, 4,000 are Irish "whose wavering humours are too well known."

The bearer, my chaplain here, is recommended by the Lords here for the Bishopric of Clonfert. Pray support his suit.

P. 1. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid.* 180.

8 Nov.
Shandon.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SAME.

I send you the examination and voluntary confession of Don Dermuchio. To Cormack McDermond "I will take no knowledge: the time not fitting to call men of his ability to do harm in question, but of him and all men else that have pledges for their loyalties I will be careful." This warning is sufficient caution for me.

Yesterday I left the Lord Deputy with a force nominally of 2,150 foot and 360 horse. My actual strength is not above 1,000 foot and 250 horse. I am sent with this part of an army to meet Tyrone and forbid his descent into Munster. Of the provincials I shall have about 1,000 foot and 150 horse; but I have as much doubt about them as about Tyrone. I can defend myself against him, but cannot trust them. The rumour is that Tyrone has 6,000 Connaught and Ulster men. I cannot believe he has so great a force; but think his forces will treble mine.

I do not blame the Lord Deputy for the fact that this task is put upon me. It is necessary; for if Tyrone be not confronted at his entering into Munster the whole of this province will abandon

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their loyalty and join him, thinking it a sufficient excuse that they were not countenanced by the Queen's forces. My authority in this province justifies my appointment to do the task: for if I cannot contain Munster, which is the area of my government let nobody else undertake it. I speak it not in arrogance—but, before the Spaniards landed, no President ever had the gentlemen and rest of the province so much at his command as I have had. I know that it is a hard task, but when I look on the remainder of the army which is left with the Lord Deputy to lie before so strong an enemy, I pity his case rather than my own. The five regiments which stay there, should be 5,000 strong, but are not above 3,000 by the poll, "so as I account my Lord Deputy's peril no less than my own, lying before an enemy that, by the poll, is stronger than himself."

We are then in this dilemma—that we have either to allow all the Irish to join and besiege us where we lie in camp or else to separate our forces "and adventure the hazards that by dividing is likely enough to fall upon one or both. That which troubles me most is the Irish companies which I carry with me, that are in the Queen's pay, for in list of Irish companies I have 800 besides the Irish that is in every English company, which added together is more than the one half of my numbers Irish. Herein my Lord Deputy did wisely, for I shall be better able to shift a danger in the field with these doubtful companies than he . . . if they were minded to betray his camp." Besides, the men just come over, who have lain three weeks in camp, are sick and weak and could not have endured the long and hungry marches which I have to make. If God had sent easterly winds so that our supports could have arrived from England before Tyrone reached the borders of this province, these difficulties would not have arisen. However, I hope to be successful, "for, according to your phrase, my genius assures me of it; and if I meet with this blacksmith's son, I hope to beat him soundly and with all perpetually rest," &c.

Pp. 3. "From Shandon, ready to put foot in stirrup towards the northern traitor." *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 181. *Enclosing* :—

A. The examination of Don Dermuchio, taken before the Lord Deputy and Lord President the 2nd November, 1601.

He says that an Irishman called Patrick Synnott (a priest serving Don Luis de Carillo, governor of the Groyne) wrote the letter for him [deponent] which in March or May he sent to Florence McCarthy.

[A note says: This letter the President did formerly send to your honour.]

Asked what Irishmen have now been the procurers of the coming of the Spanish army into Ireland he says that the Spanish Bishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Clonfert, the Bishop of Killaloe [Killaloe] and Father Archer urged the hastening away of the army and counselled its coming to Cork, affirming that if that city were taken all Munster would be theirs, and

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affirming also that they were sure that Florence McCarthy with all his power and friends would join with them. When they heard that Florence was taken they were much perplexed and did not know where to land. Some advised Connaught or Ulster, but the priests, especially Archer, urged a landing in Munster, and prevailed. Of the priests Archer was in the best reputation with the Spaniards and in the King's council.

He says that the loss of the Earl of Ormond's sight and his impression of age greatly encouraged them to think that, when they landed, the Butlers, the Kavanaghs and the Mores and all Leinster would assist them. In the Butlers was their greatest trust in those parts, because after the Earl's death there was no certain heir to that earldom. Viscount Mountgarrett was the Butler to whom they chiefly looked.

He says that at the return of the Spanish fleet, Don Juan d'Aquila prayed that 6,000 men might be presently sent to them, for that since James Fitzthomas and Florence McCarthy had been apprehended, his hopes of assistance [from the Irish] failed him, and he thought his estate desperate unless he were relieved. He urged this because Tyrone was far off, and could not in any reasonable time draw to him. The 6,000 supplies were, says deponent, expected to be here by Christmas next. The Muster-master and Pagador assured him that when the army landed at Kinsale it was by poll 4,500 strong; but it was now reduced to 4,000 by death and sickness. "This upon his salvation he affirms to be true."

P. 1½. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 181A.

B. Confession of Don Dermuchio, giving the names of those that have combined and sent by Father Archer to the King of Spain.

James Fitzthomas and his brother John.

Florence McCarthy and his brother Dermot.

John Barry of Liscarroll.

Edmond McGibbon.

Cormack McDermot and all the rest in his country.

Dermot McOwen and his brother Donogh McCormuk.

Both the O'Sullivan's and all the rest of Desmond. Pierce Oge Lacy.

Lord Mountgarrett.

Archer verified that all Munster should take part with him and the Spaniards, only Lord Barrymore, McCarty Reough and John FitzEdmonds.

Cormack McDermot sent his man, Murrough McEdmund Oge, and his letter to Don John, with two horses, one for Don John to ride and another for Cormack McCarty.* The letter said that the writer's son was in hands with the Englishmen and also his (the writer's) brother and that, were this not so, he (the writer) would presently take the Spaniards' part, and that the writer would work to kill the Lord President

* A note adds that he is called "Don Carlos," and commands a Spanish company in Kinsale.

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and get his relatives free. At another time Cormack sent Teig McOrwen's son with another letter to that effect.

Donnogh Moel McCarty, his brother, and Fynnen and Connogher O'Driscoll came to Don John and have given their word to take his part and were sworn; and Don John passed his word that he would give them in pay 300 foot and 100 horse. Therefore the Lord Deputy is to take heed of these and of the Mahownes and Crowlies.

The seneschal's son came to Don John and combined with him and bestowed his horse on Captain Owen. The King of Spain intends not only for Ireland but for England. Tyrone promised to help him with 10,000 men out of the North, and the gentlemen of Munster promised him so many more.

Don John hopes daily for succour from Spain.

P. 1. *Endd.*: "Don Dermuchio his voluntary confession, written by William Malefant at the camp," &c., 6 Nov., 1601. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 181B.

c. *Reasons given by Don Dermuchio for his knowledge of the facts confessed by him.*

(i.) *By report from Archer.*

(ii.) *Details.* Don John had letters from Cormack McDermot, read in deponent's presence. It was in substance as stated [in the foregoing] but said that the writer "would rather take the Lord President prisoner than kill him, for so I might the rather get my son and brother the sooner at liberty." When he saw the hackney which had been sent him by Cormack McDermot as a present, Don John said: "Doth the country yield no greater horses than these?" To which the deponent answered that "these were usual for hackneys."

Other details.

P. 1, with notes in the margin to the effect that Cormack McCarty is called among the Spaniards "Don Carlos." *Endd.* *Ibid*, 181C.

9 Nov.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

Tyrone is, as our news tell us, still irresolute on the question of going up to join the Spaniards. Our joint letter says, on good information, that Tyrone will stay at home and that Cormack and O'Donnell will go to Munster; but this plan may be changed. They do not think themselves strong enough to go to Munster, nor do they like to abandon their country to hazard and danger, in order to give help to strangers at so difficult a time of year, when rivers and passages of water will stop them. They believe the Queen's army, which is stronger than they, will lie in wait for them, and apprehend that there is a force of Scots ready to enter Ulster when they have left it. "Most of them are possessed with these rumours which before their going they stuck not to expostulate* boldly with Tyrone" and said he had little care of his followers when he could thus expose their country "only to satisfy a light promise made by him to aid the Spaniards, whom, nevertheless, they could not relieve but with the apparent

* "Expostulate" is used transitively here.

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overthrow of themselves." These arguments will gain weight with them when they shall hear what good success the Queen's forces have had against the Spaniards, and how they are cut off by land and sea from victuals, and that the provincials "dare not stir in their favour having so great an army on their necks." They may therefore "wheel about" midway in their journey when they find they cannot make it good, and say to Tyrone that "in the rule of a lord over them he cannot command them against impossibilities." I write this to your honour as a conjecture founded on my experience of them. I know they dislike nothing so much as to leave their country when they see it in danger to be lost.

If either the Queen's ships or the soldiers appointed from Munster arrive [at Kinsale] I see not how the action against the Spaniards can be long. If the Queen's ships arrive on the coast before the Spanish supports come I hope "Don Juan . . . with all the rest in Kinsale will consider to make their wills, for they cannot be long out of her Majesty's mercy." Then, I feel sure, the Deputy will set upon Ulster where all these mischiefs had their beginning. That remote province, for want of a settled government, is corrupted with "factions, and all hatched and nourished out of those two proud houses of O'Neile and O'Donnell, who, finding no superior government set over them, whereby they might be ranged under the rules of justice and law," have risen to such a height of ambition as to disdain the government of their prince under whom all Ireland is governed. "Wherein since they have thus far swelled in malice towards her Majesty, their sovereign prince, and no expectation of better in them that are so deeply poisoned as to have brought in foreign power to substract the whole realm from her Highness, there is no way but utterly to root them out and their principal branches though, in a merciful clemency, some of the inferiors may be reserved" who have been carried into transgression by their own weakness or "the co-action of others, but not of their proper malice." A governor over all Ulster would no doubt involve expenditure, but if the province is well governed this charge of a governor and council for Ulster could be met by raising a revenue in it. If the people there have been able to pay for a war they may well be asked to pay for a government by which "they are to be made regenerate people to live under law and civil ordinances, and to be freed from their wonted tyrannious burdens under the family of the O'Neill's."

These are my views and, if they are accepted, I recommend a single governor and the abolition of all inferior governorships. The sooner a single governor is appointed the better.

Pp. 2½. *Signed. Add. Endd.*: "R. at Whitehall the 25th by Mr. Savage." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 182.

13 Nov.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

Tyrone continues his preparations for Munster, raising men and cutting victuals and moves about from place to place, but

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all in the circuit of Ulster, which makes me think that it is all but "shews and Irish pretences," and that he does not intend to go up in person. It is six weeks since the Spaniards arrived, during which time they have suffered blows, and the Deputy's army is better fitted than it was to "lie for" Tyrone. He is unlikely to go up now when he will have to strive against rivers and waters and will have to meet the extremities of winter. He fears greatly the loss of his own country and that, if he goes, he may not be able to join with the Spaniards, without which his going is in vain and all other hopes concerning them desperate. Last night, I hear, he drew down to the Brenny and O'Rorke and O'Donnell are reported to await him between Mullingar and Athlone. Then, I think, it will be decided whether Tyrone is to go down to Munster or give that task to others.

As the soldiers for Loughfoyle and Knockfergus set sail from Chester with a good wind last Monday I expect Tyrone has already heard of their landing, which may alter his purpose to go to Munster. If the Scots were landed according to contract it would break him of it, and "astonish him in the whole course of his affairs." If this were done I do not think that either Tyrone in person or any of his followers would stir out of Ulster.

The Pale has long been quiet, though the country is destitute of forces other than the strength of the country. I do not know the cause of it "save that Don Juan D'Aquila has admonished Tyrone to forbear all burning in the country, saying that he is sent to conquer the country, but not to burn the people's corn in their haggards." This is probably said because he does not want to have destroyed the corn which he hopes will support him and his army afterwards.

P.S.—Sir Thomas Loftus (one of the Lord Chancellor's sons) arrived to-day from camp and brought news of messages passing between our force and the enemy. You may think that when parley is offered the place will not long hold out.

P. 1½. Signed. Add.: "Haste, Haste; post haste." *Endd.* generally and with the postmarks:—

Delivered to the ser[geant?], Dublin, 14 Nov., at morning tyde.

At Chester, 24 Nov., at 6 a.m.

At Namptwich [Nantwich] at 10 in the morning.

At Stone, past 2 in the afternoon.

At Lichfield, past 8 at night.

Cosell [Coleshill] past 2 [a.m.].

Coventry past 4 a.m.

Towcester, past 9 a.m.

Breckill [Brickhill], past 1.

St. Albans at 8.

Barnet (*) at 10.

S.P. Ireland 209, 183.

* These postmarks are given to show how fast the postmen rode.—Chester to Barnet in 40 hours.

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13 Nov.
Dublin.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and other PRIVY COUNCILLORS in
Dublin to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We have sent over John Allen, clerk of the ordnance in Ireland, to indent for ordnance and bring it over. We send enclosed shewing [see enclosure hereafter]. We cannot do with less. Pray hasten it and send part of it overland and the rest after "for that we consider how inconvenient it might be in this hard time of the winter (which cannot but be burdensome to the country for carriages) to have the whole proportion come together."

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed by the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Meath and Fenton and Carey. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 184.
Enclosing :—

A. Return shewing :—

(a) *the remain of the new proportion of munition which arrived here at Dublin the 4th October, 1601.*

List follows of corn powder, calivers, swords, halberds, pickaxes, felling axes, reaping hooks, rope, cressets, cresset lights, &c.

(b) *The remain of the old store of munition now in Dublin Castle, 13 Nov., 1601.*

Similar but shorter list of swords, pikes, shovels, &c.

P. 1. Signed by John Allen. Endd. Ibid. 184A.

B. List shewing the munitions to be sent out of England.

Long list of various articles of supply for an army follows. The articles mentioned are muskets, calivers, horsemen—staves and heads for these, falcon bullet, sacker [saker] bullet, minion bullet, demi-culverins and culverin bullet, plank for cannon carriages and for small ordnance, wheels for small ordnance, gin and draft rope, ladles for ordnance, bridge barrells, gins, gin-heads, shivers of brass, shovels and spades, pickaxes, close lanterns, materials for fire works, iron chambers, crows of iron.

P. 1. Signed by the Lord Chancellor and the same Privy Councillors as the covering letter. Dated 12 Nov., 1601. Endd. Ibid, 184B.

14 Nov.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CAREY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

I hear of Captain Billings who came from the camp that the only messages which have really passed between Don John d'Aquila and the Lord Deputy are that the Lord Deputy sent a drum to "taste" Don John as to what ransom he would take for the alferes who was taken when the castle was rendered. D'Aquila answered that my Lord might do what he pleased with him, but that if he (D'Aquila) had him he would know what to do with him—meaning that he would hang him. As for the other prisoner he said he would pay a reasonable ransom for him because he was taken in fight.

Captain Billings thinks the Spaniards intend to abide to the uttermost and expect speedy succours out of Spain. None of the Queen's ships were as yet off the coast when he left : but on the way from the camp he heard on the 9th that two ships full of

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soldiers had come in at Waterford. The Lord Deputy, he says, intends to make two bulwarks or little forts, in which to place his ordnance to batter the town. He has only three pieces of ordnance—the cannon sent from here and a culverin and demi-culverin.

The Lord President, with his regiment, and that of Sir Charles Wilmot has gone to lie in wait for the rebels. Lord Barry and Lord Power "with the rest of the country forces" are appointed to go with him. The Lord Deputy has also sent to him those forces which Sir Christopher St. Lawrence was commanded to bring from hence.

O'Donnell, O'Rourke and Tyrrell have these 8 days lain about the Ene [Inny] side, not far from Athlone, waiting for Tyrone. Unto them it is said that O'Donnell chaffes [chafes] mightily for his longer stay. It is said that O'Donnell is 1,000 foot and 200 horse, Tyrrell 400 foot and 40 horse, and O'Rourke 500 foot and 40 horse. Tyrone makes great shew of preparations but it is confidently affirmed to me that within ten days he had not left Dungannon, in spite of his show of meetings. It will be ten days more before he can reach Munster: and I fear seconds out of Spain more than Tyrone.

The *Tremontane* came in here to-day in great distress for want of victuals and many of her men very sick. I will revictual her and send her away to my Lord. She brings news that the soldiers reached Knockfergus on the 10th and Loughfoyle the following day.

Pp. 2. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 185.

15 Nov.
Derry.

CAPTAIN HUMFREY WILLIS to SECRETARY CECIL.

O'Donnell has taken all his forces out of Tyrconnell to Connaught. McCoughlan met him with his cots at the Shannon and ferried him over. Tyrone has gone after O'Donnell, and both swear they will see the Spaniards ere they return or lose their lives. The Scot Randall McSurlowe [McSorley] of the Route [Root] has joined Tyrone, and sent him some of his men for his journey.

O'Donnell being out of the country, Neil Garrowe with the men already in Donegal may easily take the Abbey of Asheroe. After that I am sure he will have the castle of Balleysheenna [Ballyshannon] for he that keepeth it is married to Neale Garrow's sister, and that with little charge. "In the mean if they fortify the fords between that and Ballecke [Belleek] O'Donnell cannot come into the country again unless he come by Maguire's country and so come in by way of stealth." Neil Garrowe has taken many of O'Donnell's preys since his departure and has received in McSwyne Bannaugh [Fanaght?] with his creates and others of his country. He will waste the rest of the country if it does not yield to him, and I hope we shall over-run the greatest part of Tyrone's country in his absence.

O'Connor Sligo is yet in hand with O'Donnell's ward at Lough East. His brethren are gone with O'Donnell.

1601.

The Scot Randall McSurlowe and O'Cahan are sworn and agreed that if the governor of Carrickfergus come into the Route [Root] they shall put their cows in O'Cahan's country near the Band [Bann]. If our force give on O'Cahan from this, then his cows are to pass over into the Route. A garrison at Coulran [Coleraine] will easily divert these men and force them to be under the danger of some of her Majesty's forces.

P. 3. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 186.

16 Nov.
[Cork.]

JOHN MEADE, Mayor of Cork, to SECRETARY CECIL.

Her Majesty's shipping came into Kinsale on Saturday last. Those who have run from the enemy say they are in great extremity for victuals, having nothing to eat but hard biscuit, which they have to put in water before they can eat it. Some merchants of the town who arrived yesterday say that they met 30 Spanish ships near the coast of England. If they come to Kinsale her Majesty's ships, riding there, will bar them of their purpose. O'Donnell is reported in Ely O'Carroll's country with 3,000 men. The Lord President is ready to meet him. The enemy sallied out of Kinsale on Tuesday thinking the camp was weak by reason of the Lord President's departure. They lost a captain and an ancient bearer and were repulsed. To-morrow is Coronation Day and I hope we shall have a royal attempt to "bet down their pride."

P.S.—Since I wrote this letter Castle Park is reported taken. If it be so Kinsale, I hope, cannot hold.

P. 1. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 187.

16 Nov.
Waterford.

SIR ANTONY COOKE to SAME.

I embarked 300 men at Illfoordcombe [Ilfracombe] on Saturday, 7th, and on the 8th embarked the men who were lying at Barnstaple. By Monday night they were all landed and "marched from the Passage 5 miles to the town that night." Patrick Arthur with the horse is with me and we are awaiting orders from the Lord Deputy and Lord President. Reports the capture of Rincorran castle [see above, p. 155]. Proceeds:—I only hear that, of ours, Lord Audley was shot through the flesh of the thigh; but the bone not broken, so no danger. Reports capture of Don Dermuchio, who, it is thought, will discover much if his life is spared.

Reports departure of the Lord President to meet O'Donnell near Kilmallock. Proceeds:—I do not think O'Donnell has 3,000 or 4,000 men as alleged. I fear by the Lord President's departure we may be kept long without directions from him. My Lord of Toomonde [Thomond] left Bristol before we left Barnstaple, but met bad weather and is not yet arrived here. We hope he is put into Milford Haven. As I came past Lunday [Lundy] Island I saw three ships which, I believe, were bringing horses from Bristol, for I hear my old lieutenant, Mr. Bankes, is landed at Cork with some. I wish we had all landed there. I

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have done my best to serve the Queen with mind, body and purse. [*Loyal professions.*] "I did humbly hope that your honour would have been pleased to have . . . sent some letters to Barnstaple, written on my behalf, both to my Lord Deputy and especially to my Lord President,"* that his lordship might understand how grateful I am for his favours. Pray use your influence to have the employment now under my charge continued to me in her Majesty's pay. I shall be grateful for this.

Pp. 21½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 188.

16 Nov.

Derry.

SIR HENRY DOCWRA to SECRETARY CECIL.

I am always ready to give an account of my service and the gall of my enemies shall not allay my zeal: and hope my service will not be refused till some crime has been brought home to me. The bearer will say how I have been opposed here as much as I have been traduced there . . .

Neil Garve received the letter with such outward demonstrations of joy that I should expect great effects from it did I not know that the man was "fickle, inconstant and mere Irish." As to the Scots, whom I am told you intend to employ here, they are as fickle as the Irish; but their bodies can better endure the climate here than those of our nation, "and* in truth from that only defect have I long seen and foreseen the very main cause of our slow proceedings to have issued; for it is not the number of the forces that we have to deal with, that a lesser proportion of men might not sufficiently master than we are already allowed in list; but the intolerable misery and want of all necessities, the unseasonable disposition of the air and unaccustomed habit of our people to the fashions of this place that makes us unable to perform that which half so many men might easily do if those inconveniences were removed. The only way I have judged in my opinion to help it hath been by inviting men by all the means I could possible to build houses and succours whereunder the poor soldiers might be sheltered." In this way only have I employed such profit as I could make out of my position, and have tried to persuade others to do the same; but as this has caused discontent among the captains I have only been able to keep them to their strict duties. And indeed their pay is not such as to enable them to keep their men out of it.

The Lord of Cantyre, from whom it is intended that the Scots shall be drawn who are to over-run Ulster, is brother to O'Donnell's mother; and O'Donnell† is the worst of all the rebels here, and accordingly I have often rejected addresses from him. He is, however, undoubtedly a great enemy to Randoll McSurley and all that family; and if employed against one may easily join the other. If he comes over, our forts must be carefully made up and diligent guard kept upon them with a public inhibition that none of the nation come within them. Otherwise

* See the Preface.

† Or, the text may mean, "O'Donnell's mother is one of, etc."

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we should not be able to resist their attack "if upon any surmise of discontentment they make against us."* I know not what alliance there may be between them of the islands and any of this country. If their fidelity were secured, and they were paid by a set composition, and it was made clear to them that they must not expect victual or advancement over and above their agreement, they might obviously do good service if lodged in some part of O'Cahan's or McSurley boy's country, from which they may at pleasure infest Tyrone's. Yet whether we should trust ourselves to their company "being not fully able to master both them and those we shall go against, is not impertinent to be proposed." I conclude that if they will "put in good security, precisely indent for their entertainment and ask no more, fortify, and defend their own lodgings, furnish themselves at all times with munition and arms and keep some harbour or creek in O'Cane's country by the commodity whereof they may be victualled from Scotland, and be enjoined never to offer to come in with their galleys to this river of Loughfoyle (for under such a colour they may easily watch their opportunity some time to betray us)" I think the arrangement might be made. The people of Cantire, in respect of the nearness of their country and their hatred of MacSurley, should, I think, be preferred before any others.

I have at last agreed with Neale Garve that he will not expect more than 14 days' victual so he may be paid in money; but he will not "digest in his stomach" that he should only have half-pay for his men and none for himself or his officers. As, however, he has served, and can serve, well, I have given him 50*l.* to buy clothes for his men, besides 100 mantles which I gave him before. He accepts these, though with much ado. He complains very much of having his horses chequed as soon as they are lost in fight, and has applied to me; but I have no discretion to relieve him and cannot, for fear of accusations of wastefulness, give him anything without express lawful authority.

Pp. 3½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 189.

16 Nov.
Newry.

SIR FRANCIS STAFFORD to SECRETARY CECIL.

Since my last Tyrone has been endeavouring to "address" a force, to go to Munster. On Monday, 9th November, he set forward from Dungannon with his brother Cormack and some other chieftains of the country, appointing the *rendezvous* for the rest to be in the Brenny, near a water called Lough Raore [Lough Ramor?]. He commanded his men to bring with them six weeks' provisions, some in beef on foot, to ease carriage, and the rest in accustomed provision. His strength, long since assembled there, is above 3,000 horse and foot. He has not got these men together without great efforts, in so much that some gave over before they started and others fell away on the march. He was long irresolute as to whether he would go to Munster

* Sir Henry Docwra's phrases are wordy and obscure—here and elsewhere.

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himself, or send his brother Cormack and himself stay behind ; but at last, having been goaded by Spanish upbraidings, he "returned them a resolute answer that he would adventure himself and his life to break through difficulties and go to their aid." The passages are well laid for him by the Lord Deputy ; and he will have to engage two different forces of her Majesty before he can come to the camp. This will "make his journey full of hazard and perhaps pull on his destiny ere he look for it."

"Before his departure he made an authentic will wherein he ordaineth his eldest son Hugh his successor for the name and title of O'Neale." This discontents his brother Cormock, who hoped to have the title. His brother Art is to lie upon the Blackwater, and impeach their revictualling all he may, and his kinsman Bryan McArt [is chosen] principal actor in the Clandeboys, to molest the few loyal subjects and good garrisons there, to stir others to revolt the better to entangle Sir Arthur Chichester at home ; and prevent him from enterprises on Tyrone in the Earl's absence.

One advantage of this preparation [*i.e.*, O'Neale's preparation for the Munster journey] is that we here, and the other garrisons hereabouts, have not been molested, though we have only a slender guard. "These small forces, by that occasion bearing up head a little, have contained Magenis O'Hanlon and other submittees on these frontiers in quiet neighbourhood ; howbeit I know they but strive to bear even, to be ready to fall with either fortune, and are not without a fixed love to Tyrone and his proceedings, tho' I cannot learn that any of them yielded him help for this journey."

From information received I hope that the 1,000 foot and 400 horse assigned for Loughfoyle and Knockfergus are passed and landed ere now. The news of these would more amaze the spirit of Tyrone and others that follow him than any number of dangers fronting them on their march. The fear of a descent on Ulster was the chief deterrent which kept him from starting for Munster. The news of it will be the strongest reason to draw him back "or otherwise, without much interruption, waste and destroy the means he hath [to] linger* a war." Had these garrisons been stronger they would not have been idle. Pray remember them.

Pp. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$. *Signed. Add. Endd.* : "R. 10 Dec. at Whitehall." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 190.

18 Nov.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CARY to SECRETARY CECIL.*

I must alter my opinion according to the course of affairs. The arch-traitor having received fresh letters from the Spaniards, and assurances that Barry and Roche will lean towards him, has resolved to go up to Munster. He has left his son behind to guard his country "whom he hath caused to [be] proclaimed O'Neale in his camp ; and Tyrone himself expecting an higher title

* *i.e.* to extend the duration of the war—to prolong it.

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[sic]. I pray God it may be the gallows." He is to meet with [&c., as before] and they give out that when they are united they will be 6,000 foot and 1,000 horse. They are to meet all within this three days and set forward together. This news was brought by a priest "very inward with the traitor and read the Lord Barry's and Roche's letters that they sent to Tyrone." This may be a brag of Tyrone's or may be true. I sent news of it yesterday to the Lord Deputy and that his lordship and the Lord President should consider well of the matter touching Barry and Roche. The rebels have got a foolish prophecy amongst them, made, as they say, by a Scot, which troubles them much.

I hear, but not from the Lord Deputy, that our foot appointed for Munster are landed.

P. 1½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 191.

18 Nov.
Derry.

SIR HENRY DOCWRA to [the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL].

I send over the bearer to report the state of the army before and after the supplies came. I am busy making preparations and intend to march into O'Cane's country at the Bann's side and to leave a garrison there, having first assembled the greatest part of the prey of the country to that place. This enterprise is easy and the moment is ripe for it; for if we had gone first into Tyrone we might indeed have done much damage by burning and taking cattle, but could not possibly have wasted it all in one journey. Moreover, we could not have gone provided so as to have possessed ourselves of any place to keep [*i.e.*, with fortification tools, guns, &c.] "the ways being wholly to it over the main land and the country deep fast and full of difficulties to travel in during the winter season, and especially after the great glut of rain that hath lately fallen." The other way is "hard and plain" as I hear. Provisions can be brought thither by sea, and by going that way we [?] spoil a country of as much importance as the other and have the way open to ourselves to do that [the spoiling of Tyrone] after; which we cannot do at present. The second way also yields a singular benefit by opening communications between Knockfergus and this place, which will free it from all danger, if we can preserve our men living.

It would, I admit, have been as advantageous to have settled a garrison at Asherowe, and Neale Garve would gladly have drawn me thither; but the wind is adverse for a voyage there; and after the other is done we may be able to do this; since no enemy is in the way or is likely to be so till O'Donnell return. Most of the country, even those who once fell off from their faith, have retired home again, and say they have done this simply with an intent to submit themselves to the Queen. They presume of favour under the credit and countenance of Neale Garve, who assures me that, whether they keep touch or no, they shall never escape to join with O'Donnell. He is not entirely trustworthy but we must trust him, for he can at will either prey on them or take a secret contribution, underhand, from them. "For to get proof thereof by any man's confession I shall never do, and to

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hunt them with none but our own nation when the Irish amongst us closely favour them is so hard a matter that they will find a hundred starting holes to escape us, and we shall never be the wiser." This bearer knows by what infallible arguments I am grounded in this opinion, and how I have conjured Neil Garve to be faithful. He promises much but I do not trust him.

I shall observe your *caveat* about Hugh Boy ; and take him and all the soldiers of the country along in my company. The castle of Bere and the passages are in my possession, and he has pledged on most of the country, and I the like on him. I think he will scarcely forsake both his inheritance and the goods he is possessed of and the houses he has lately rebuilt at great charge to join himself again to a reconciled enemy whom, for his known perfidiousness, he can hardly trust, and who cannot help him to recover anything. I cannot keep any greater hold on him than I have without dishonour to the Queen's Government. "But if your lordships please to hasten over the minister you have promised for exercising civil affairs and educating the people to obedience of laws I can easily find out the way without just cause of scandal both to secure him better, to raise more profit from the country, to ease myself of much labour, and to master the people without hazard of a dangerous revolt." Otherwise I shall continue to see things in need of reform here without the power to reform them.

I know I am accused of tolerating heinous offences and of being "a man altogether of a remiss and dissolute government. For when they can say (and no man but knows it true) that the country is in ill obedience, the Irish entertained in pay disorderly and of little use to her Majesty, the soldier slothful and given to all manner vice, the captains negligent and deeply discontented, poor men dying in streets for need of relief, the prizes of all things immeasurable enhanced, thefts and whoredoms daily practised and seldom punished, abuse in musters and a thousand other enormities committed, they think they have just occasion to except against a commander under whose authority these things are suffered." But few trouble their wits to think of the cause of these evils or their remedies, least of all those who are worst themselves and most curious discoverers of other men's faults.

Your lordships will be informed of divers things against me by the comptroller of the munitions whom I committed to the marshals for divers contempts openly shewn against me. I had formerly "rebuked him for his intolerable sauciness and want of respect." I have always assisted and shall assist him in his office, but I do not think it can be your intention that "under the painted title of a minister of the Queen's he should presumptuously shrowd himself to the general offence and bearding of every man." I only desire you to be informed of the truth and to "judge of us both according to the exquisite performance of either of our duties."

Pp. 3½. Signed. S.P. Ireland 209, 192.

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Derry.

NEALE GARROWE or GARVE O'DONNELL to SECRETARY CECIL.

Finding a letter which mentions your good opinion of me I solicit you for redress of my many wants, which hinder her Majesty's service. I have set them down in a letter to the whole Council. Pray support my demand for redress. If you do so I promise you my service, and "what else my country can afford."

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. Badly spelt and in indifferent English. *Signed*, in Irish characters, *Naill G. Odomnaill. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 193.*

19 Nov.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CARY to SAME.

I send some news from an intelligencer who yesterday came out of Tyrone's camp. Therein you will note good stuff of one of our noblemen [?]. God amend him for they are naught all [?].

P.S.—If those traitors go forward it will be ten days at least before they can reach the Lord Deputy, and, after these great storms, the rains will greatly hinder their passing.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Hol. but unsigned.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid, 194. Enclosing:—*

Intelligence of the 19th of November, 1601.

Deponent left Tyrone's camp yesterday (18 November) about two hours after daybreak. It was then "in Garlone in the Plunketts' country," near the borders of Delvin, some ten miles to the south-west of Kells, to which place he came the day before, and proposes to rise from it to-day (19th) and draw towards Athboy and the borders of Trim to a place called "Kylledewke" [Kildalkey] near Killebryd [Kilbride] near Rochefordstown.*

Tyrone did not go into Delvin but sent Peter Nangle, the friar, and Mulmore McHugh Connell to the Baron of Delvin, who brought word from him "that he would do as Tyrone would have him"; and whereas he had appointed 45 men to attend Tyrone into Munster now he would send him 100 under the leading of his late ensign, who attempted to rescue the friars that were lately taken at Multifarnham.

The deponent further saith that Christopher McOliver Nugent came to Tyrone at Garloone "and brought with him four garron loads of bread and ale and a chorell load of aqua vitæ, to whom Tyrone said, in deponent's hearing, that he would not go into Munster himself, but would send O'Donnell, O'Rourke, Maguire, McWilliam Yewter [Uchter] and his forces would stay in Meath and burn to the gates of Dublin."

There are with Tyrone the following persons with their forces, vizt. :—

					Foot.	Horse.
<i>Tyrone himself</i>	..	..	..	..	1,500	.. 160
<i>McGuire</i>	500	.. 80
<i>Ever McCowly</i>	40	.. 15

* Dr. Flood suggests "Garlanstown, co. Louth."

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	Foot.	Horse.
<i>McManhane</i>	400	100
<i>O'Relly</i>	400	80
<i>Henry Oge O'Neale</i>	200	60
<i>Surleboy's son</i>	300	60
<i>Cormack McBaron</i>	200	60
<i>O'Cane's rising out</i>	100	40
<i>McCanna, whose land lieth about Armagh</i>	100	16

Magenis is not there, nor any of his forces. Turlough McHenry is there, but not with any of his forces, and he labours for leave to return home again.

Total—foot 3,740, horse 671.

Tyrone has left, to guard his own country, his son Hugh, his bastard son Con, his brother Art, and his son Bryan McArt with 1,000 men. In Clandeboies he has left 300, and, below the mountains bordering on Loughfoyle, has left Cormack O'Neale and O'Cane with 300 foot and 60 horse. Tyrone had either not heard of the landing of our forces at Knockfergus and Loughfoyle or, if he had heard it, kept it secret for there was no talk of it in camp.

The deponent thinks that if Tyrone does not go to Munster he will keep all the abovenamed force with him except that of Maguire. He thinks, from the manner of Tyrone's proceeding, that he will not go.

The intelligencer says Tyrone was in great haste to go into Munster, but that after the return of Friar Nangle from the Baron of Delvin's, he [Tyrone] called Henry Oge, Cormack McBaron, Surleboy's son, McMahoone and Cochonagh O'Keenan [?] aside and had some talk with them and then resolved to stay and not go in person to Munster, but to send the forenamed persons to aid the Spaniards and himself to spoil and burn to the gates of Develin [Dublin].

Pp. 2½. in Cary's hand. Endd.: "Intelligence the 19th of November, 1601." Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 194A.

19 Nov.
Loughfoyle.

CAPTAIN LANCELOT ALFORD to SECRETARY CECIL.

I landed at Culmore on the 11th with the supplies shipped at Helbry and Neston and landed 565 [?] soldiers. We were, as you heard from the Commissioners, 90 men short at Chester. For the rest that are wanting under my charge I blame the negligence of the major at Chester for he had not victualled his ships when the horse and foot arrived to be embarked, so that the sheriff cessed the companies on the country for ten days and ten nights, contrary to my wish. During that time those who were missing ran away, which I could not prevent. The major would not help me and held himself discharged so soon as they were out of Chester.

I have told Sir H. Docwra of your pleasure, and am sure he will try to give cause of contentment as he has done of mislike.

Tyrone and O'Donnell have gone south [&c., as in previous letters] and, I hear, had not the least expectation that forces would be landed at Loughfoyle, but rather that the garrison

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there would have been withdrawn. The governor is gone "upon O'Kaan" and from thence to Tyrone; but he will first fortify Coleraine, if it is fortifiable, so as to keep a passage between Sir Arthur Chichester and himself. Sir Arthur, it seems, is stirring; "for there came in a Scottish bark which did assure me that the town and fort of Dunluce was on fire." If this be so, he and the governor will meet at the Bande [Bann] side.

I wish Tyrone would induce the Spaniards to come to Loughfoyle. I think he may do so because, where they are now, he cannot do much to relieve them. He cannot remain long in Munster for want of victuals, and when he retires the Spaniards will be in great danger. "Likewise Tyrone doth apparently see that, unless he can draw down the Spaniards either to his country or O'Donnells, they must be forced to quit their countries, the greatest part whereof being now waste, as Tyrconnell almost wholly, a great part of O'Kaan's country; and, for Tyrone, there is almost no man inhabiting from the Liffer [Lifford] into Dungannon. Tyrone doth likewise know that if he procure the Spaniards to march, it shall be very hard for the Lord Deputy to follow them into the North this winter but at a great disadvantage." I therefore think the Spaniards, if they are as much in want as we hear, will quit Munster if once Tyrone and O'Donnell join them; which to prevent lies wholly with the Lord Deputy.

The Governor will burn and spoil as much as he can of Tyrone's country to divert him from his journey; but I hear on good authority that Tyrone "hath sworn that rather he will leave his country, people and goods to the mercy of our swords than he will be turned from his journey, yielding all utterly lost unless he bring the Spaniards with him."

I hope to be able soon to tell you of some good service done by Sir Henry Docwra.

Pp. 2½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 195.

22 Nov.
Knockfergus.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER to SECRETARY CECIL.

Returning from a journey I find ships ready to depart. They have landed our supplies [reinforcements] and I know it my duty to advertise the numbers and my disposal of them. On the 15th, 259 foot and 13 horse landed, apparently for supplies. I had no word with them, nor any indenture from the Commissioners at Chester. They were brought by Captain Baxter, and I divided them presently into companies. The foot were the usual sort sent here; "the horse and riders best chosen and fitted of any that have come into these parts in my time." Captain Baxter says the rest of the foot ran from him and the Yorkshire conductors before his embarking; and tells me more horse will follow to make up the number to 25. We need these urgently.

On the 17th I journeyed into the Roote, marching by night here to avoid discovery. I found Randall gone with 120 foot and 24 horse to join Tyrone, leaving his nephew and the rest of his force for the guard of that country; "but I, coming unlooked

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for amongst them, made my entrance almost as far as Dunluce, where I spared neither house, corn nor creature ; and I brought from there as much prey of all sorts as we could well drive," being much hindered by snow. On our return they engaged us in passages and "straytes" on two days. We lost a few foot and horsemen, but inflicted serious loss on them ; and made them run "in which consists all their safety. I have often said it is famine that must consume them. Our swords and other endeavours work not that speedy effect which is expected, for their overthrows are safeties to the speedy runners, upon which we kill no multitudes."

I have now assured news that Sir James McConnell, son to the Lord of Kentyer [Cantire] (who, as I long since wrote to your honours, was taken prisoner by Randall and now left so in Dunluce at his departure), by the practice of one of those islanders, lately come over, has got free and seized upon Dunluce and turned out Randall's warders. He keeps it, so I hear, until he can confer with me. I will send a boat to him with provisions ; and "could I get that castle into my fingers I would soon quiet or starve that people." This Sir James, before his captivity, sent several letters to me, but I was not very ready to answer them ; first because Sir James, when he first came to this country, repaired to Tyrone and brought of [off] several of his principal men with him when he sent to me ; secondly, because I understood that his title to the Glynnns (of which these sons of Sorley are now possessed) would make him begin a fresh war in these parts, and I bethought, by favouring his cause, to remember the blood shed by them. This I was bound to forget, as they had been pardoned by the Queen, as long as they were doing their duty. Now that Randall has treacherously revolted I hope I shall be pardoned if I "practise" his banishment and that of his people, and that Sir James be confirmed in his title in the Glynnns if he honestly deserve it : "for worse subjects than these cannot be found among those heathenish reed shanks."

On these terms I will treat with him for delivery of the castle and better service to her Majesty. I will make no large offers till I hear from the Lord Deputy. Tyrone has now been on his journey for twelve days and has taken with him all the force he could assemble. Most bordering rebels are fled either into Tyrone or into "huge fastnesses," where many of them will starve if his stay be long. He has left his eldest son "gardante" of the country "with some of his best men for counsel and villainy." His nephew Brian is to attend this garrison. As soon as my troops are a little refreshed I will seek him out, and will do all the spoil I can.

If I survive these troubles I hope some better fortune may be afforded me, but I am "an ill beggar" and crave nothing but a continuance of your favour.

P.S.—Please order some oats for the garrison here. We will pay a reasonable price for it. Many of our horses die for want of it ; "and none will be brought up for this new coin."*

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 196.

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22 Nov.
Loughfoyle.

ANTHONY REYNOLDS to SECRETARY CECIL.

I send states of the army taken on 29 October and, after the arrival of the supplies on 14 November. I hoped to be able to send you the fruits of my half year's labour, but I am prevented by some indirect courses which the Governor has taken against me. He has restrained me of my liberty, by which means I cannot attend my business. I beg to be allowed to state my case to you; and then if I have been wrong let me be punished; but if I have been wronged, let me have redress.

You will understand how I, and all who are in my place, must if we are really honest, be odious to all captains. They are ceaselessly annoying me and inventing stratagems to make me weary of my employment. *Professions of loyal service.* I have saved her Majesty from great losses. I shall at present give only one instance of this.

When I last dealt out apparel to the army I made distinction, as I had been advised to do by you, between those who were supplied, according to the length of their service. To those who had served a full half year I dealt out a whole suit and so rateably. I thus saved the Queen much; and this point has never yet been carefully observed by the Commissaries.

You will be told that, by doing this, I was the cause of many a man's death. To this I answer that the soldier has his due and is well contented if he gets a suit each half year, and further that if I distribute full suits to men who have not served for them, the soldier will not gain, but the captain. Many captains have sold much apparel of this winter's proportion, yet will they not cease to suggest that their soldiers die for want of it.

My actions will justify themselves. My plain and direct dealing has made me unpopular with all the officers; but I will not let them tire me. They have lately made a "slandrous calumnation" against me: and the Governor himself is chief actor in "their forepropheesied tragedy." I trouble you with the details:—

In September last Captain Floud and Captain Vaughan "knowing me to be in the preacher's house alone with the maid of the house" spread scandalous reports about my having been found there "accompanied with a whore" and reported it to the Governor, who jested of it to myself. In November I made up the Governor's books truly and as I found them. His clerk and a Commissary of the Musters said that I treated him hardly by checking him to a man. I said I could not treat him otherwise than as a private captain, but that I had shewn him favour by counting in sutlers and workmen (to whom he gives no allowance) and servants, down to "the worst boy in his house." This, I said, was acting beyond my instructions. The Governor told me that, before my time, he had twenty men given him in muster, insinuating that I should do the like for him. Hearing of the answer which I had given to his clerk, he sent Captain Vaughan for me (who has always been a professed enemy to me) asking me "what reason I had and how I durst to pry into

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his company." I said it was my duty to do so, and that I should do it to any Governor so long as I held my office. He then reviled me "with most disgraceful speeches, calling me 'apish lecher,' 'Jack' and a 'clerks maw's man' with many other worse words," and threatened to cudgel me.

I employed one whom I could trust to muster Captain Vaughan and Captain Windsor[*'s companies*]. They had two forts within half a mile of one another. He, having mustered Captain Windsor, came to Captain Vaughan likewise. The fellow being well acquainted with the business, and not ignorant of the sleights the captains use to defraud her Majesty, espying divers of those whom he had mustered to come to represent themselves with Captain Vaughan, . . . refused to take a muster or to count those whom he had already seen with Captain Windsor, but merely took a superficial view of their strength. Thereupon Captain Vaughan and one in his company took occasion to pick a quarrel with him because they knew he was not a regular commissary, but only by my appointment. They threatened him, and accused him of "maleperte speeches." Afterwards on 26 November Captain Vaughan, finding this man riding a horse which he (Vaughan) said belonged to him (Vaughan), dismounted him and disarmed him and caused his lieutenant to beat him and put him in prison. The poor man protested that he had the horse "in price" and gave the name of the person from whom he was to buy him; but Captain Vaughan refused to listen. The poor man, being in prison, sent to me saying how hardly he was used for doing my work; and I got him enlarged. I presented the matter to the Governor, "who was so far from hearing it with indifference and equity that he told me he would allow any captain or lieutenant to beat and imprison either him or me if we were taken riding of any horse challenged by another." He bad me write of it to England, and bad me, if I durst, authorise anyone to muster without his warrant. I replied that I thought it my duty to appoint proper assistants to do the work. He reviled me and bade me leave his chamber "or he would spurn me out." I am sure he will accuse me to you of having used many malapert speeches, which I assure your honour, can never be justly proved.

All this happened on November 16th. On the 17th he called me to a court and "used me there at his pleasure . . . having suborned one Webbe (a preacher, . . . who should be a charitable and religious man by his vocation but . . . is given to drunkenness, a vice most odious, especially in a man of his profession) and naturally is inconstant and a flatterer. This man they made an instrument and actor in their tragedy, egging him on to make a mountain of their molehill, saying that it was reported in England of his own wife. He therefore very formally made a speech that it was with grief of mind that he urged this complaint and therefore desired to have the matter examined, having schooled his maid to say that I had an intent to have forced her if time and place had served." I was asked for an answer and said that the charge was most false but that I could

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not hope for indifferency seeing that the men who were my judges were my mortal enemies, and that, therefore, I appealed to your honour and the authority which placed me here. For this answer I was committed.

I ask pardon for troubling you with so small a matter and protest my innocence of so vile a thought. *Protests* his innocence.

Captain Vaughan previously threatened me, saying that I must either wink at the abuses in the musters, or else that I must be patient [*i.e.* suffer much]. I hope he will not deny this. If he does there is a lieutenant gone with him to London and also one there now, who, if put to their oaths, will confirm what I say.

Pray either send Field back at once or appoint some other to that business. His place is now filled by one who is also the Governor's clerk. This is clearly inconvenient for he is not only the Commissary but makes up the captains' books, wherein I am assured he favours them much, which I cannot prevent. The two Commissaries here do more harm than good, for I have to trust them, and they conspire together, which I cannot prevent. If you would allow me but one pay in every company I should be able to do the work far better than I do. The Commissaries would not then be wanted and the Queen's charge would be eased; and I could choose good servants who would help me against those who oppose me. I am not sufficiently paid, and justly fear the captains' violence.

You will be told that I exact and extort money for my employment. It is true that I charge a fee of 4*d.* for every entry and discharge; but this has always been the custom wherever Commissaries are employed. I take it the Commissaries in the Low Countries have it by your honour's warrant, and take my precedent from them. *Details.* All the captains have paid it ever since their coming hither, and they would have given it to me as "a curtesy but not as a due. I refused it on these terms. I hope I may have it without being 'beholding' to the captains, on which terms I will never accept it.

Pp. 24, in small handwriting. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 197. *Enclosing* :—

A. Check of the army of Loughfoyle for 1–28 October, 1601 :—

Captains.	In list.	Officers.	Able men.	Sick and Sickly.	Preachers and Canoniers.	Dead-pays.	Deficient.
<i>Sir Henry Docwra</i>	200	11	155	19	4	12	10
<i>Captain Digges</i>	100	7	38	24	2	6	30
„ <i>Coache</i>	100	7	41	25	2	6	26
„ <i>Wyllis</i>	150	9	63	40	3	9	35
„ <i>Sydney</i>	100	7	54	11	2	16	27
„ <i>Alford</i>	100	7	43	5	2	6	42
„ <i>Lee</i>	100	7	36	30	2	6	26
„ <i>Bingley</i>	150	9	80	18	3	9	40
„ <i>Pinner</i>	100	7	39	29	2	6	24

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Captains.				In list.	Officers.	Able men.	Sick and Sickly.	Preachers and Canoniers.	Dead-pays.	Deficient
<i>Captain Brooke</i>	..	..	..	100	7	40	18	2	6	36
„ <i>Orme</i>	..	..	..	100	7	36	24	2	6	32
„ <i>Vaughan</i>	..	..	..	100	7	62	9	2	6	21
<i>Sir John Bolles</i>	..	..	..	150	9	59	36	3	9	44
<i>Captain Lloyd</i>	..	..	..	150	9	35	38	3	9	65
„ <i>Windsor</i>	..	..	..	100	7	30	25	2	6	37
„ <i>Badby</i>	..	..	..	150	9	66	37	3	9	35
„ <i>Bassett</i>	..	..	..	100	7	46	24	2	6	22
„ <i>Stafford</i>	..	..	..	100	7	51	12	2	6	29
„ <i>Atkinson</i>	..	..	..	100	4	26	4	2	6	62
„ <i>Dutton</i>	..	..	..	100	7	30	20	2	6	42
<i>In Donegal :</i>										
<i>Sir M. Morgan</i>	..	..	..	150	9	72	41	3	9	25
<i>Captain Orrell</i>	..	..	..	150	9	62	48	3	9	28
„ <i>Gore</i>	..	..	..	150	9	77	43	3	9	18
„ <i>Sidley</i>	..	..	..	100	7	29	33	2	6	30
„ <i>Raude</i>	..	..	..	100	7	53	18	2	6	21
<i>Totals</i>	..	..	..	3,000	155	1,343	629	60	180	809

The check of this month amounts to 480*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

P. 1. Examined by Anthony Reynolds and signed by him.
Endd. as in title. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 197*A.*

B. Similar check taken 16 November, 1601, after receiving the supplies :—

Captains.				In list.	Officers.	Able men.	Sick and Sickly.	Preachers and Canoniers.	Dead-pays.	Deficient.
<i>Sir H. Docwra</i>	..	..	..	200	11	150	28	4	12	6
<i>Captain Digges</i>	..	..	..	100	7	54	18	2	6	20
„ <i>Coach</i>	..	..	..	100	6	57	16	2	6	19
„ <i>Wyllis</i>	..	..	..	150	9	86	29	3	9	23
„ <i>Sidney</i>	..	..	..	100	7	64	13	2	6	15
„ <i>Alford</i>	..	..	..	100	6	76	8	2	6	8
„ <i>Lee</i>	..	..	..	100	7	60	14	2	6	18
„ <i>Bingley</i>	..	..	..	150	9	74	37	3	9	27
„ <i>Pinner</i>	..	..	..	100	7	59	12	2	6	21
„ <i>Brookes</i>	..	..	..	100	7	56	18	2	6	18
„ <i>Orme</i>	..	..	..	100	7	45	30	2	6	17
„ <i>Vaughan</i>	100	7	67	11	2	6	14
„ <i>Windsor</i>	150	7	80	20	3	9	38
„ <i>Atkinson</i>	100	2	58	12	2	6	22
„ <i>Stafford</i>	100	5	60	17	2	6	13

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Captains.	In list.	Officers.	Able men.	Sick and Steady.	Preachers and Canoniers.	Dead-pays.	Deficient.
<i>Sir John Bolles</i>	150	8	86	28	3	9	24
<i>Captain Lloyd</i>	150	9	59	42	3	9	37
„ <i>Bassett</i>	100	7	49	30	2	6	13
„ <i>Badby</i>	150	9	81	33	3	9	24
<i>In Donegal :</i>							
<i>Sir M. Morgan</i>	150	7	83	23	3	9	32
<i>Captain Sidley</i>	100	4	37	10	2	6	45
„ <i>Orrell</i>	150	7	71	26	3	9	41
„ <i>Gore</i>	150	7	73	28	3	9	37
„ <i>[Blank]</i>	150	7	100	0	3	9	38
<i>Total</i>	3,000		1,685	503	60	180	572

P. 1. Examined on 16 Nov., 1601, by Reynolds and signed by him. *Endd.* as in title. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 197B.

23 Nov.
Dublin.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in Dublin to
the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Since the 7th, the date of our last letters, we have been employing spies to discover Tyrone's movements. From our most recent information and especially from some letters written [by him] from the borders of Meath, and dated 20 September, we think he shows a greater determination of going up to join the Spaniards than he had previously evinced, "for having sent before him O'Donnell, O'Rorke and Terrill with direction that they should stay for him at Roscrea in the marches of O'Carroll's country, he himself, to make good his purpose to follow after, came to the borders of Meath four days past, where he encamped four or five nights in the barony of Foer [Fore] within that county, and afterwards, cutting through some part of Westmeath, he is now marched along towards O'Moloye's country, purposing (as it seemeth) to strike through those Irish countries of Leinster till he come to O'Donnell and the rest." When they all meet together it will be decided whether he will go up in person or not; but it is very hard for us to judge which he will do, for he is "close in his resolutions" and the country very backward in giving us information.

O'Donnell and O'Rorke, in passing through the Irish countries of Leinster "did what they could to stir the lords and gentlemen to take part with them, making large offers on the King of Spain's behalf in case they would join, and otherwise, if they refused, they terrified them to sack and spoil their countries." But we hear of none of any reckoning who have yet declared for them, and we hope that Tyrone in his passage may not succeed in the attempts which he will make to bring over the chieftains of Leinster. He gives out that the Lords and chieftains of Munster

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are assuredly for him; and this was one of the arguments used by O'Donnell to bring over the chieftains of Leinster; but we hope he may fail of that expectation, and that the Lord Deputy and Lord President will control those Munster provincials either by pledges or with the fear of the Queen's army "lying upon their necks."

Tyrone's whole force for this journey will be, it is alleged, 6,000 foot and about 1,000 horse. Seeing how many men we have to leave behind we think these may be too high numbers, but he is certain to be joined by a number of "loose and vagrant men" for the sake of spoil; which he promises in order to keep his force together. So soon as we heard of his going we ordered all such as have command of forces in the English Pale both in her Majesty's pay and of the country to follow him and "so to coast him as they may as much as in them lieth keep him straight, that he break not into the civil parts of the country to ruin the subjects," which direction we gave also before, so that they might be prepared when the time for action came. We have also directed the residue of the lords and gentlemen of the Pale to stand upon their best strength against any attempt which may be made upon him. We have told all this to the Lord Deputy.

We have letters from his lordship of the 13th with a postscript of the 16th mentioning the arrival of the Queen's ships and all the land forces, "a matter of great comfort to us, as we perceive it is most joyful to his lordship, that in so needful a time when these great dangers of the realm are so far advanced, God hath sent us these great succours, prepared by her sacred Majesty and expedited by [her] * most honourable and careful mynesterie."† We enclose his lordship's letter.

Pp. 24. Signed by the Lord Chancellor and by the Bishop of Meath, Carey and Fenton. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 198. Enclosing:—

A. The Lord Deputy to the Lord Chancellor and Privy Councillors in Dublin.

I am glad you did not delay Sir Christopher St. Laurence as he was so far on his way. He came very opportunely to join the 2 regiments (2,100 in list) of foot and over 300 horse which left camp on Saturday the 7th to stop Tyrone. This force now lies between Kilmallock and Limerick and is in my opinion strong enough with the rest of the country to keep him from passing further this way. We remain here besieging the Spaniards tho' they are more numerous than we, and yet "they never offered us above one round skirmish, wherein we beat them so soundly that they are since content to let us live quietly by them" tho' they lost a principal commander for whom, we hear, they "make very great moan."

Our forces from England have arrived safely:—1,000 foot and 100 horse from Bristol landed on Monday night with

* The document is imperfect here.

† An early use of this collective noun to express the body of the Crown's advisers.

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my Lord of Thomond at Castlehaven, and 1,000 foot and 140 horse from Barstaple [Barnstaple] and Ilfordcome [Ilfracombe] put in at Waterford, Youghal and Cork on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. On Thursday the Queen's ships were discovered not far from Cork with the 2,000 foot and other provisions that came about from Rochester. These are now labouring to gain the haven of Kinsale if the wind would permit them. I hope it may soon do so that we may make use of the pieces of battery which they bring. When all these forces arrive here we will fall roundly to our business, and I hope you shall then have some good news from us.

P.S.—16 Nov. Since writing the above the 2,000 foot from the ships [from Rochester] have landed in this harbour and came yesternight to the camp, "as much in sight of the town as they could well march for the greater terror of the Spaniards." The Spaniards fired at them with their great ordnance, but hurt none; however, they narrowly missed me with a shot fired as I was coming from aboard the ships toward nightfall.

We hear that the Spanish officer who was lately killed was Captain Soto, "a commander of great estimate and account amongst them. Don John commanded the sergeant-major that commanded that day in chief, and threatens to cut off his head. He upbraids them with their cowardice and the valour of our men, and hath set up upon the gates that it shall be death to any soldier that cometh from the skirmish till his officer fetch him off, though his powder be spent, or his piece broken; but must make good the place with his sword."

In all pp. 2. Signed. The letter dated 14 Nov., the p.s. (as shewn above) 16 Nov. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 198A.

23 Nov.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CARY to SECRETARY CECIL.

That you may understand what course the rebels hold I send you "the double" of such intelligences as I have sent to the Lord Deputy. His lordship's own letters* will show what he is doing. The arrival of the Queen's ships will make him strong enough to deal with the Spaniards, and, if need be, to reinforce the Lord President against the rebels. We have commanded the Earl of Kildare, Lord Dunsany and Sir Francis Shane (who have 550 foot and 50 horse in the Queen's pay, and who were left by the Lord Deputy to guard the Pale) to "coast and follow the rebels and empeach them in their journey as much as they may," and afterwards to reinforce the Lord President. He is, by all computations, strong enough to stop the rebels.

I hear that only 250 foot and 13 horse have landed at Knockfergus [?]. I do not know what has become of the rest of the forces intended for that place. On the 15th of this month Sir Arthur Chichester concentrated and marched into Clandeboye's country. I am sure he will do some service; and I hope Sir Henry

* See foregoing.

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Docwra will do the like. If the Scots come I hope that Tyrone, making his journey in Munster, will have no country in Ulster.

P. 1. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 199. Enclosing:—
A. Advertisements of 1 Nov., 1601.

[The informant] says:—

He left O'Donnell at Sligo the 18th October and from thence came to Lough Kerrell to O'Rwourke,* and was despatched with letters from them both as by their said letters may appear.

He was commanded to appoint his master to meet them, with such things as O'Rwourke had mentioned in his letter, at Granard in the Anula [Annaly, or co. Longford] upon Tuesday, 3 Nov.

Granard is the place of rendezvous and there on that day O'Donnell, O'Rourke, McWilliam Yeughter and all the rest do meet with Tyrone and the forces of Ulster. Does not know which way they will head from thence; but I have sent him thither and, they coming thither, he will know the certainty.

They had taken up one month's victuals before his coming away and, 3 days before his departure, Tyrone sent them orders to take up as much more.

O'Rwourke hath 500*l.* taken up in his country for his provisions and brings with him to Granard 600 men, and hath great store of apparel, silk and cloth in making.

O'Donnell hath "two garrons load of Spanish silver carried in pretty little hampers with locks." O'Donnell showed some money to this party [the deponent] and, "in scoffing sort, asked him if it were not better to follow such a royal King as sent such great pieces . . . than a Queen that hath already so spent her treasure as she was now driven, for want of better money, to coin all the brass pots and pans to be had in the country." He brings with him to Granard 1,000 men.

McWilliam Yeughter comes with them and Tibbot ne Long promised by his letter to meet them in O'Connor Roe's country. This O'Connor lieth sick without hope of recovery. They brag of Clanricarde, Delvin and Sir Theobald Dillon [a note in the margin adds:—Clanricarde nor Dillon will go; perhaps Delvin may send, &c.], but they make assured account of McCoghlane, O'Carroll, O'Dempsy, O'Dun, O'Magherie, and all the forces of Upper Ossory. He saw no man's, messenger there, but Tibbot ne Longe's.

On the 20th October O'Donnell's messenger brought a letter to O'Rwourke, as deponent was talking to him. The letter had been sent to O'Rwourke, together with one to Tyrone, by the Spaniards. It was sent to O'Rwourke that he might read it. "It was received with much rejoicing and veneration as with kneeling, crossing and kissing by the priests and friars that were there," and at length delivered to a friar to

* This name is spelt in many different ways in the same document.

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be openly read. The friar's name is Colman [?] alias Francis O'Melaughlin. This friar came up with deponent on the 22nd and parted with him and went towards the Annala [Annally].

The letters signified that the Spaniards were strongly fortified and wanted nothing but horses, and desired them to make haste to them and to bring as many horses as might be got, "and that they should spare for no price for they would pay for them royally."

They made no doubt but that Tyrone will go up and meet them with all the great men with a force of 5,000, besides the Ulster forces.

O'Gallcher, O'Donnell's constable of Ballymote, O'Boyle, Caffrie McHugh, McHugh Duff, and 400 bonaughts have undertaken the sure keeping of all their Keraghts.

Presently upon the burning of Donegal there came a barque from Loughfoyle laden with victuals for our garrison. There is a report that all the Loughfoyle force (except that at Donegal) are either run away or are drawn off to the Lord Deputy.

Neile Garrough hath been in parley with them three times. He demands five pledges, vizt., O'Boyle's son, O'Galcoe's [?] son, O'Donnell's own brother, McSwyn ne Doe's son and Hugh McHugh Duffe's son—to be left in O'Rwourke's custody for performance of his demands. These were but two, vizt.: that he should enjoy all the lands from Banishmore to Derry, being 23 miles in length, and, further, that he and O'Donnell should be bound and sworn never to come in sight of one another. "O'Donnell raged and fretted at these demands and is past all hope to recover Neale Garrough." Tiege Kiogh McMahowne, a traitor dwelling in Thomond beside the Shannon at a place called Carrick o hole [Carrigaholt], had the spoil of a barque laden with victuals going to or from Limerick. She was set on ground at a place called Tirrebert [Tarbert] in O'Connor Kerry's country and was taken. Deponent ate some of the biscuit and drank some wine taken from her. At Sligo he saw Teige Kiogh himself and his galley, and was by when O'Donnell gave order for 16 beeves to be delivered to him for victualling the galley.

Cormack McBaron went on Wednesday last from Clontane [Cloontagh], in O'Farrell Bane's country, northward to fetch his wife and his family and keraghts. He means to sit down about Cluntane and Slew Carbery till May next, and thence to make journeys into the Pale.

O'Rwourke and O'Donnell have all necessaries from Galway and do make full account of that town to be yielded to them when the opportunity serves.

At the moment of deponent's leaving O'Rwourke, news came that some Scottish shipping had come into Loughfoyle. The priests seemed to be joyful and told the common people that the Scots were sending "to aid their holy cause." But "the wiser sort were astonished and feared a contrary matter."

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B. *Intelligences from Tyrone.*

10 Nov. *The intelligencer has returned and says that he was three days and three nights with Tyrone and on the 7th inst. left him.*

Tyrone had then just sent his victuals over the Blackwater. His soldiers and provisions went over the next day. He appointed the following Saturday and Sunday for himself to be at Henry Oge's house on Monday, and Tuesday in McMahonne's country, on Wednesday to be in the Brenny, and on Thursday, 12 November, to meet O'Donnell, O'Rourke, Cormack McBaron, Maguire and all the rest of his adherents in the Brenny and there to consult of their business, and to resolve of their courses. Tyrone brings with him the two sons of Surleboys. One of them he will take with him to Munster and return the other to Ulster. Tyrone "doth assuredly set down that when all the forces of the rebels shall be united they will be 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse," and that all the nobles and gentlemen in Munster whensoever Tyrone comes, would take his part. [A note in the margin adds: "Given so out by them to strengthen the minds of his confederates [rather] than of any just cause."]

Tyrone has lately sent two messengers to the Spaniards, one a priest named Patrick Duffe, the other a servant to Dermot Moile McChaire—a landowner near Kinsale. Dermott's servant, and the priest, came to the Lord Deputy with a letter written in Dermott's name, desiring a protection on his way to the Lord Deputy and offering good service. The Lord Deputy gave the protection and when they had obtained it they "in the night went creeping on all fours to the walls of Kinsale and there, the priest making known unto the watch in Latin who they were and whence they came, were let in, and the letter read, and received answer from Don John de Lagula by letters and by message." Don John required Tyrone in the King of Spain's name to come to him presently with all the forces he could make if ever he thought to be esteemed by that King. Don John signified that if Tyrone did not come himself the Spaniards would withdraw and ever after discredit Tyrone with the King of Spain. [A note adds: "I believe them well if they knew which way to return."]

Don John also added that he would trust none but Tyrone himself; and that if Tyrone came he would take the field and "put it to a day." Thereupon Tyrone resolved at all costs to come himself, and hastily gathered together victuals, &c., for the journey.

Tyrone, he says, expects great help in Munster and if he can get over a ford where the deponent himself was nearly drowned, the ford between Mallow and the Holy Cross, he made no doubt to do well enough, for Shane McThomas Desmond, Dermond Moyle McChayer and McMorris Kerry had promised to guide him and bring him into those places of strength that he should have no cause to doubt of any danger.

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The priest and Dermond made report that the Spaniards still wanted five or six of their ships, [and] one of them [had] lately arrived. These ships were alleged to be victualled for five weeks more than before, and it was said that one of them was loaded with shewes [shoes?] and the others with victuals and men.

On 7 November deponent was at Dungannon and there was then no news there of the landing of English or Scottish forces at Loughfoyle or Knockfergus. Tyrone will bring all his best horses with him for the Spaniards tell him they have brought furniture for 1,500 horsemen.

The garrison of Blackwater lately captured 90 cows which they killed and salted.

The Spaniards mislike Tyrone's burnings, and say they came to win or lose the country, and all that is in it, in one day.

Deponent lay with the priest who brought the Spaniards' letter to the Arch-traitor. He is returned to bring back knowledge of the result of the meeting of the rebels. When he left Dungannon Tyrone did not know of the taking of Rincurran Castle nor of any of the Lord Deputy's successes against the Spaniards.

Pp. 3½, in Cary's hand. Endd. as in title. S.P. Ireland 209, 199B.

c. *The Lord Deputy to Sir George Cary.*

From your news I hear that Tyrone is not coming hither ; but many others affirm that he is in Macoghlan's country and ready to join such as come that way. He is likely now to come here unless the arrival of the Queen's forces, and the news of the arrival of our men at Loughfoyle and at Carrickfergus [I am sure they have arrived by now] does not cause him to alter his purpose. The companies from Waterford will probably arrive on the 20th. The Earl of Thomond with 100 horse and 1,000 foot will be here to-day or to-morrow, and the Queen's ships with 2,000 foot and the pieces of battery recovered this haven of Kinsale yesternight. To-day they are landing the soldiers. As fast as they can unload what we want we will fall to our business. We have meantime kept them from all relief, so as their wants are great. The Lord President is toward Limerick to stop the northern rebels. He has 2,100 foot and 300 horse, and also the force brought from the Pale by Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Lord Clanricarde with the companies from Connaught, and the forces of the country under Lord Barry and Lord Burke. These, with the addition of the forces from Limerick and the Earl of Ormond's men, will raise his force to more than any which Tyrone can lead against him, what numbers soever they may brag of. If Tyrone slips past the Lord President, which I think he will more likely do than try to force a passage, we are numerous enough to give them their hands full and yet hold our course with the Spaniards. Polite and grateful messages.

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P.S.—16 Nov. Our companies in the Queen's ships landed all yesterday and, towards night, marched to the camp here in full view of the enemy. These fired on them whilst they stood "in battalio" on the top of the hill, but hurt none; but a shot fired at me when I was leaving the ships (which they knew by the firing of the salute by the ships) nearly struck me.

Spaniards come to us daily and tell us of their great want and regret at losing Captain Soto who was of great account amongst them. Proceeds as in the last paragraph of enclosure 198A (above, p. 182).

In all pp. 2½. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 199C.

24 Nov.
[Dublin.]

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

Tyrone is at last marching into Munster having sent before him O'Donnell, O'Rorke and Terryll to stay for him in the borders of Ormond. His force is set down in the general letters and might be considered a great force were it not known that the countries out of which he is to raise them are unable to make good those numbers, even "though he should put in the rank of soldiers many of his cowkeepers and horseboys." I think that either he will not go up or, if he does, he relies on something else than merely his own strength, either hoping that the "provincials" of Munster will rise in his favour, or that the Irish companies led by Irish captains in the English army will desert on the day of an action and join him. I hope that by the efforts of the Lord Deputy and Lord President, both these expectations will be disappointed.

O'Donnell is in a more desperate condition than Tyrone. He has been driven out of his own country, and may therefore go further (in seeking the aid of a foreign prince to bring about his restoration) than is wise. But Tyrone, if he fails to prosper the Spaniards, can fall back on his territory which is ready to receive him. He has left his son, to whom he gave the title of Tyrone, there to keep up his dignity and faction, "so as I cannot consider of a third motive to carry him to the Spaniards against many difficulties and dangers unless in the humour of a desperate savage man, he will prefer a wilful mind to venture to succour the Spaniards for a high promise before all considerations of his own safety and preservation of his country." These are conjectures; but Tyrone must know now that he cannot relieve the Spaniards, having two great armies lying between him and them; so I think he will end his journey to Munster "in the mid way."

I send translations [*missing*] of letters from O'Donnell to O'Dempsey "a subject in Leinster," from which you will see what arguments O'Donnell uses to draw him in. These arguments have been used to most of the chieftains of Leinster but, I am glad to say, have had no effect on any man of reckoning.

Tyrone is said to have 200 led horses for the Spaniards, and to have "cast most of his companies into colours and drums

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according the English fashion and hath created officers of the field, as marshal and provost-marshal, as princes do use ; but I hope those led horses will be good booty to her Majesty's soldiers."

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 200.

25 Nov.
Dublin.

THE BISHOP OF MEATH TO SECRETARY CECIL.

I acquainted you with Tyrone's incursion and ravages in the Pale, and now describe his passage to Munster, through part of East Meath and the best part of West Meath.

On the 16th he came out of the Brenny into a barony of East Meath inhabited by the Plunketts. He was accompanied by his brother Cormock, "his Maguire," Henry Oge, one of the sons of Sawrley boy, McMahon, the pretended O'Reley, Tyrllagh McHenrie and others, with 2,500 foot and 500 horse gathered of his own strength and his confederates. All the "bordering protecties" have now revolted and joined him. He also brought "his wife, his eldest son and 16 women of account amongst them besides some 6 or 700 churls and boys." O'Donnell and O'Rorke with 1,500 foot and 200 or 300 horse passed before him through Westmeath in the parts next adjoining to Athlone.

In Eastmeath, among the Plunketts, he camped four nights, taking only a few cows to relieve his company and oats for his horses. He sent forth his priests amongst them even to a lord of that name [*in the margin the writer here adds 'Dunsany'*] and to the principal gent[lemen] of that sept, to persuade them to join with him. "What answers they made I cannot directly learn, but their sending unto him of plenty of victuals and of drink and *aqua vitae*, even out of their castles (where they needed not to fear him or his forces)" shows where their sympathies lie in this doubtful time.

From Plunkett's country Tyrone marched through Delvin, the richest part of Westmeath, sending his messengers and priests in front to prepare his way, and especially using "that pernicious freere, the fryer Nangle (a traitor endited for the practising of the taking of her Majesty's Castle of Dublin)" to Lord Delvin himself. Lord Delvin entertained him in his house and the other gentlemen of Westmeath resorted to him as to a market. He found better entertainment there than he had found in Plunkett's country, for, I know not how, some of the Lords that have large entertainments from her Majesty do not scruple to send wine to Tyrone, when he came purposely to spoil the country. They forget their duty, or lay it aside, though they but lately left the Court. Lord Dunsany, as he has written to the Council, gathered together about 150 horse and kept them within the town of Athboy, but no service was done on Tyrone by him or any of the Plunketts. In Westmeath there was no organised resistance, but every man did his best to defend himself and his goods. Tyrone issued a proclamation that his forces would do no harm in those parts, but merely take what was needed for their relief while in the country; and where some men of his who were straggling abroad for spoil came near some castles in Delvin

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and were killed by the inhabitants Tyrone "took it very patiently because they went abroad without his direction."

When he had passed some 12 miles into Westmeath he sent back to Ulster his wife and her women, his brother Cormock, his son Hugh, the pretended O'Reley and some others. All these as I hear, accompanied only with 60 horse and 100 foot, returned quietly the way they had come, into the Brenie, without any let, although Lord Delvin had 150 foot in her Majesty's pay, Lord Dunsany 150 foot and 50 horse, and 110 foot of the country, and although these two lords were in command of these two counties, "being the best counties of this kingdom,"—so unwilling are these people to obstruct the rebels in their courses. I am bound to tell you of these jugglings of these men amongst whom I live, but "as you tender the life of a true and poor servant of her Majesty. . . . secret this letter."

A priest, born here and who seems to be of good disposition towards me, has lately told me that it is "a secret muttering among their priests" that if Tyrone and "the Spaniards at Kinsale can hold out till the spring, then he is sure to have his own desire, for then it is resolved by the Spanish King that the Archduke shall invade England with an army of 30,000 and her Majesty shall be forced to call her forces from hence for the defence of England." I trust they will not have this countenance and I believe this is "but either idle talk amongst their villainous priests when they do meet, or a glorious vaunt of the arch rebel in his jolietie or drunkenness, to keep his confederates that they shrink not from him." I send this report tho' I have it only by hearsay.

Pp. 3. *Signed. Endd.*: "20 Nov. The Bishop of Meath to my Master." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 201.

25 Nov. STATE of the ARMY and Check for a Month from 29 Oct.—
25 Nov., 1601.

The names of the officers are the same as those calendared in the "State of the Army" for the previous month (for which see above, pp. 178-9), except that Captain Dutton does not appear here. The totals are, however, different. They are:—

Totals for Sir Henry Docwra and the officers mentioned after him:—

Able men	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,321
Sick	..	..	..	..	..	..	416
Preachers and canoniers	..	..	..	..	..	..	46
Dead-pays	..	..	..	..	..	..	138
Deficient	..	..	..	..	..	..	379

For the companies at Donegal the figures are:—

Able men	..	..	..	..	..	..	364
Sick	..	..	..	..	..	..	87
Preachers	..	..	..	..	..	..	146
Dead-pays	..	..	..	..	..	..	42
Deficiencies	..	..	..	..	..	..	193

A note adds:—The check for this month amounts to 343*l.* 4*s.*

P. 1. *Underwritten*: Ex. per Anth. Reynolds. *Endd. Ibid*, 202.

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27 Nov.
Dublin.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in DUBLIN
to the PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

We send news from Spain given by a merchants' factor of this town who has just arrived here from that country. He speaks of a new force of 6,000 in readiness to come for Ireland to support the original 4,000 at Kinsale. It is thought that Don John de Aquila sent back his ships to carry over these reinforcements.

This force, if landed here, will be very dangerous to this kingdom, and will call for fresh support and forces out of England. We ask for reinforcements of her Majesty's ships to prevent the landing of this further hostile force, and secure us against further local outbreaks in Ireland.

Tyrone has by now got to the borders of Tipperary and is probably united with O'Donnell and the rest.

P. 1. *Signed* by the Lord Chancellor, and by the Bishop of Meath, Cary and Fenton. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 203. *Enclosing* :—

A. *The Declaration on oath of William Pettitt made before her Majesty's Privy Council in Dublin.*

Pettitt is servant to James Bedlowe, merchant and Alderman of Dublin. He left Bilbao on 16 October and was wind-driven into San Sebastian two days later. A French merchant who came from Bilbao said there that the King of Spain was setting out for Lisbon and that mules and horses had been taken up for carriage. While Pettitt was at Bilbao he heard from an Irishman named Stephen Harrold, who keeps an inn there, that 6,000 Spaniards were ready at Lisbon to come for Ireland in the ships which should return from Kinsale. This was the common report at Bilbao.

P. ½. *Signed. Endd. Ibid, 203A.*

Same. SIR GEORGE CARY to SECRETARY CECIL.

The news given by Pettitt (*in foregoing*) is confirmed by the fact that a number of Irish ships now at Lisbon, and expected to return a month ago, have not done so, though the wind has been favourable. I therefore fear they were embargoed for this service. Tyrone, too, as I have said, alleged that the contract was for 10,000 Spaniards to come to Ireland, and that 4,000 did not answer his expectation. I hope her Majesty will send four or five more ships to join those already here.

P.S.—I send letters just delivered me by Lord [Bishop] of Meath.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid, 204.*

27 Nov. MEMORANDUM ON PROCEEDINGS at a Court Martial held at Derry before SIR HENRY DOCWRA, Governor, and the undersigned Officers.

Mr. Skinner, the Commissary of the victuals, was sent for and asked why the ship *Welfare* of London, which has long since been laden with cargo for Donegal, has not sailed. He said that she might have long since been at Donegal, as the weather had been

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fair, but for the negligence of the master, but that the said master is gone no further than Green Castle.

The *Valentine* of Chester, Henry Aynesdale master, was also pressed to go about to the Bann mouth with munitions, victuals, &c., for a garrison to be planted at Coleraine. She was fully laden and received her instructions on Nov. 19. The Governor set out that day to meet her there, and saw her sailing down the river; and the wind was fair to carry her round and so continued for three days. The force arrived there by land, but she did not come and no news was heard of her till the Governor got back to Derry on Nov. 25, when he was informed that she was not yet out of the Lough, and pretended that the cause of her delay was want of a pilot. This was thought no good excuse as she was only ordered to cast anchor at the Bann mouth, for which no pilot was necessary.

P. 1. *Signed* by Ant. Skinner, John Sidney, Edmond Leigh, Launcelot Alford and Basill Brooke. *Endd.* in Docwra's hand. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 205.

29 Nov.
Kinsale.

SIR RICHARD LEVESON to SECRETARY CECIL.

I arrived on Nov. 12 at Cork with all my ships. The next day I addressed myself to Kinsale harbour by the Lord Deputy's order. I have since landed the soldiers and certain parcels of munition out of the merchants' ships and have "presented myself to the Lord Deputy as one desirous to be guided by his judgment and counsel."

I cannot discuss the state of the present business as it is out of my own element, and I am not privy to the "consulations" and know not what course is intended. I send, however, a draft of Kinsale whereby you may see its situation and the placing of the camps and manner of the approaches.

"The Lord President marching up into the country to encounter O'Donnell, who was said to be coming down, was defeated of his purpose by reason that O'Donnell, taking the benefit of the frosty weather, did escape him in an unusual passage." The Lord President is now returned and helps in the campaign, "offering in my own hearing to enter the breach with his troops (when it shall be made) if he may be licensed." O'Donnell is said to be encamped within ten miles of our army but dare come no nearer. Tyrone is expected to come after him, and their forces together are said to be 7,000 strong. If they come to Kinsale they must pass between the camps of the Lord Deputy and Lord President.

"The Spaniards daily come out of Kinsale to the Lord Deputy. Their best victuals within the town is horses, dogs and cats, and the Italian companies do murmur. To be short I must conclude the Lord Deputy to be a very fortunate man, having a just cause to fight for, a weak, distressed enemy, a Royal army and a most noble prince that will be ready to relieve him."

The only thing left for me to do is the "impeaching of foreign supplies from Spain"; for though I have come as close to the town as water will allow and have spent powder to some purpose in making the Spaniards quit the base town and killed

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divers of them, "yet the best service that her Majesty is to expect from this her fleet, continued here at so great a charge, is no other but that by making good the place by sea we do give countenance to transportation, whereby her Majesty's army at land may be better relieved. Secondly, the assembly of these forces by sea as well as by land doth much daunt the rebellious-hearted Irish, which are apt to turn with every accident of fortune, and giveth them good assurance that her Majesty will not easily loose her kingdom."

This is the best service that can be expected of us, unless a second force be sent out of Spain.

Pray send me instructions frequently, that I may know how to act. My one desire is to end this matter quickly and so save the Queen expense.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd.* : "Received 21 December." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 206.

30 Nov.
Camp before
Kinsale.

THE LORD DEPUTY TO SIR GEORGE CARY as Treasurer at WARs
for IRELAND.

Acknowledges letters. *Proceeds* :—Your information is the best and truest I hear from anybody. We are ill-fitted here to write to you often. The weather impedes us greatly, but we go on with our business and besides the Castle of Rincurran on this side the haven we have taken another on the other side which gave the enemy relief from the country, and planted some artillery by it, and "battered the base town." Since that time we have made our approaches so near that we make accompt within a few days to make a breach, which we might have done sooner but that we thought it first necessary "to break all the castles within that might endanger us upon our entry; for they are still so strong within by the report of all that we take . . . as they may well open us a port to enter without their danger, and so they stick not in their bravery to offer, which makes us the more advised in our business."

Our ordnance has played on the town for seven days and annoys them very much, giving them no rest night or day. Don John has been compelled to change his lodging. O'Donnell is stolen past my Lord President, so all his [the President's] army is come back here, finding it impossible to stop him.

We are so strongly lodged, however, about the town that, if our victuals and munition do hold out, we make no doubt but to carry it "though O'Donnell, Tyrone and all the forces of the rebels come and look on; yet by the grace of God we are confident they shall not hinder us." When we have finished this work we will "have a reckoning quickly of all the rest." God send us better weather than this; for it exceedingly hinders us and kills our men.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 207.

Same.

SAME to SAME.

Sends a note from the Master of the Ordnance of such shot for great ordnance as is to be sent to Kinsale. This should be sent at once.

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Note of the Ordnance.

Cannon shot	100
Demi-Cannon	800
Culverin	600
Demi-culverin	400

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed by the Lord Deputy. Add. Endd. S.P.
Ireland 209, 208.

30 Nov.
Camp before
Kinsale.

SIR RICHARD PERCY to SECRETARY CECIL.

I am grateful for receiving a regiment in this service from the Lord Deputy by your favour. I shall send you news of the siege and hope that an absolute victory will be the next news to be sent.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 209.

Nov.

O'CARROLL to SAME.

I thank you for your sympathy on the death of my brother Sir Charles, and have no great news to send you.

The company of 100 foot which I have in pay (and still hold by your honour's means) is so divided into wards by the Lord Deputy's warrant that I have only 36 men left. This makes it impossible for me to resist the rebels who have preyed and spoiled my country. They "have not so much as left me one hawk to send to your honour" in acknowledgment of my duty. *Professions* of loyal service. *Proceeds*:—I hope to be able to protect my country next year against the rebels "and to have the poor fruits thereof, as of hawks and such like, to present to your honour."

I have lately slain Feriagh boy, marshal to the traitor Redmond Bourke, and John Carragh O'Ferrall his foster-brother with 10 more of his men. I have killed the traitor Tyrrell's piper, one of this lieutenants and 20 of his men at his passing through the country in October last, but I lost six men, one the bravest of my country. I have got all the rebels in my country to stand for her Majesty. *Professions* of future loyal service.

P. $1\frac{1}{8}$. Signed (mark). Add. Endd. Ibid, 210.

Nov.

LIST of HORSES sent to the various Ports of embarkation for Ireland.

Ports.	Horses to be sent.	Not Sent.	Returned as in- sufficient.	Sent and trans- ported.	Wanting.
Bristol ..	208	26	24	175	50
Chester ..	77	11	2	63	13
Barnstable	66	9	5	53	14
	351	46	31	291	77

Of these 228 were sent to Munster, 50 to Loughfoyle and 13 to Carrickfergus. *Details.*

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. Endd. Ibid, 211.

DECEMBER, 1601.

1601.
1 Dec.

STATEMENT by SIR GEORGE CARY, Sub-Treasurer and Receiver-General of Ireland, of the Receipts and Expenditure in Ireland for one complete year to Michaelmas, 1601.

The statement commences with a list of the items (of receipt) for which the Sub-Treasurer is answerable.

These are the following :—

(1) Arrears :—Remaining at the foot of the last account ; sums respited in the preceding year.

(2) Revenue :—Ancient inheritance ; lands resigned ; lands lately belonging to the Duke of Norfolk ; lands of the Earl [?] of Shrewsbury ; an abbacy in England ; attainted lands ; lands of the O'Moores ; [lands of the Order of] St. John of Jerusalem, Thomas Court [Dublin] in possession [?] ; St. Mary Abbey [Dublin] ; Monasteries.

(3) Casualties :—Lands returned up ; [fees for] bonnaghts ; tributes of the Irish ; small farms ; procurations ; wards ; undertakers' rents ; compositions of the Pale ; twentieth parts of bishops ; offices of sheriffs ; profferings of the sheriffs ; fines for sale of wardships ; fines of and of surrenders [?] ; compositions of the County Clare, imposts of wine for this year and those in arrear ; arrears in the second Great Book, and charge upon the account.

The total of these three items is :—

Arrears	..	..	..	..	12,367 <i>l.</i>	15 <i>s.</i>	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ <i>d.</i>
Revenue	..	..	..	..	9,291 <i>l.</i>	8 <i>s.</i>	3 <i>d.</i>
Casualties	..	..	..	..	9,314 <i>l.</i>	14 <i>s.</i>	9 $\frac{3}{4}$ <i>d.</i>
Total	..	..	..	..	31,972 <i>l.</i>	18 <i>s.</i>	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ <i>d.</i>

Against this sum received the Sub-Treasurer debits the amount which he has paid out. It is divided into the following heads of expenditure :—Capital officers ; constables ; annuities ; officers of the Star Chamber ; procurations ; stipends of ecclesiastics ; necessary expenses ; allowances and payments by warrant ; allowances of rent.

These total up at 8,329*l.* 9*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

He also debits the account with the sums respited (*i.e.*, not paid into the Exchequer) in this and the preceding year. These are 627*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.*

So far therefore there is a balance, for which he has still to account, of 23,015*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.*

This he accounts for by setting out various items of payment. They consist of ancient inheritance, lands resigned, lands lately belonging to the Duke of Norfolk, &c., as in the items of receipt above, down to "charge upon the account."

The total of these payments is 23,231*l.* 2*s.* 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

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He is thus left nothing in debt to the State which, in fact, owes him the difference between the 23,231*l.* odd and the 23,015*l.* odd mentioned above.

P. 1. (*large*). *Latin*. With full detailed figures given for every item of receipt. *Underwritten*: "Examined 1 Dec. by William Peyton." *Endd.* as in heading. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 212.

2 Dec.
Kilkenny.

THOMAS, EARL OF ORMOND AND OSSORY to SECRETARY CECIL.

All parts of the realm are "marvellously disquieted by this rebellion," burnings and murders. My lands are much injured. "The traitor Tyrrell taking advantage of the time, getting the Castle of Killurin in O'Moloye's country and the possession of the Water Castle in Ossory (belonging to the Lord of Upper Ossory's eldest son Teige, a very disloyal man and yielded up by his ward) having also united himself with the Clansheries of Ossory, the O'Mores, O'Connors and some of the Byrnes, makes me now again put their lordships in remembrance of this province. It is the more to be respected if Donnell Spaniogh, Gerrot McMortaghe Kavanagh, Phelim McFeagh and others of that sort should renew their old course, whom as yet I hold by the best means I may in some terms of duty, and cannot assure myself longer than they find it for their advantage. And at the writing of this letter I received intelligence that the Castle of Lea, standing in a place of great importance between Clanmalira (Sir Terence O'Dempsey's country), and Offaly and on the borders of the county of Kildare, is yielded up to the traitor Lysaghe McEschallowe O'Connor."

I lately received the enclosed, taxing very deeply one Crosbie a follower (as he says) of yours. I do not know the man, but if this protest and many reports I hear of him in the country are true (and they are offered to be proved) I think he is not worthy of your favour, or of the reputation in which, owing to the knowledge that he enjoys it, he is held here. I thought it right to let you know this.

P. 1½. *Signed*. *Add. Ibid*, 213. *Enclosing* :—

Charges against Crosbie.

*Lands [were] procured by Crosbie for Thomas Oge, whereof himself hath half; vizt. all the lands of Fynen McOwen of the Carties of Carbery. Thomas [was] bound in bonds of 4,000*l.* to make assurance of one half of the lands to Crosbie on passing of the said grant, the land being very great and Crosbie enforming the same to be very small.*

*Crosbie procured for one Harmon, being only a private soldier, the whole of McGillicuddie's lands, whereof himself is to have half on Harmon's grant. The quantity of this land is very great and [Harmon was to have with it] four ploughlands in McMorish's country and a castle lying by Don Enoyre [Doon.], and [was] tied in bonds of 4,000*l.* [&c. as in foregoing par.] Crosbie "enforming the land to be very small." He procured for Morish Hurley the castle of Beallahaen [Ballyhane] in co. Tipperary together with all the lands of Ulick*

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Bourke, [who was] executed at Clonmel. Same bond and conditions as in foregoing par.

He informs Sir Robert Cecil that his lands are of little quantity and no value, and so procures Mr. Secretary's good will for them; and therein abuses the Secretary and deceives the Queen to gain for himself.

This Crosbie and Boyle have been "the only mean to overthrow many of her Majesty's good subjects in finding their lands by concealments to her Highness and in passing the same by patent from her Majesty to themselves by inheritance, under colour of the foresaid concealments."

Boyle being Deputy Escheator to her Highness [took steps] for finding lands by false offices to entitle her Majesty so as to benefit themselves and not her Highness, Crosbie being in the bosom of the state countenanced the doing of the other. By that means they got much lands for themselves in most part of Ireland; and both joined in profit, which manner of dealing brought much discontent and sedition amongst the subjects and thereupon wrought much first of these stirs in Ireland. In Sir William Fitzwilliam's time, Crosbie procured the inheritance of most of the tenements in Maryborough, an incorporate town, as concealed: "whereby many of the English were driven to abandon the place and now there is no house or tenement there without the fort, which he needeth not to care for, having sold his interest in them to Sir Warham St. Leger."

He had some dealings with Sir Warham for the constableness of Castle Mayne, wherein he and one John Middleton joined, as the forenamed Harmon can tell; but, through their negligence and insufficiency that important castle was lost.

*"To the great discontent of all the chieftains and gentlemen of the county of Cavan, called O'Reylie's country, he procured commission to inquire of a kind of sanctuary or term on land in that county. He received above 500*l.* or 600*l.* upon his bonds to procure them assurance by letters patents." He never did so and Patrick Brady has his bonds. Sir Edward Herbert, one unskilful in the law, was of his own choice one of the Commissioners to find the office; and one Ross O'Connor, sometime a clerk and after slain in the rebellion, pretending to be one of the chief of the O'Connors.*

Crosbie's name is "Mc y Crossane, one of the mere Irishry, whose chief ancestor hath been chief rymmer to O'More; but Crosbie denies to be descended from the said McCrossane but only of English blood and surname." This is not so to my knowledge, for his brother was of the O'Mores and his father's mother of the Kelly's of Clanmalyrie.

P. 1½. S.P. Ireland 209, 213A.

3 Dec.
Kilkenny.

THOMAS, EARL OF ORMOND AND OSSORY to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

In July last I informed your lordships of the assured expectation of foreign forces coming to Munster and of other matters—notably

1601.

of the condition of Leinster if (as has now occurred) her Majesty's forces in Ireland should be drawn to one head to meet the foreign foe in so remote a part. I have not heard your pleasures on the matter. *Reports* Tyrrell's successes as in his last letter [*above*, p. 195]. *Adds*:—Tyrrell's wife, who is Owny McRory's sister, lives constantly at this Water Castle, and he (Tyrrell) goes there from time to time with his spoil and prisoners. I must therefore remind you that here in Leinster there are many important towns which will be in no small danger if Donnell Spaynogh, Geralt McMortaghe Cavenagh, Phelim McFeagh and others of that sort should renew their old course. *Repeats* fear of these men as in his last. *Proceeds*:—I have no forces to resist them but my own companies and such of the forces of the country as I can bring together, and these are too small and weak to be able to do what is required. I had experience of this last week at Old Laghlin betwixt the rebels, my companies and some of the risings-out of the country, wherein, through their slackness, one Richard Butler and a few more were slain. The traitors, however, lost more severely, and one of the Lord of Upper Ossory's nephews was cut off. You have heard the news of the Spaniards and of Tyrone's and O'Donnell's approach. Both of these missed their passage over the Shannon and through Ormond owing to my having brought all the boats under my own guard.

The enclosed, received as I was writing this, from Morgan McBrien Cavenagh, confirms my opinion of the unsteadiness of these Leinster traitors.

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 214. Enclosing*:—

Morgan Kevanagh or Cavenagh to the Earl of Ormond and Ossory.

I have delivered your message to Redmond McFeagh, touching his duty to the Queen, which might [if discharged] cause his former offences to be forgotten. He seemed at first to be pleased at this message; but now I hear that he and Geralt McMurtigh's son are preparing to go together to join O'Neile on his journey to Munster. I have told McMurtigh to stop his son from any such enterprise, and told him of "further inconvenience that otherwise should happen unto him."

P. ¾. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 214A.*

3 Dec.
Camp
[Kinsale].

RICHARD BOYLE to GERALD COMERFORD, Second Justice of Leinster.

The Spaniards made a s[ortie] last night in great number. They divided themselves into three parts "intending to force our quarters, and came up very gallantly for a time, beating our men from the which they possessed nearly two hours." They were then forced to retreat, and in the retreat lost at least 200 men killed and almost as many dangerously wounded, as a prisoner confesses.

1601.

At the writing hereof there came a letter to my lord from Owen O'Sullivan with the advertisement of the landing of some thousands of Spaniards near Castlehaven. These are probably some of the first fleet that hitherto have been lost.

P.S. (1)—Our loss last night was some 27 soldiers, with Captain Spencer, Captain Dillon and Lieutenant Tyrrell; [and] Captain ———, hurt in four places with the pike. Captain Dillon has made William Taffe his executor. My Lord President [and] old Captain Harvey defended our ordnance most valiantly, and killed some [?] of the dead on the ground [?].

P.S. (2)—*Secreta mea tibi*.—There are six ships arrived at Castlehaven with 2,000 men and others. The greatest is not above 300 tons. They cloyed [?] one piece of ordnance, which is recovered, and Captain Harvey slew 65 on the ground.

In all p. 1. Badly written. Endd. (1) generally, (2) with note that Mr. Comerford in his letter of 7 December, 1601, writes that Tyrone is drawn to . . . [?] and mistrust [?] them joined with him. *S.P. Ireland*, 209, 215.

5 Dec.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have delayed writing till I heard what happened in these parts and in Ulster after the passing of Tyrone to the south. Both Tyrone and O'Donnell did their best, when passing through Leinster, to induce the Irish lords to join them, but, so far as we know, without result. They have made havoc of some countries as a revenge upon those who refused to rise with them; but for my part, "notwithstanding these Irish formalities, I hold few of them absolutely sound if a time come to fit them to declare themselves." They all wait for a stroke to be struck either with or against us in Munster before they decide.

Tyrone, when he left his son Hugh in Ulster with a title of O'Neile, charged him to do something "in his beginning worthy so great a name," and left him some Spanish coin to buy horses and arms to distress the English Pale; admonishing him not to take any steps against the garrisons of Loughfoyle and the rest, for that, he said, would only be waste of time. He urged his son to maintain a good agreement with Cormack [O'Neile] to whom he declared, before leaving, that he would "put in venture to win or lose all Ireland." He told his son to advise on all enterprises with McArt Moyle McMahon and to be guided by his opinion and "entertain Cormock but in a remote degree of trust and not to use him inwardly; a matter which Cormock stomacketh (as I am written unto) and will not come at this young pretended rebel prince since Tyrone went." Lastly he acquainted some of his followers how much he was troubled with a prophecy that he should lose his life in this action of Munster, "'and yet,' saith he, 'the fear of such a destiny shall not make me falsify my promise given to so great a king.'"

. The Queen's ships arrived at Kinsale before November 16. I received the enclosed last night from a

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trustworthy intelligencer regarding the course of affairs in camp. He is "more simple and zealous than fine or judicious." God bless the army. I do not see how it can lose if the action of Kinsale is despatched before the Spanish reinforcements arrive.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 216. Enclosing :—*

Patrick Strange to the Mayor of Johell [Youghal].

I have written of the battering of Castle Park fort on the 18th and 19th and its yielding. "Incontinent after the winning thereof a platform was begun on a brown hill over the mill in the north-east and a cannon placed on the 20th, "which colveringe ere it was night aim was taken where to convey the fruits thereof. In the night when Don John expected no such matter, the cannon lighted upon the house where he had divers of his council in consultation. The [second] colveringe lighted at that instant in one of their store houses of munition. The third battered through the parapet of the wall which broke divers housen [houses]. The Navy reall [Royal] at that instant tundered upon the town. At that instant they lost many men; and are now enforced to stand in their cellars for they cannot go well in the streets. They have untiled their housen."*

"This day, the 21st, we expect a return of their artillery which cannot annoy our army neither the navy reall [Royal], for they ride at the ferry where no shot light upon them [and] some in the north east part where a point of the land doth shade them [and] the rest of the entry of the harbour from shot." Their aim is taken by day to pay them at night when they cannot manage their artillery.

Our camp is not removed until the breach be made. "The Spaniard standeth [standeth] upon his trench as yet, but cannot long continue. His right arm is lost, which was the relief they had from that part of the ferry where part of the navy royal doth anchor all day, and at night doth warp to play upon the town." Captives and runaways report them heartbroken; and it is from these that our canoniers "can [learn to] aim where to deliver Don John the good night. Thus far you will [fare you well]."

P.S.—I have written to the Mayor of Waterford to prepare for a celebration of our victory.

I will write at my next of the "whole estate of the exploit and the manner of the sak [sack]. . . . I fear nothing but that my Lord will be most favourable to those varlets." The long boats of the navy are very necessary for service.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) in old fashioned writing. *Add. "To the Mayor of Johell thence to the Mayor of Waterford, to be conveyed to Sir Geoffrey Fenton." Ibid, 216A.*

* Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.* III, 37, and 43-4.

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4 Dec.

LIST of the ARMY on 23 Nov., 1601, and as it stood on 4 Dec.

1. Horse in Munster with the Lord Deputy :—

100 under the following :—Lord Deputy and Sir Henry Davers.

50 under the following :—The Lord President, Master Marshal, Sir Anthony Coke, Sir Richard Greame, Captain William Taaffe.

25 under each of the following :—Sir Henry Harrington, Sir Oliver Lambert, Sir William Warren, Captain Fleming, Sir Oliver St. John.

Total—575.

2. Footmen in Munster with the Lord Deputy :—

200 men under the following :—Lord Deputy, Lord President, Earl of Thomond, Sir John Barkley, Sir Oliver St. John.

150 men under each of the following :—Master Marshal, Sir William Fortescue, Sir Benjamin Berry, Sir James Fitzpiers, Sir Arthur Savage, Sir Henry Folliot, Sir Edward Blayney, Captains Thomas Rotherham, Roe, Caulfield, Bodley, Roper, Masterson, Lord Audley, Sir Charles Wilmot, Captains Roger Harvey and Spencer, Sir Richard Percy, Sir Anthony Cooke, Sir Alexander Clifford, Sir Gerrat Harvie, Mr. Bartlett the Lord Deputy's Cornet, Captain Robarts and Captain Boyne.

100 under each of the following :—Sir Thomas Loftus, Sir John Dowdall, Captains George Kingsmill, George Blount, John Bostock and Ralph Constable, Sir Richard Greame, Captain Tho[mas] Butler, Lord Barry, Sir George Carey, Captains Flower, Saxey, Garrett, Dillon, and Nuce, the Earl of Desmond, Sir Francis Barkeley, Sir George Thornton, Captains William Power, Skipwith, Morrish, Beamish, North, Oseley, Fisher, Yorke, Ravenscrofte, Lisley, Graham, Yelverton, Panton, Collombe, Hobbie, Harvey, Cote, Doddington, Blundell, Gilbert, Fortescue, Henrich, Butler, Sheffield, Norton, Lane, Lowe, Wade, Chatterton, Brett, Crompton, Wadnell, Winn and May.

Total—9,650.

During November the Earl of Thomond raised a further 100 horse.

3. Garrison at Loughfoyle :—

Horse :—Sir Henry Docwra and Sir John Bolles, each 50.

Foot :—[Here repeats the list which will be found calendared above at 25 Nov., 1601 (p. 189, and refer to p. 100), except that this list omits Sir M. Morgan and mentions Captain J. Sidney.]

Total—3,000.

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4. Garrison at Carrickfergus :—

Horse :—Sir John Jephson, 100 ; and Sir Arthur Chichester, 25.

Foot :—Sir Arthur Chichester, 200.

150 men under each of the following :—Sir Fulke Conway and Captains Billings and Phillips.

100 under Captains Sackford and Norton.

5. Garrison in Connaught :—

Horse :—Earl of Clanricarde ; 50. Captain Wenman, 12.

Foot :—150 under each of the following :—Sir Oliver Lambert, the Earl of Clanricarde, Sir Thomas Bourke, Captain Malby, Captain Clare.

100 under each of the following :—Captain Tibbot Bourke, Captain Thomas Bourke, Captain David Bourke.

6. Smaller Garrisons :—

Kilkenny :—The Earl of Ormond here commands 50 horse and 150 foot.

Co. Kildare :—The Earl of Kildare has 50 horse and 150 foot.

Louth :—Sir Garret Moore has 25 horse and 100 foot.

In East Meath :—

Horse :—Lord Dunsany, 50, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence and Captain Geo. Darcy—each 25.

Foot :—150 men under each of the following :—

Lord Dunsany, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Sir Henry Power, Captains Lawrence Esmond and Lionel Gheste, Sir Samuel Bagnall.

100 men under each of the following :—Sir William Warren, Sir Theobald Dillon, Sir Edward Fitzgerald and Captain Edward Trevor.

In Westmeath :—

Horse :—Sir Edward Harbert, 12.

Foot :—Sir Edward Harbert, 100, Lord Delvin, 150.

Newry :—Sir Francis Stafford, 50 horse and 150 foot.

Mountnorris :—Sir Samuel Bagnall, 50 horse ; Captain Henry Atherton, 150 foot.

Blackwater :—Captain Thomas Williams, 150 foot.

Armagh :—Sir Henry Davers, 150 foot.

Philipstown :—Sir George Bouchier, 100 foot.

Maryborough :—Sir Francis Rush, 150 foot.

Carlingford :—Captain Hansard, 100 foot.

Dundalk :—Captain Freleton, 100 foot.

Naas :—Sir Henry Harington, 100 foot.

Fews :—Captain Turlaugh McHenry, 100 foot.

In several [different] wards Sir Henry Warren and Captain O'Carroll have each 100 foot.

Carlow :—Sir Francis Shaen, 100 foot.

Lecale :—Sir Richard Moryson, 150 foot.

Totals —Horse : 1,299.

Foot : 18,550.

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6 Dec.

Camp before
Kinsale.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Captain Morgan Courtney was, contrary to his desires, stayed by the Lord Deputy and Council to serve on the coast of Kerry and therefore could not go back till now. I recommend him.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 218.*

6 Dec.

Lifford.

SIR HENRY DOCWRA to

Your messenger finds me at Lifford just about to go with more forces to Donegal. I mean to leave 1,000 foot and 100 horse in and about Asheroe Abbey besides Neile Garrowe's 300 Irish. I am not sufficiently provided to take the castle of Ballyshannon "except it hit by chance." We want many things, but I hope to be able to stop O'Donnell from coming back into Tyrconnell "if our men hold up and live, for there lies the mischief of all our proceedings."

My last journey was on O'Cahan. I went through his whole country and returned thence eight days ago. "I have burned all his corn and houses, whereof I found infinite store. I brought away a reasonable prey of cattle," but most in sheep and garrons, for his cows were far driven away. We slew many of his people "and amongst them Rory, his perfidious brother, who happily fell into my hands so as I sacrificed him quick. I burnt his camp . . . the houses being full of corn and butter, beat him from the mouth of the pace, lay one night at Coolrane, visited all those places, and had left a garrison behind me but that the sailors played the knaves by missing the place with their ships." I shall attack that work when this is finished if the weather serves.

Captain Willis stays behind me at Liffer [Lifford] and Captain Lee at Derry. They will answer whatever you shall call them to [do] in my absence.

I leave there 2,000 foot and 100 horse in list to be stirring on Tyrone's side.

Let your next be in cipher and so will mine be; and in this character* if I hear you can read it. It is easy and my Lord and I have used it often "and yourself I know is a doctor in that art."

P.S.—We have had great storms; and our ships have been cast away and men killed with cold. The waters have been high and prevented many passages.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *Copy. Not Add. Endd. Ibid, 219.*

7 Dec.
Kilkenny.

THOMAS, EARL OF ORMOND AND OSSORY to SECRETARY CECIL.

The Spaniards, 3,000 strong, sallied out of Kinsale on the night of Nov. 30, divided into three bodies and assaulted the camp, the ordnance and a new fort made to curb them at the west end of Kinsale. There was a hot fight for two hours, when the enemy were repulsed. They lost 94 slain in the field and 10 or 12 prisoners.

* The cipher is not enclosed: but this document is only a copy.

1601.

It is believed they had about 90 wounded. They cloyed one piece of our ordnance which was afterwards recovered. We lost Captain Spencer, Captain Dillon and about 30 men.

I also hear that six Spanish ships with 4,000 men have arrived at Castlehaven and also six other ships. I suppose these are their supports.

Tyrone is in Muskerry, Cormack McDermode's country, whose kinsmen and followers have joined him. The country is in a most dangerous condition and very few of the Irish to be relied on if things go badly for us. I beg to remind you of the state of Leinster, which I have already described. The city of Waterford is weak and the inhabitants cannot defend it unless some force is sent them.

P. 11. *Signed.* *Add. and marked:* "In haste." *Endd.* *S.P.* *Ireland* 209, 220.

7 Dec.
Camp before
Kinsale.

THE LORD DEPUTY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

I had hoped to be able to send you news of the happy conclusion of this business "but the concourse of all the rebels in Ireland even now round about us and the arrival of new succours out of Spain doth somewhat defer, though not alter, my expectation. That which I was desirous should be done with more safety to the State must now be done with more hazard, which is rightly [?] an inseparable accident to great actions. God, a good cause and the Queen's fortune makes me secure in the midst of whatsoever can be feared, and patient under all that can be endured." I am presently sending over Sir Oliver St. John to debate on our business; but this little black captain will needs have me write but will not stay till I write much." He will tell you our news.

P. 3. (*Hol.*) *Add.* *Endd.* "by Captain Morgan." *Ibid*, 221.

7 Dec.
Newry.

SIR FRANCIS STAFFORD TO SAME.

I have lately heard from Sir Arthur Chichester. He says that when Tyrone set out for Munster young Randall McSurley, falsifying his oath, joined him, brought him 40 horse and 100 foot, and accompanied him himself, and with some of the best of his followers. "In their absence Agnus [*sic*], McConnell's son, of the owt [outer] isles, whom Randall a little before had taken and imprisoned in his house at Dunluce, found a party in the ward, specially the constable who was an islander born; and, by practice with him and others . . . he set on the residue at unawares." He found small resistance and occupied the castle, got hold of all within it and compounded a new ward for himself at his pleasure. On the other side Neece McSurley, a brother to Randall, had a little before submitted to Sir Arthur and was then in obedience. On these advantages Sir Arthur drew some companies into Randall's country out of Knockfergus and drove away over 3,000 cattle. He was fought by the Scots

1601.

at diverse places on the return, but brought in all the men and cattle. On his road he sent to know Agnus [*sic*] McConnell's intent, and whether he would deliver the castle into the Queen's hands. He received dilatory answers, but there is some hope that Angus may put the castle into his hands for the Queen for between him and Randall there is a deadly feed [*sic*] and "if he take good advice he will now hold a possession by the Queen's maintenance and so perhaps supplant a treacherous nation that have been long disturbers in that part." This accident results in a great advantage to the Queen "which I know Sir Arthur will pull on by all the industry and invention he can use." He will impoverish the country and force it to come to terms. "Her Majesty's sword is now well and seasonably drawn against that people, who have so often and scornfully abused her mercy."

Tyrone has sent back his brother Cormock to join with his son Hugh in the government of his country, but has taken with him O'Donnell, Maguire, McMahon, Henry Oge, Patrick McArt Moyle, O'Reilly, Con McCollo, Ever McCookey's son, all the chieftains upon the borders of the Pale and almost all the men of war whom he could command. This being so, the small wards under my command have brought into Armagh and Mountnorreys near 500 cows. We should do more if we were stronger.

Tyrone in passing to Munster had many of his carriages drowned in crossing of the river Enne [Inny] by reason of a great rain.

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 222.

8 Dec.
Kilkenny.

THOMAS, EARL OF ORMOND AND OSSORY to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Repeats what he said in his last letter [*see above, pp. 202-3*] to Secretary Cecil as to the sally of the Spaniards from Kinsale, &c. On the point of the weakness of Waterford *adds* that the Lord Deputy can spare no detachment to assist in its defence.

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 223.*

8 Dec.
From the
siege at
Kinsale.

SIR ANTHONY COOKE to SECRETARY CECIL.

The soldiers received by me at "Barstaple" have been mostly distributed in various companies by the Lord Deputy. *Details and polite messages.*

P. ½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 224.*

11 Dec.
Aboard the
Garland
in Kinsale
road.

SIR AMYAS PRESTON to the EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, Lord High Admiral of England.

Your son Leveson has done good service on the six Spanish ships that were put in at Castlehaven.

I write because my Admiral is overworked. He fought for three days and has come back just as a bark is leaving for England with letters for the Council carried by Sir Oliver "Senjoanes."

1601.

Sir Richard [Leveson] left Kinsale on the 5th and on the morning of the 7th (Sunday) put into Castlehaven. Being very provident [he] sent in a carvel to sound before him. That done, and water enough for his ships, he gave the attempt with the *Swiftsure*, the *Crane* [and] the *Merlin* with two merchants. . . . He found eight pieces of artillery planted upon the shore attending his coming with 600 small shot which lay over the ships within caliver shot. Being in first [he] gave upon the ships and in 5 hours he sunk the Admiral Seriago and three others, [and,] not long after, drove the Vice-Admiral ashore where he lies bulged and half-sunk—never able to rise again as it is thought.

"This done, there being 600 shot playing upon him from the shore besides eight pieces of artillery, Sir Richard gave upon them where the first day he killed 40 with his ordnance." One Scot and two Frenchmen came away from the enemy and came aboard him. What might be done in the other two days' fight I leave to your judgment. The small shot were very near and thick on the shore, and, when the carvel sounded, were too proud to fire on her. When Sir Richard put in, all the artillery played on him only, and now and then a shot on the rest. He put out of Castlehaven on the 9th, but did not put out till he saw all his ships out before him.

The mariners on these [Spanish] ships were of many nations. They were in all 500, of whom 400 were native Spaniards and Portugales. It was a great service and accomplished with little loss, for Sir Richard, though shot through 100 times, lost only 12 men altogether. The other captains shewed themselves "very honest men."

We sunk a great quantity of victuals which were in the ships, as this list shows. It is of much importance to have sunk the bread, which they cannot replace, as all the corn in the country is drawn to the towns, to which they cannot come. The list is :—

- 700 kintalls of bread.
- 3,000 hanneros of wheat, which is 45,000 bushels.
- 20 butts of wine.
- 40 roves* of oil.
- 20 hogsheads of beef.
- 80 kintalls of "poor Johns."
- 20,000 sardyines.
- 50 hanneros of pease.
- 10 kintalls of pork.
- 6 butts of vinegar.

These provisions were distributed amongst the various ships *pro rata*.

I learned the truth about this victualling from a Spaniard whom I took in Kinsale the day Sir Richard left. As I learn there is not above five tons of the bread and victuals landed. One ship of 50 tons was saved by running ashore.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 225.

* A rare word for a measure; see Murray's *New English Dict.*, Vol. VIII, p. 841.

1601.
9 Dec.
Limerick.

PATRICK ARTHUR to SECRETARY CECIL.

After I landed at Waterford with the horse I was a fortnight before I could rid myself of them, but at last delivered all—both horsemen and arms. Since I came here I have got all things to my purpose. When I come to Lisbon I am to follow an Irish bishop who is in great credit. I find the quickest way to go there is by a Scottish barque bound either for Bilbao or Cales [Cadiz]. I shall set forward in four days. I shall bring with me one of my brethren who has been in the country and whom I shall presently send back. I send this by another brother. Pray take order for the safe sending of my letters to you "lest otherwise, the post bringing my letters back, they should be brought in question." The copy of the note remains with Mr. Levinus. Let my brother-in-law William Meagh of Limerick know once in three or four months whether you get my letters, and put your letters in a cover directed to Patrick Leons [?] of Cork, merchant, who will send them safely hither. *Details* as to his allowance. Has received 30*l.* of it already. *Proceeds* :—Please remember my request that when the prize [of] wines should fall vacant here and in Galway by the decease of the Earl of Ormond I might have them, paying for them to the Queen what the Earl now receives from the merchants. I shall send you news when I hear any of importance and will name myself in my letters "Alexander White."

I hope the party who was with Mr. Levinus giving the note is trustworthy; otherwise he may certify of me into Spain. Do not let him know where I shall be.

The only news that I can hear here, being so far away, is that the country still holds firm. This shows that they do not think the Spaniards and their wicked adherents will prosper.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 226.

9 Dec.
Knockfergus.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

I told Secretary Cecil in my last of my endeavours on the Roote and of Sir James McDonnell's possessing of Dunluce, in which he was left a prisoner when Randall departed. Since then Sir James has written several letters to me asking for my assistance against the sons of Sorley, and to send him arms, provisions, &c., for keeping of the place. He tells me he has sent for his father to come to him out of Cantyre, and that he expects him within ten days.

He makes many protestations of loyalty but I do not think him trustworthy and therefore have dealt with him as follows :—I have freighted a ship and Scottish boat with all he requires and sent her with a gentleman who commands my own company and 80 men on board. I have told this commander to deliver him only a few trifles unless he will deliver up the castle or give pledges to deliver it when his father and the forces arrive from Cantyre. I have written to him to advise with his father to land *here*, otherwise his coming declares another [?] intent. I sent

1601.

this ship promptly so as to "impeach" the arrival of those who daily repair unto him from those islands and to "lie for Bath (Tyrone's messenger for Spain)," who is coming from Scotland with certain merchandize.

Nice, Randall's younger brother, stands upon the benefit of his pardon, inveighing against the treachery of Sir James and Randall. He prays me to assist him in defending those countries for him and such of his sept as will faithfully serve the Queen. In this he plays the part of Randall, living in that part of the Glynnys in the lifetime of Sir James, his elder brother. Before joining with Tyrone, Randall seemed the most conformable to honesty of all those I have seen in these parts. His defection resolves me never to trust any of them further than I am commanded. I have told this to the Lord Deputy and State and sent their (the MacDonnells') letters to them, asking for instructions. Meantime "I will temporise with them both the best I may and befriend him towards his right that will give me the best assurance of his honesty." On the 4th I divided my forces and set upon some woodmen who had revolted to Brian McArt and were killing and injuring "the poor subject." I killed some 20 of them and took their cows and goods. With these some of our men have retired to remote garrisons. The waters are now so high that neither horse nor foot can pass to them without swimming.

Since Tyrone left, I have several times adventured to put into his country with my boats over the Lough, but the weather is so "outrageous" and waters so high that this is dangerous work. On the 5th Captain Sekeford put into the Tewogh [Toome, or Toaughe ?] "lately a country of rebels" and killed "some men and churls."

I beg for more horse, for only 13 have come to us, and for oats ; otherwise our horse must decay. Little or nothing is brought voluntarily to us since this new coin came amongst us. "The supplies for our foot prove very silly men. One of five will not make a soldier fit for these wars ; and the arms answerable to the men. Now we come to use the pieces they break like glass, being old rotten barrels put into new stocks. This defect hath been formerly noted in such as have come from Yorkshire, whose conductors, having money to furnish them at Chester, take up such arms as they find best cheap, not thinking of the loss and danger it brings unto us who are to adventure our lives with them." We should be furnished with good new arms, and do not want muskets or cuirasses, for we only use them for such as lie in wards. Captain Vaughan knows how things are here, and his relation will free me from being tedious. *Loyal messages.*

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 227.

9 Dec.
Knockfergus.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER to SECRETARY CECIL.

I beg you to remember the money due to my brother for service here. You and the Lord Treasurer have often made promises

1601.

to me and I hear a proportion has been allotted towards the payment of everyone. I have requested Mr. Bowyer, his lordship's servant, to remind you of me.

Con, Tyrone's base son, is lately dead in Tyrone. His brother Cormock has lately returned to Tyrone. All parts are weak and the weather our greatest enemy.

P. 3. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 228.

10 Dec.
Camp before
Kinsale.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Sir,

You know "it is not my custom to be bewitched with the faces or external accomplishments [*sic*] of men ; but when I find a man of worth, and in his profession extraordinarily deserving" I may not, without wronging him, conceal my opinion of him when I am asked to give it. The man I refer to is Sir Samuel Bagnall who, by some information in England, lies here disgraced. I leave him to apologise for himself and am sure he can clear himself of any charge of dishonesty : but "for so much as I do know to be true, I will be bold to say of him, which is that he is not inferior to any man of war in this kingdom for his judgment in martial discipline, and as valiant as Cæsar, and, when he loves, constant without villainy." This is an opinion formed after knowing him for 14 years : and Sir Francis Vere, if in England, will "confirm my censure of him." He desires me to recommend him, and I entreat you "to be consoled of him according to his worth." I leave all the news from here to Sir Edward Wingfield who I am sure "will not write untruths. For some respects I do forbear to send you discourses."

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid*, 229.

10 Dec.
Kilkenny.

THOMAS, EARL OF ORMOND AND OSSORY to his servant, HENRY SHERWOOD.

The day after you left Mr. Walter Cusack and one Ivers came from Kinsale and said that 26 Spanish ships, bearing 4,000 men, had arrived on the coast of Munster at various havens, of which Baltimore and Castlehaven are two.

They likewise told that the horse of our army are much decayed for want of horsemeat ; and that of the late supplies landed at Waterford there are many dead in camp. They could not name the number of dead, but said that there die, commonly, 40 men every day.

They said also that Tyrone and O'Donnell, with their forces and the Munster Irishry, mean to camp near my Lord Deputy, between him and the wood to keep him from fuel or other provision. I write to catch you before you leave [for England]. Let the lords [of the Council] know all this. Let no one hear this news but the Council. "And so in haste I end."

P. 3. *Signed. Add. Endd.* : "Received at Passage, 11 Dec." *Ibid*, 230.

1601.
11 Dec.
Cork.

JOHN COPPINGER, MAYOR OF CORK, to the LORD DEPUTY.

Many great disorders are committed, as well on the way towards the camp as elsewhere near this city, by certain horsemen placed, as they say, at Bearneheallie [Barnashillane ?] and Carrigaline. They took 80 sheep belonging to some of the citizens, and wounded the said citizens. One of these citizens is Pierce Gold, a man of good reputation here. I beg you to take steps to remedy this, and to restrain horse and foot from coming here from camp without certificate from some special officer containing the occasion of their repair hither and the continuance of their abode ; and that a proclamation be made to that effect there.

I must also inform you that most of all the cantreds here refuse to take the Queen's new coin for such commodities and victuals as the citizens buy of them, but demand the old sterling money, by which the market here is greatly prejudiced, and our victuallers not able to provide the citizens as they formerly did. I beg that Lord Barry, Lord Roche, "Mr." Cormock McDermond, "Mr." Wm. Barrett and "Mr." John Fitzedmunds be commanded to cause the new money to be accepted in their various cantreds.

Details.

P. 3. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 231.

12 Dec.
Camp before
Kinsale.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

For this see Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 63-69.

Pp. 53. Signed by the Lord Deputy and by Carew, Wingfield, Gardener and Bouchier.

Endd. "by Sir Oliver St. John." *Ibid*, 232. Enclosing :—

A. A note of the services done since the last despatch into England.

7 Nov. The last journal ended at this date [but see above p. 155] with the taking of Ryncurran Castle. Departure of the Lord President to make head against the northern rebels. Details.

10 Nov. Gives an account of the sortie and repulse of the Spaniards on 8 Nov. [This is given in Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 31-2, from "By this time the Spaniards" to "able to continue the siege."]

Saturday, 14th Nov. Arrival of the Queen's ships at Kinsale. [See Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.*, p. 36 *ad fin.*]

Sunday, 15th. The Lord Deputy's narrow escape from the Spanish artillery. [*Ibid*, p. 37.]

Monday, 16-Wednesday, 18th. Attack on Castle-ny-Park and efforts made to gain some substantial success on the day of her Majesty's Coronation. Failure of the Sergeant-Major's and Captain Bodley's attempt. [*Ibid*, pp. 37-38.]

Thursday, 19th. The demi-cannon. The Spanish attempt to relieve the Castle by boats. [*Ibid*, p. 39.]

Friday, 20th. Further battery of Castle-ny-Park. Its surrender. Safety of the ships. Don John's house struck by our artillery. [*Ibid*, pp. 43-44.]

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Saturday, 21st. Another cannon was brought up and planted by the demi-cannon which the night before was brought from the ship. The Lord Deputy went over from the island to view how from thence the town might best be annoyed and invested.*

Sunday, 22nd. Four other pieces were planted by the cannon and demi-cannon and all played on the town together. [See Fynes Moryson, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 46.]

Monday, 23rd. Further battery. A private soldier fights with five Spaniards. [Ibid, p. 47.] Continues:—This night the Lord Deputy began to make his approaches nearer to the town, and for that purpose caused 1,000 foot to be drawn out by Sir John Barkley, Sir Benjamin Berry and Captain Bodley. They continued the work all night. Sallies repulsed. [Ibid, pp. 47 ad fin. and 48.]

Wednesday, 25th. Artillery fire. Orders to the ships. Arrival of the Lord President [of Munster], the Earls of Thomond and Clanricarde and Sir Thomas Bourke.† Other details as in Fynes Moryson, op. cit., p. 48, par. 3.

Thursday, 26th. Allotment of duty to the Carew, Clanricarde and St. Lawrence regiments. Artillery duel between the Spaniards and the English ships. [Ibid, pp. 48–9].

Friday, 27th. Further bombardment of the town. [Ibid, p. 49.]

Saturday, 28th. Summons sent to the town by trumpet. Sir Christopher St. Lawrence's action and success. [Ibid, pp. 49–50.]

Sunday, 29th. All the artillery still played and broke down most of the gate and some part of the new work made before it.

Monday, 30th. Sir Richard Wingfield's skirmish. [Ibid, p. 50.]

Tuesday, 1 Dec. Counsel of war. Reconnaissance in force to draw the Spanish fire under Sir John Barkley and Col. Edward Blaney. [Ibid, pp. 50–52; but the episode of Captain Moryson, the brave Spaniard, given in the Itinerary is not in this journal.] Planting of another fort on the west side of the town. [Ibid, p. 52.]

Wednesday, 2nd. Trenching continued. Action by Captain Blaney's sergeant. [Ibid, p. 52.] Allocation of the night watches, and the Spaniards' brave sally on the night of December 2. [Ibid, pp. 52–55, to the point where the dead Spaniards, found with hammers and spikes in their hands to "cloy" the cannon, are described.]

Thursday, 3rd. News reached the Lord Deputy that six Spanish ships were at Castlehaven and that six more were sent with them from the Groyne, and other news. [Ibid, pp. 55 ad fin., 56.]

* Here the account varies from that given by Fynes Moryson, and is accordingly set out in full.—Ed.

† In Fynes Moryson's narrative their arrival is dated the 26th.

1601.

Friday, 4th. Confirmation of the news of the Spaniards being at Castlehaven. [See Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 56.] Strengthening of our camp. Drum sent to Don John and agreement as to burying the dead.

Saturday, 5th. Sir Richard Leveson left the harbour with most of the fleet to look for the Spaniards at Castlehaven. [*Ibid.*, p. 58.]

Sunday, 6th. A Scottish barque surrenders 80 Spaniards to Sir Amyas Preston. [*Ibid.*, pp. 58–9.]

Monday, 7th. The other camp strengthened their trenches and made a resolution to make two small forts beyond the camp westward [so as] wholly to invest the town; the forts and the camp to flank one another. [*Ibid.*, p. 61.]

Tuesday, 8th. Fresh planting of artillery. Arrival of some rebel horse. [*Ibid.*, p. 62.]

Wednesday, 9th. Report from Sir Richard Leveson on his proceedings. [*Ibid.*, p. 62–3.] We are since informed by Lord Courcy that all the Spanish ships save one are sunk and great harm has been done to their provisions and men.

Pp. 12½. Signed by the Lord Deputy and by Carew, Wingfield and Gardener. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 232A.

- B. Collection by way of journal of the difficulties and impediments in our way since the discovery of the Spanish fleet before their entry into Kinsale.

This is the original, a copy of which is calendared in Cal. of S.P. Carew (1601–3) p. 179 seq. Accordingly it is not given here; but as the account of O'Donnell's great march over the frozen mountains is of peculiar interest, and as it is not very fully given in the Carew Calendar, I give it in full here. It is as follows:—

At Sir George Carew's departure O'Donnell was in O'Carroll's country. The Lord President made all possible haste towards him, and by the time he (Carew) was come to the Holy Cross in Tipperary, the enemy was in a strong fastness not above 6 mile from him in O'Magher's country. O'Donnell did not dare to make his passage by Cashel as he pretended, fearing the Lord President's troops, which had been reinforced by a regiment of foot brought by Sir Christopher St. Lawrence out of Leinster. He must under ordinary circumstances have encountered the English forces if he had persisted in coming south, "for the [only alternative] way over the mountains of Slewphelim, which in the summer is easy to pass, was, by reason of the great rain which had lately fallen, impassable for horse or baggage. This mountain is to the westward of O'Magher's country in the county of Tipperary and towards the Shannon, and from thence into the county of Limerick there is no other good passage but by the Abbey of Ownhie, which abbey is distant from that place where O'Donnell encamped above 20 Irish miles. The Lord President, thinking in lodging as he did to prevent the enemy's descent into the province (and whereof in all men's judgment

1601.

there was no doubt), there suddenly happened a great frost the like whereof in this realm hath been seldom seen. The enemy, perceiving so good opportunity offered to pass the mountains afoot, took the advantages of the time, and rising in the night marched over the same. Whereof when the Lord President had advertisement, he likewise rose four hours before day, hoping to cross the rebels before they should pass the Abbey of Ownhie; and the morning following before it was eleven of the clock he had marched as far as the abbey, and there understood that O'Donnell made no stay there and never rested till he came to a manor house of the Countess of Kildare's called Crome [Crum] adjoining to the fastness of Connologhe; so as his whole march that night and the day following from his camp in O'Magherie's country to Crome aforesaid, without any rest, was no less than 32 Irish miles; which was the greatest march that hath been heard of at this time of the year."

The Lord President strove to overtake the enemy and marched 24 miles, but O'Donnell got into the "straights of Connologh," and the Lord President thought it best to fall back on the camp, picking up the Earl of Clanricarde and his Connaught regiment who came to him on his return to Kilmallock, and the Earl of Thomond who had been sent, with 100 horse, to reinforce him.

P.S.—Our endeavours since Nov. 27 are set down elsewhere,* and we have put these facts together to show how the slow coming of our victual and other necessities has made it impossible for us to advance the campaign at the pace for which we had hoped. Now that Tyrone and O'Donnell have come up to join the Spaniards and that reinforcements of 1,000 with large supplies have arrived at Castlehaven (which makes the town resolve to hold out yet), we have deferred further battery so as to strengthen our own position till the Spaniards be weakened "and that the cloud of the rebels continually hanging over us be by time somewhat more dispersed."

If we can maintain ourselves in our present position against them all it involves our investment of the town which we hope in the end to carry by force. Our object in sending this memorandum is to give actual particulars of the way in which we have been hindered by the non-arrival of supplies. The enemy have been active, the whole of Ireland is against us and the weather has been such that we have had difficulty in keeping our men alive and make them watch and work; especially as it is plain that any precipitate action might risk the fate of the army, our own lives and "absolutely and apparently the whole estate of the kingdom, which would not have happened by a mere defeat only, but by every little disaster, so easily are the dispositions of this people weighed down to a general defection."

In all pp. 8½. Signed by the Lord Deputy, Carew, Wingfield, and Gardener. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 232B.

* See foregoing. The following passage is also rather too briefly given in the Carew Calendar and I therefore give it in fuller abstract here.

1601.
12 Dec.
Dublin.

GERALD, EARL OF KILDARE to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have hitherto appealed to the Privy Council of England, telling them what hard courses have been held against me. I have not importuned you, seeing the times are so busy, but suffer such indignities that I must acquaint you with them. Mr. Treasurer here shews himself apparently to be my "backfriend" and the others, in regard of his office and earnestness, little withstand him. I lately sent my letter to the Council [in Dublin] asking for a barrel of powder for the public service, and sent 20 soldiers of my foot company to escort it. All the members of the Council were for giving warrant to the Clerk of the Ordnance to issue it, but he refusing to sign the warrant, it was staid and the soldiers returned without it. This is an aspersion on my loyalty, and makes those who would join with me for loyal service backward in doing so; and yet the meanest captain in this land may have powder on his letters.

You know of my other troubles, and I hear that speeches which you delivered in Council shewed that you thought I should have redress in them. But the young Countess of Kildare procured a letter from her Majesty to have an inquiry into those matters, which is very strange to me, for I never impeached her, and her estate depends on the same titles as mine; so I am wronged and she gains nothing. Pray hear with favour Mr. Hadsor, whom I have employed to solicit "that causes" before the Council. I pray for justice and restoration to my own without disturbance except in course of law.

Mr. Treasurer also cuts me short of my entertainment which the Queen has given me by patent for the government of Ophaly "pretending by her Highness' establishment to extinguish and determine my patent, for that I am not inserted in the establishment, and therefore to allow me but a colonel's pay of 10s. a day."

Prays for relief.

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 233.*

12 Dec.
Camp before
Kinsale.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SAME.

The bearer, William Sachfield, has served long in wars in Ireland and abroad. Several persons have recommended him to me, and, being unable to forward him, I send him to you and beg that he may have a foot company of the new supplies coming here. I believe you know him, but, to satisfy his friends, I recommend him.

P. ½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 234.*

Same.

The LORD DEPUTY to SAME.

For this letter see Moryson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 69-72.
Pp. 2½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid, 235.*

1601.
12 Dec.
Camp before
Kinsale.

LORD AUDLEY to SECRETARY CECIL.

Praying his support of a suit preferred by Lord Audley to the Privy Council of England.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 236.

Same.

CERTIFICATE as to the VICTUALS at the Camp before Kinsale and at Cork, 12 December, 1601.

(1) At Kinsale :—							1,000lbs.
Biscuit	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Rusk	..	..	..	..	..	..	60
Meal	..	..	..	..	..	..	26.5
Butter	..	..	..	..	..	..	21.5
Cheese	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Rice	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Salt beef	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Pork	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Poor Johns (small)	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Pease	..	..	..	..	..	..	6 bushels
(2) At Cork :—							
Biscuit	..	..	..	..	..	..	50
Butter	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Cheese	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Rice	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

These victuals will serve for 10,000 men for 15 days. There is also victual for the like number for 13 days more without bread.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *Signed* by J. Brincklow, Deputy to Allen Apsley, Commissary of the Victuals in Munster. *Endd. Ibid.* 237.

12 Dec. ANTHONY REYNOLDS to SECRETARY CECIL.

Since I last wrote to you of my hard treatment by the Governor and officers the Governor has given me leave, after I had been imprisoned for 14 days, to be at my own house, where, for anything I know, I remain his prisoner still. Since then I have finished my half-year's labours, and send them enclosed. I will not speak of the toil and grief of mind which I have to endure in doing my duty honestly; for I hope your protection and my own endeavours will justify me in those matters. I have already answered my critics and they cannot disprove what I say.

I am sequestered from the execution of my office and the Governor employs his own nominees, as his clerk and others, to discharge it. They cannot altogether deceive me for I am fairly well informed of the strength of all the companies. But I cannot give you a true account of the strength of the army, "only estimately I cannot think them fewer than 700 deficient."

Further complaints. Proceeds :—I ask again for allowance of one pay out of every company, which will be no charge to her Majesty and enable me to do my work effectually. Without it I cannot live here, and beg to be superseded. *Prays* for enlargement.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 238. *Enclosing* :—

1601.

A. A brief of the checks raised upon the captains and companies of the army at Loughfoyle as well in apparel as lendings from 1 April—30 September, 1601, with the strength of every company as it appeared on October 1.*

Footbands.	Present.	Sick and absent.	Deficient.	Check in apparel.			Check in lendings.		
				<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Sir H. Docwra	146	28	10	b.† 64	1	7	62	16	3
				w. 26	18	4			
Capt. E. Digges	50	13	29	b. 4	5	6	41	0	5
				w. 78	1	2			
„ Thos. Coach	52	13	27	b. 27	18	10	72	7	3
				w. 72	13	6			
„ Hum. Wyllis	78	24	36	b. 13	16	4	68	0	6
				w. 90	18	8			
„ Jno. Sidney	52	13	27	b. 4	13	5	31	17	8
				w. 72	13	6			
„ Lancelot Alford ..	43	9	40	b. 10	4	4	53	19	10
				w. 107	13	4			
„ Edw. Leigh	48	17	27	b. 9	10	3	48	12	5
				w. 72	13	6			
„ Ra. Bingley	89	27	22	b. 48	1	2	114	4	0
				w. 59	4	4			
„ Nich. Pynner	62	9	21	b. 42	18	2	85	8	5
				w. 56	10	6			
„ Basil Brooke	45	12	35	b. 14	3	6	65	15	5
				w. 91	1	2			
„ Roger Orme	40	18	34	b. 10	11	0	68	19	3
				w. 88	7	4			
„ Jno. Vaughan	56	15	21	b. 10	10	0	45	12	9
				w. 56	10	6			
Sir Jno. Bolles	84	17	37	b. 11	13	8	64	12	11
				w. 99	11	10			
Capt. El. Lloyd	48	23	67	b. 31	7	10	168	7	6
				w. 180	6	10			
„ Edw. Bassett	56	13	23	b. 30	6	0	57	5	9
				w. 61	18	2			
„ Thos. Badby	92	9	37	b. 17	12	0	63	11	8
				w. 99	11	10			
„ William Windsor ..	41	14	37	b. 29	7	4	84	13	0
				w. 96	8	10			
„ William Stafford ..	52	10	30	b. 13	16	8	87	17	0
				w. 80	13	0			
„ Adam Dutton	38	12	42	b. 23	19	4	119	16	4
				w. 113	1	6			
„ Roger Atkinson ..	28	3	61	b. 170	11	6	97	5	2
				w. 132	19	2			
Sir M. Morgan	61	28	49	b. 167	14	8	170	10	0
				w. 143	8	10			
Capt. R. Sidley	23	7	62	b. 123	16	4	137	10	0
				w. 143	14	10			
„ Lewis Orrell	72	22	46	b. 182	3	6	93	10	0
				w. 0	0	0			
„ P. Gore	49	62	67						
„ Errington (dec.) ..	0	90	90						
„ Rande (succeeding him)	43	9	40						
Totals				2,933	5	8	2,135	1	2

With regard to those companies for which the check raised in apparel is not stated in detail (i.e. the last six entries), this is due to the negligence of the Commissary at Donegal, where these companies are, in not having made proper returns.

* This table differs considerably from that enclosed by Sir Henry Docwra in his despatch to Secretary Cecil of 28 September, 1601 (*supra*, p. 100); and I have therefore thought it right to give it here. The columns headed in both documents "In list," "captains and officers," "preachers and canoniers," and "dead-pays," are, however, identical in their contents, and are therefore omitted from the Calendar here, having been given above (p. 100). It should be noticed, however, that "Captain Errington, deceased," appears in this list though he is not in that enclosed in Docwra's despatch of 28 September. The figures for him in the four columns which do not appear above are: "In list," 100; "captain and officers," 0; "dead-pays," 6; "preachers and canoniers," 2.

† "b." and "w." stand hereafter in this column for "broken suits" and "whole."

1601.

Similar returns regarding the "horsebands."

Horsebands.	Present.	Sick and Absent.	Deficient.	Checks.		
				<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Sir H. Docwra</i>	43	3	0	44	3	9
<i>Sir J. Bolles</i>	35	2	9	28	5	0

P. $\frac{1}{4}$. In all p. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. Both returns signed and dated 12 December, 1601, by Anthony Reynolds. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland*, 209, 238A.

13 Dec.
Camp before
Kinsale.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Relates story of his endeavours to prevent O'Donnell from coming to Kinsale as set out above, pp. 211-212.* States that O'Donnell's great march from his camp in O'Magher's country to Lady Kildare's manor of Crome was "above thirty Irish miles." *Proceeds* :—When I found I could not engage him in Connello I set off for Kinsale in order to be there before him ; and if he had done his uttermost I was sure to be there before him, unless he would fight with me, for I went the next direct way and, for his safety, he took the further way and very troublesome to pass with horse and baggage. *Refers* to the journal now sent by the Lord Deputy which will tell the events during his absence. *Proceeds* :—You may think that the demands for men and supplies made in the joint letter of the Lord Deputy and Council are large, especially considering that 6,000 men and great quantity of munition have lately arrived. But when you consider the time of year at which this siege is conducted, the quality of the country and the tenderness of new men, it seems to me remarkable that any of them are living. There has never been a more miserable siege than this, in which many die, many more are too sick to serve, and others run away from faintness of heart, in spite of the fact that they are severely punished for doing so ; so as of this 6,000 "I do not think that we have by poll able men in the camp to serve the Queen above 1,500." Our old men, in whom we trusted most, decay by sword and sickness. We have now lain before this town more than six weeks, and scarcely a day without some blows struck. New men must have much powder to practise ; and powder is rapidly exhausted by the use of great artillery, which has done good service against the town. The enemy who come to us admit that they have had great losses, and are 1,000 men weaker than before we lodged by them ; but sickness is their least [cause of] loss. Our earthworks are great and the tools we use slightly made and weak, so as there cannot be but great waste, and consequently our waste in all things is great ; so we need supplies.

I lately received your honour's of 31 October in which you spoke of one whom you intend to use in Spain. I never saw the person mentioned . . . but if he knows that you wish

* See also *Cal. of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3, p. 181 (last par.) and p. 182.

1601.

his business to be imparted to me he will surely tell me of it and I will help him if I can.

Victuals are our great need . . . Sir Richard Leveson has done excellent service against the Spaniards at Castlehaven but if we have no fleet they must possess all the good havens in Munster, and to beat them out of these, if once they get in, will cost the Queen a mountain of treasure, which can be saved by a good fleet on the coast.

Tyrone and O'Donnell are in O'Magher's [?] country, about six miles from us, and intend—so we hear—to join the Spaniards who have landed at Castlehaven. If this junction takes place we shall prove the uttermost of their forces. Since the Spaniards' arrival the chief gentlemen of Carbery and Beare have joined them, *vizt.*, O'Donevan, Donogh Moyle and Fynin (who are) sons of Sir Owen McCarty, Sir Fynine O'Driscoll's two eldest sons and Donell O'Sulevan, Lord of Beare. All these, except Donell O'Sulevan, Lord of Beare, I brought to my Lord Deputy at Cork and afterwards at this camp, and all protested their loyalty; but Dermond Moyle, Florence's brother, has persuaded them to defection. They have for the most part pledges in her Majesty's hands, but this barbarous nation have no respect for their children. They have all received munition and money from the Spaniards and have several companies of horse and foot in the King's pay. I am afraid they will give example to many others to do the like and that they will do it from three motives—religion, malice to our nation, and desire of entertainment. I think all the Irish in the kingdom will enter into rebellion, but I have a better opinion of the English “and yet in Munster more than the fugitives John McThomas the Knight of the Valley and the Baron of Lixnaw there is not a man of English surname that is revolted.

“The towns are not free from suspicion though not apparently to be taxed, but this is a common error both in town and country to refuse the coin of the new standard, insomuch as we can hardly get anything for it but at exceeding rates,” and ere long I expect it will be universally rejected. The rich men in the cities seem to dislike with those that will not receive it, but I think they set on the poorer classes to this rejection. As yet it is only in its infancy, but a man may already foresee what root it will take.

Since the northern traitors came into Munster, Teigue McCormock, a younger brother to Charles, Sir Walter Raleigh's man, who has been my servant ever since I came to Ireland, has rebelled and is made Lord of Muskerry by Tyrone and O'Donnell, and Cormock McDermond, for relying upon the State, is expelled. This Teigue is said to have in wages 200 foot and 50 horse, “but his lordship will not long continue for Cormock with the help of the State will be hard for him.” Pray let care be taken that his son at Oxford does not slip over to Ireland. Had his son been in Ireland he (the father) had been a traitor from the first; and only his love for his son has kept him loyal.

Pp. 5. (Hol.) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 239.

1601.

13 Dec.
Camp before
Kinsale.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Recommends the bearer, Lieut. Cole, who has been under Captain Hansor for two years. If given a command in the new supplies [*i.e.* reinforcements] Lieut. Cole will give a good account of it.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 240.*

Same.

SIR THOMAS BOURKE to the SAME.

Professes desire to serve. Has not yet heard directly whether he will be employed. Prays for an answer to his requests and will attend at Kinsale till it comes.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *A subservient letter. (Hol.) Add. Endd. Ibid, 241.*

Same.

CAPTAIN MALBIE to the SAME.

Thanks for great favours. Is a stranger here and has been strangely used. Had formerly sent his uncle Jepson to Cecil on business, whereof he hears underhand to his discouragement. His cause, when called, will defend and declare itself.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 242.*

14 Dec.
Dublin.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in Dublin to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We have not heard from the Lord Deputy since the 27th of November, and no doubt he is very busy; but I, the Treasurer, occasionally hear from my agents (paymasters and others) at Cork and Kinsale. I yesterday got two letters, of which we send abstracts. We hope her Majesty's ships, if they can warp out of the harbour of Kinsale in time, will be able to prevent the Spanish supplies from landing. To do so would be to discourage the Irish and Don John. The Irish repose much confidence in the coming of these seconds out of Spain and are ready to countenance their landing. If they make good their landing with Irish help "it might work dangerous impressions many ways, but . . . particularly the staggering subjects in Leinster and the English Pale (who have had their ears open of long time to hearken to the coming of the Spanish seconds) may make it an occasion to seduce them further, being already too much engaged in an expectation of change, and are not curious to make shew thereof," in their continual backwardness in the performance of their duty. For our part we know most of them to be "so far carried away in heart with their Popish religion and their great expectations that if the Spaniards come they shall have freedom of conscience in the kind they desire" that they will be apt to embrace all chances that may lead to such liberty "and in respect to win the liberty of their religion they will not be curious to put in hazard their temporal estates and freeholds which at other times they have been as careful to preserve as their lives."

1601.

It has grieved us to find that this is the case with most of them, though we have no doubt it is not so with all. But "seeing the malignant nature of the time to work so strongly upon their infected disposition in religion" we could not but let you know the facts, leaving it to your consideration, and asking that we may be secreted in the discovery.

We present all these facts, the foreign enemy, the confederate rebels, "the tottering subjects ready to run the course of alteration so that you may see how much we need fresh supplies of men." We feel sure that the Lord Deputy insists on these matters A stronger fleet of ships is urgently necessary to prevent the Spanish landing and to patrol the coasts of Ireland for a time for that purpose and "to contain the light wavering subjects."

P.S.—The last supplies sent from England die rapidly "by reason of the foul and extreme weather which consumeth them in the trenches." Further supplies must be sent to bear up the companies.

Pp. 2. Signed by the Lord Chancellor (Loftus), Cary and Fenton. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 243. Enclosing:—

Extract from memorandum by [Captain] Boulton on affairs at Kinsale.

Speaks of the arrival of the six Spanish ships at Castlehaven. 2,000 men. More expected. Proceeds:—It is expected that within 6 days O'Donnell will join with these new arrivals, if they do not wait for Tyrone, who is also expected here soon.

It was thought last night but one they had been all come. There was such a tumult in our army upon a sally that the enemy made out of the town upon our ordnance and upon a new sconce which we lately made, both within a stone's throw of the town, as if the enemy had then been come to assail us at both sides. Repeats information already given as to the gallant attack of the Spaniards on the trenches, the choking of one of the English guns, the 72 Spanish bodies found heaped about the works near the gun. Other details.

On the sconce another gross of theirs at the same time sallied out. In this sconce there was Captain Flower, Captain Garrott Dillon, Captain Thomas Spencer and Sir John Dowdall's company, which were all beaten out with two other companies that were without the sconce and were appointed to second them "and driven to fly and quit the place very shamefully, which was guardable against all the force of Ireland (if they had been good men); but they saved their reputation in some measure for that Dillon and Spencer were both slain and Captain Flower hurt." The Spaniards were finally repulsed and left 50 men dead. We lost 40 killed.

On 5 December, the day before this sally, the Lord Deputy drew both the camps before the town as though he would have entered a breach. This was made and our men fell on

1601.

very gallantly, but their orders were not to enter but merely reconnoitre, for the purpose of obtaining an object for our artillery fire and seeing how the Spaniards would defend themselves, "which was indeed very well performed of them for they fell out in a counterscarp and trenches they had made before the breach in such orderly manner that our ordnance did gall them much and fell among them that you might have seen divers of them covered with the very earth and much harm done them." We suffered no loss. I could perfectly see in a trench where I stood how every man behaved himself.

The fleet left to-night to meet the Spaniards at Castlehaven and, if the wind had favoured, would have been with them to-night. Our poor soldiers, "especially the new last men do die and drop away through cold and extreme foul weather," so that several Munster captains have only 40 serviceable men in a band.

Pp. 2. (Hol.) Signed Peter Bowlton. Dated from the Camp at Kinsale, 5 December. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 243A.

B. Harold Kynesman to Sir George Cary.

We are entrenched around the town and the Lord Deputy has made a new "mount" on the west side of it where he means to plant his ordnance. Describes the attack on the western fort, manned by Captain Spencer's, Captain Dillon's and Captain Warren's companies (see above, pp. 210, 219). Proceeds:—For this skirmish "it is thought Captain Flower will be called to a court, because he did not make good that place" but evacuated it and let the Spaniards get it; but it is reported that the Earl of Clanricarde, with thirty of his best men, recaptured it* "at the push of the pike," which hath got him much honour. Describes the spiking of an English gun by the Spaniards.† Adds:—Our men behaved so valiantly that they killed him that brought the spick with a pair of pinsons and a hammer at his back. One of their captains was killed and two captured, "which for causes, the Lord Deputy caused to be hanged." "Therein were slain of the Spaniards of both sides the town 150 and of our men 100 by estimation."‡

Speaks of Spanish ships reported arrived at Crookhaven.

More accurate news will be sent by the next.

Our men die very fast, especially the new ones, from exposure.

I have about 8,000l. left and 4,000l. in the bank, by reason of the increase of the force, the arrivals from England, and the Clanricarde and St. Lawrence contingents. We must have more money at once if the army hold here.

Pp. 2½. (Hol.) Dated at Cork, 5 December, Add. Endd. *Ibid*, 243B.

* See Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 54.

† *Ibid*, p. 55, and above, p. 210.

‡ Moryson does not give any estimate of the English losses in these actions.

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14 Dec.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CARY to SECRETARY CECIL.

Reports the arrival of the "8 or 9" Spanish ships at Castlehaven with 2,000 men, and that six more ships are very near, at sea, with supports for Don John. The English fleet has gone to oppose them.

Proceeds :—The Lord Deputy writes, on 30 November, begging me for a large supply of ammunition for all sorts of artillery. I shall send it, but we have no demi-culverin shot. I put 300 cannon shot into the *Tremontane* a month ago to go to the camp; but Captain Plesington was windbound till two days ago. I hope by this time he is with the Lord Deputy.

We must have reinforcements for our force grows weak rapidly "being forced to lie in the field and watch these long tempestuous nights." Powder and oats must be sent, for I hear that four or five ships laden with victuals have been cast away in the late tempest. I am sending the Lord Deputy money and victuals out of our small store here.

I have heard (tho' the news is not confirmed) of the capture of seven of the aforesaid Spanish ships "and that a Scottish man having in her 100 Spaniards and 400 barrells of powder with match and lead, being in company with the rest at sea in the last great storm, persuaded the Spaniards to keep themselves under hatches that thereby the mariners might ply their tackle the better, and so, having them in the rowmthes [*sic*] below made fast their hatches, and have brought both ship and men to his lordship at Kinsale."

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 244. *Enclosing* :—

A. *Peter Boulton to Sir George Cary.*

Repeats news already given as to the engagement on December 5th. English loss 40 killed and a few hurt.

Reports arrival of the Spanish squadron as above.

P. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$. (*Hol.*) *Dated* Camp before Kinsale, 5 December. *Ibid*, 244A.

B. *Note on the cost of 100 footmen serving in her Majesty's pay in Ireland.*

The pay for a band of 100 footmen is per day :—

1 Captain	4s. 2d.
1 Lieutenant	2s. 2d.
1 Ensign	1s. 6d.
2 Sergeants, 1 drum, 1 Surgeon each	1s. 0d.
94 soldiers and six dead-pays each	8d.

The total is 3l. 18s. 2d. per day, 1,426l. 10s. 10d. per year.

Other details, including an estimate of expense for a company paid (the men only) at half this rate and for a company wholly paid at a lower rate.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Endd. Ibid*, 244B.

15 Dec.
Bristol.

WALTER WILSON to [MR. WATSON].

Six young men have come from Cork. They came lately from France to Cork with a barque laden with wheat and have sold it there, and others of them have sold the same there. Others

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have come for some provision for the army and have, as they tell me, the Lord Deputy's pass, having brought with them 600*l.* and some poor mariners that have bills amounting to 460*l.*, beside the former bills which amount to near 800*l.* More of them here very shortly. They make such pitiful complaints that I had to promise them to write to you to the end you might acquaint the Lord Treasurer with their estates; otherwise they would all have come up to the Court this day. I have pacified them, but pray let me know my Lord's pleasure about them this week. "You may be sure that want of money will be a mighty hindrance to the army, for there are now at least ten or twelve barques here to whom most of these moneys are owing that would presently carry over all sorts of victuals for the army if these bills were paid, and for want of their moneys now are not any way able to put to sea." It is given out here by some that come from London that there will be no money before March, which maketh men despair and at their wits' end.

I have this morning shipped Michael with one John Saunders, whom Mr. Chamberlain well knows. If you have any money due to you there your favour and fortune is better than mine; for Mr. Kynesman, the paymaster, writes to me that the Lord Deputy has given an absolute warrant that no captain or officer of the army shall have a penny of his pay detained till the siege be ended; so I have already lost 10*l.* and have some 70*l.* more but do not know what the event of that will be.

Details. I recommend these poor men to your care.

P.S.—I have paid James Duff his money.

Pp. 2. Not *add.*, but *endd.* as in title. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 245.

17 Dec.
Dublin.

WILLIAM PEYTON [Auditor of Ireland] to SECRETARY CECIL.

I send you a declaration of the revenue for the year ending Michaelmas, 1600. The rents for 1601 are not yet paid in, nor will the Treasurer's book of receipts and payments be delivered up before next March.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid*, 246.

21 Dec.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SAME.

We have had no news from the Lord Deputy since November 14th, and our other information is from uncertain sources. I send a journal drawn up by the Earl of Ormond, who lives half way between the camp and this city, and is in touch with the camp; but I cannot vouch for it as absolutely true.

If the Spaniards have landed at Kinsale they will fortify there "for it hath been always the usage of the Spaniards to put the spade in the ground where he taketh his first footing in any foreign prince's dominions; for which purpose the place where he is now supposed to be landed giveth him many commodities,

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as a country favouring the Spanish factions and a strong army of the Irish encamped near ready to countenance their landing and to carry them on to further exploits." Though they be only 1,000 they will pass for more and the number of them will spread through Ireland, encouraging the openly disloyal and shaking others who stood not fast before. These 1,000 men, with the Irish, may either distress our camp "or make such diversion as Don John may concert it to his great advantage."

This will prolong the siege "and give to the King of Spain a further stomach to furnish the war more strongly both by sea and land; for having of long time conceived in his heart a conquest of this realm and now made so deep impressions with these two armies already landed and covered in holds, it is like he will follow the matter *vis et modis* and employ some third force for gaining some other parts, as Galway or Limerick, if he strike not nearer the heart of the kingdom. For now that he has made his landing good in two places and seeth at eye the strength of his aids in this land, which before he knew but by description, he will think all difficulties are overcome in these beginnings and what remaineth more are but petty stumbling blocks which he may easily remove. And to the furthering of these ends will run with him the inclination of this country-people, grievously bewitched with change of government, and desperately tainted with Popish religion."

To what you may hear, as to resisting this attack, from the Lord Deputy, I am bound to add, as sworn to her Majesty's service, "that the more her Highness seeth a potent foreign prince to increase his means to gripe the kingdom the more is her Majesty to redouble her means to defend it. And more honour will grow to her in the age to come to preserve this kingdom than if she should set in to conquer another. And seeing the subtraction if the kingdom is not now in mystery and preparation but in open action, and a visible foundation laid by a mighty, ambitious Prince to rent down the true religion of God with the alteration of so ancient a continued government, I most humbly wish that her Majesty, who either by her power or her wisdom, or by both, have swayed the greatest affairs of Europe for many years passed, would now, in a cause of her own, use her strength to overthrow these raging designs of Spain, so dangerously disposed against her Majesty that it is not Ireland that he seeketh for the worth of Ireland, but to make Ireland a passage for him to aspire to the most precious part of her dominions."

We must have force as well by sea as by land to prevent him; and it must come soon, or Spain will gain much by our delays. A stronger fleet is necessary at sea to impeach the access of further succours from Spain; also reinforcements of soldiers, without which we shall soon be too weak to stand up against the Spaniards and the rebels. We should have several forces on foot at once; for if we have but one "in the disaster of the army resteth the desperate engaging of the whole kingdom."

And if God should send a disaster upon the army in Munster, "what a way is opened to all the corrupt and festured humours

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of the realm to break out in their several parts to the ruin of the whole body, if the arm of God do not prevent it?" As there are many walled towns in the Pale, some on the sea coast and others not, and as, so long as these are held, they are a large footing for her Highness [if the case should arise] to recover all the rest, I beg that 1,000 or 1,500 men be sent here to be put, at the discretion of the Council here resident, into those towns "which otherwise by the example of other parts of the kingdom may run the course of the rest, the rather when they shall see no bridle put over them, nor ordinary care taken to preserve them." If they come some well-experienced martial man should be sent with them to be colonel of Leinster till the Deputy returns or the issue in Munster is known.

P.S.—The Loughfoyle garrison begins to be more useful; for I hear from Sir H. Docwra that he has made great spoil of O'Cane's country and is about to march to Asherowe where he will leave 1,000 foot in list and 50 horse, besides Neale Garrogh's Irish companies; but he goeth not furnished to set upon Bellishannon unless it fall in by surprise. "But I wish he would not follow so much the drawing in of the outward lines of Ulster which are furthest off, but apply himself rather, in this vacancy of the forces out of the country, to vex the more inner parts of Tyrone and clear the way as far as Dungannon and Blackwater." Sir A. Chichester would combine with him for such an enterprise.

Sir Arthur has lately roused the Scottish Irish in the Glins and the Rowte. He has passed through the country, and is now in treaty with Sir Agnus [*sic*] MacDonnell to get Dunluce.

Pp. 2½. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *S.P.* Ireland 209, 247. *Enclosing:—*

A. Abstract of Occurrences at Camp sent by the Earl of Ormond.

Gives news of affairs at Kinsale siege from 2 December—9 December. Adds nothing to what is already calendared for those dates. Says that Captain Flower, who was wounded, behaved very well, and that the Earl of Clanrickard supported him in recovering the fort.

P. 1½. *Endd.* in Ormond's hand. *Ibid.* 247A.

21 Dec.
Clerkenwell
Close, at Lady
Scott's house.

THOMAS and EDWARD HAYES to SECRETARY CECIL.

Concerning the erection of a new standard in Ireland, with an exchange:—

It is an action generally commended by most men in England, France and elsewhere abroad. They say that the Council of England has done well to preserve treasure within this realm, to keep it from the use of rebels, to impart it in convenient manner to the subjects in Ireland, and to "profit the Queen in her Majesty's particular."

We have, however, gotten ill opinion [*i.e.* repute] of the army and state; for we are the men who have been "noted and taxed" for the movers and solicitors of the same. This is all the fortune

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we have hitherto reaped of our endeavours and services in two years. We wish that the work so well begun may still be carried [through] but while her Majesty has so great an army there on foot this cannot be done without an exchange. "For if the exchange should cease the moneys immediately (which are commixt) will fall into the account of sterling; and the new shilling will become but 3d."

"In regard whereof it had been better the new moneys had been altogether without silver, for then the same could take no value from themselves, but such as the Prince did impose. And the silver that now is drowned in the moneys would have holpen well the bank of sterling exchange; wherein 20,000*lb.* of silver would go further than the 8,200,000*lb.* of silver in the moneys. Because every person participateth of the moneys; and but few, in respect, use the exchange."

This being considered, we have been careful to consider how an exchange might be maintained for her Majesty. We think that we are in the right way in the enclosed memorandum, which we present for perusal at your leisure. If the motion pleases you we ask that we may present it to the Lord Treasurer; but if not, let it die in your hands. Touching the merchants of whom we make mention in our plot, if you think us fit instruments and commend us to them for conference, we think we can persuade them to undertake this course.

With regard to our Privy Seal; it has not been signed though her Majesty granted to sign it, and many of your honours had agreed upon it by articles indented and signed. We marvel that anyone could inform against it, the business being for the benefit of her Majesty and the realm. We stake our reputation on our doing all things undertaken by us to as great perfection "as they who, to disgrace us, have made a show of borrowed skill and do shoot but with other men's arrows; for before we had simply set forth our inventions to public view their works were concealed, as things rather not *in esse*."

We pray that we be allowed either to proceed effectually or else to leave it, and we to be considered by her Majesty some other way.

Pray signify your pleasure to Mr. Willis when he shall attend.

P. 1½. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 248.
Enclosing:—

DISCOURSE ON THE STANDARD OF IRELAND.

Reasons which induced her Majesty to reform the moneys of Ireland and to reduce the same to the ancient standard of that country.

First, because in the times of her Majesty's predecessors the standard of Ireland has been but three oz. fine.

A note in the margin here adds:

There are yet, though rarely to be seen, some coins of richer standard in Ireland which were coined in local mints, as in Limerick. These mints were maintained out of the

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treasure of Ireland which they brought in by trade with Spain and other nations. But her Majesty, finding no such benefit in Ireland, has no reason to maintain a rich coin among them out of the treasure of England.

The text continues:

This appears by sundry assays lately taken of the moneys proper for Ireland (yet extant to be seen), namely, the red harps or testars, the white groats and such like. These were the common moneys of Ireland, well reputed and accepted, and were made by sundry Princes from time to time—namely, Henry VIII, Edward VI and Philip and Mary. These were made in her Majesty's reign too; but she also ordained the white harp or Irish shilling which is 9d. in sterling value, a richer coin than was made by her predecessors.

As for the sterling moneys of England, it is only owing to necessity [of war] that the carrying over of them from England into Ireland has been permitted. It is otherwise against the laws of the realm, as it is against those of foreign nations also, to transport from hence to Ireland gold or silver in money, plate or bullion.

The breach of this prohibition has led to great disadvantages:

"The first is that it has caused the moneys proper to Ireland to fall from their true value (at which they were ordained) to the account of sterling, for the red harp which was sometimes 12d. Ir., became current but for 4d. In like manner the white groat which was 4d. Ir. became current but for 1½d." or so; for three white groats are now valued at only 4d.*

As the moneys fell in their values, the prices of commodities were raised and 12d. Irish brought but 4d. value in wares, nor was payable but for 4d. This happened to all the rest of the Irish moneys.

The second is that the use and payment of sterling in Ireland "exhausted" the treasure of England. Since these wars began, the Queen spent, up to the time of the late reformation [i.e., up to the time of the introduction of the base coinage] about 200,000l. a year in Ireland. Besides this public expenditure, large numbers of men going to Ireland took over coin with them in large quantities, specially since the army in Ireland grew so great.

Thirdly, as Ireland is now waste and yields no commodities for trade with other nations "all the trade from Ireland was chiefly maintained by the sterling money from hence, so that our moneys were continually exhausted" and imported through Ireland to Scotland, France and Spain and all other countries "which would have beggared the State of England if reformation had not been made to stop that course."

Fourthly, by this toleration of sterling in Ireland, the rebels, which have possessed more cattle, corn and means than the

* It would be more correct to say, to fall to their true value relatively to sterling.

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subjects did, have been made richer also in sterling money, "and thereby have been supplied by foreign nations of powder, arms and all sorts of munition, wines, iron [and] salt." All these they purchased for sterling money in great plenty; "so as in very truth her Majesty did arm and enable them with her own treasure and with the treasure of this land to make wars against herself. But since the reformation of this error . . . the rebels have been more weakened thereby than by the sword, as very wise and martial men themselves have well noted and confessed."

If then, to conclude, her Majesty's predecessors, who never had such charges in Ireland as her Majesty has had, thought base money, of but 3oz. fine, the most convenient for that kingdom, much greater reasons have moved her Majesty to follow the same precedents, since her sterling nourished the rebel sinews and exhausted her treasure.

"Nevertheless, for the time that both so great an army is there on foot and that the country is so waste as not able to sustain the army nor to purchase commodities from other countries by trade . . . of their own, her Highness is constrained to give the exchange of sterling here in England for their base moneys paid and current only in Ireland; by means whereof they might be supplied of commodities from hence to maintain trade for relief of the army and State there; it seeming better for the good of the common weal to send forth commodities rather than treasure."

A consideration touching the exchange between England and Ireland.

The exchange is now supported out of her Majesty's coffers with the sterling moneys of England, and is a great burden to her Highness, i.e., in respect of the great want of merchandize and commodities to be returned out of that realm which is extremely wasted so that there is no means to maintain traffic but by exchange of Irish moneys for our sterling. Moreover many people seek to make a profit out of the exchange, and divers "covelous and covenous" merchants "buying up of old debts and getting in of Irish moneys into their hands do make it their chief trade to send over the same into England by way of exchange." Some steps must be taken to relieve England of this burden; and this project is suggested for that purpose:

1. That her Majesty establish a standard of 3oz. fine and 9oz. of alloy for the coining of groats, threepences and twopences only. They should have the same print, compass and weight as the groats, twopences and threepences of the standard of 11oz. 2dwt. [fine] and 18dwt. alloy have. They should correspond to the now standard of Ireland as to fineness of silver and alloy in the lb., and differ therefrom only in print, form and fashion. These groats, threepences and twopences of 3oz. fine to 9oz. alloy to be current only in Ireland.

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2. *These coins should be made only in sufficient quantities to furnish the banks of exchange in England and should be issued to them only and to none other out of the mint, and they in turn should issue them only to such persons as bring bills of exchange to them out of Ireland. Those who receive them must be bound by words in the Proclamation to keep books showing the payments of such coin made [to them and by them]. This should be gently pressed on the recipients on the ground that if they keep such books it will be easier to detect malefactors and coiners. This will probably stop counterfeiters.*
3. *It is not intended, by the issue of this coin to impeach the uttering of corresponding standard coins, which must pass and be payable as they now are. The coinage of such standard coins should, however, be reduced till those coins "wear and vanish away as much as may be; yea that all provident and discreet ways might be covertly used to procure and buy up to her Majesty's use all the said sterling groats, threepences and twopences . . . now current" so as to leave only the base coin in circulation. For if the good and the base coins are in circulation together it is likely that the subject, so long as he may have plenty of the base coin will "never utter the sterling but hoard it up without use thereof." The sterling groats will thus be useless and merely impeach the circulation of the baser.*
4. *The issue of the base coin will only be for the purpose of relieving the burden of the exchange as it stands at present. Whenever her Highness may hereafter wish to put down the exchange, she may decry and call in the said new coins, and pay for them at their true value. This has been done within living memory in the case of the moneys issued by King Henry VIII when he went to Boulogne. Those coins were afterwards "called down" by King Edward VI and her present Majesty. The shilling was called down successively to 9d., 6d., 4½d., 3½d., and, in the case of the worst sort, to nothing. In the end all these base moneys were called in to the mint and paid for only according to their true value.*
5. *"It is thought fit to apply this new standard to the coining of groats, threepences and twopences only, rather than to the coining of any other sorts of money, for that 5s. pieces, 2s. 6d. pieces, shillings and sixpences may be counted coins of the higher value, and groats, threepences and twopences of the lower value, and pence, halfpence and farthings of the lowest value. And then it seemeth most expedient that coins of the lower value be destined to this use than either the higher or the lowest coins; being [seeing that if] the chief and principal coins of our standard were once branded with the mark of this embasement, it might perhaps impress a disestimation of the whole moneys and coin of this realm, which were inconvenient." "The lowest coins are no ways fit for so great payments as this exchange will enforce [?]" so that the debasement should be in the lower coins alone.*

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6. *Public knowledge of the purpose to embase these coins should be, "as much as possible, secreted and suppressed, until the very day of the proclamation thereof, lest otherwise a brute of apprehension do fall into the mouths of the multitude that all moneys should be embased."* This would be inconvenient. After the proclamation 8,000*l.* in groats, 1,500*l.* in 3*ds.* and 500*l.* in 2*ds.* should be at once coined, and sent to the banks of exchange in manner as is before set down. Further consignments should be sent to these banks according to the amount of bills of exchange received and not otherwise.

OBJECTIONS TO THE SCHEME AND ANSWERS TO THEM.

First objection :—*To embase any part of the standard of England, now reduced to so fine a sterling, will open a gap to the embasing of the whole, which will be every man's fear.*

Answer :—*This embasing is only temporary and applies only to a portion of the current coins. Everyone can see, or be taught by the proclamation, that the intended debasement is only resorted to for the purpose of helping the Crown in the matter of the exchange and not to enrich the Crown; "and yet the subject hereby no whit prejudiced but rather benefited, inasmuch as it is very probable that these base moneys, being but of the lower coins, will be more frankly and freely vented and issued by the rich among the poor," and not hoarded. It is well known that the embasing of the whole coinage can never be good for the King or commonwealth. For if it were available* both the Queen might do it as well for the whole as for a part.*

A note in the margin adds :—*It would be absurd in any man to think that the Queen will coin any more of this coin than is necessary to keep up the Irish exchange; since it would be a great disadvantage to her Majesty if her Majesty's revenue (which God forbid) should be paid in such moneys.*

Second objection :—*If some of the coin is debased and some not, prices must differ according to the coin in which they are reckoned, and this will surely cause confusion in buying and selling.*

Answer :—*"Common reason, policy and experience shew the weakness of this objection. For by the rule of reason all men do buy and sell either for necessity, superfluity or gain; and if for necessity, then either for necessity of both sides or but of one side.*

Now if it be for necessity of both sides, then the buyer hath as much advantage, in respect of the seller's necessity, to keep down the price as the seller hath advantage, in respect of the buyer's necessity, to raise up the price, and so among this sort of men, which is far the greater number and therefore do always make the price of the market, there is no such doubt

* Note this word used in its proper sense, i.e., meaning "profitable" or "advantageous."

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of difference of prices to arise. And if the seller who seeks to sell for gain only and hath no necessity to buy of any other (of which sort, in respect [i.e., in proportion], the number is very small) and will seek to make a price at his own pleasure to one that hath need to buy (as many times such covetous sellers have done and will do, yea, though the whole money were sterling and no base coin at all) then is it an easy matter for such a buyer to leave such a seller and seek his market at the hands of another that hath as much necessity to buy somewhat else of some other as he hath to buy that of him. And if the buying or selling be done upon superfluity the reason and the remedy is alike with the former.”

Secondly, as a matter of policy it may be said that such a difference of prices could not possibly come to pass in a well-ordered commonwealth, for every such contract is merely (i.e., entirely) against the law and justly deserves severe punishment. All debts, rents, fees and pensions are payable in any coin which is current whether the recipient likes it or not. Lastly, all other kingdoms save our own “have and rejoice” the use of both sterling, base and copper moneys; yet no such inconveniences as are suggested arise there.

Third objection:—The embasing of the coin will increase prices.

Answer:—This might be so if the volume of the debased coinage were so great as to enable most part of men with competent store thereof to contract, barter or buy for their necessities or bargains. But the amount coined will not be more than 100,000*l.* a year, which is not enough to affect prices. The strain of the present war will, it is hoped, soon end and a return to the status quo prius will be possible. But even if prices do rise, after a time, yet can no inconvenience in that respect be imputed to the matter of base moneys but rather good to the commonwealth thereby, since plenty is the treasure and riches of every kingdom; and base moneys of 3*oz.* fine in abundance may exceed the riches of sterling moneys of 11*oz.* fine, being proportionably in lesser quantities. “And if increases of prices do grow by dearth and scarcity surely that inconvenience doth raise the price as well upon sterling as upon the base moneys, and therefore in that respect equal unto both; so as increase of prices seemeth an objection without ground.”

Fourth objection:—The merchants who trade to Ireland have formerly received sterling moneys for their exchange. If they are now to receive base moneys they will, it is feared, be utterly discouraged from trade, Ireland utterly deprived of all relief, and the army there in danger of ruin.

Answer:—All merchants trade for gain. If therefore that end, in spite of the new coinage, remains safe and secure to him as it was before, this objection is gone. Whenever the base money is introduced by proclamation it must and shall pass as lawful money for all purposes. “And what effect can 1,000*l.* of sterling money work or bring to pass

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*within this realm but that 1,000*l.* in base moneys shall likewise accomplish and perform the same? And, if so, what let or hindrance can it be or bring to impair or lessen the gain of any merchant trading into Ireland since in all respects (save for hoarding up only) the base money do serve the turn as far forth as the sterling. Then consequently if the merchant that tradeth for Ireland shall buy for base money every commodity in England (than the which sterling can do no more) the realm of Ireland and the army there shall still be supplied with commodities from hence" in the same way as now.*

Fifth objection :—*If these base moneys shall be either counterfeited or coined by counterfeiters according to the true standard of 3oz. fine and 9oz. of alloy (by which they shall gain near 3 parts in 4) this will bring great prejudice to the State, not only for filling the realm with false moneys, but it will also bring into existence such an amount of base money as, when decried, shall be a heavy burden upon her Majesty.*

Answer :—*Counterfeiting of coin has always taken place ; but it is treason and not many people dare take the risk of the penalty. But if he does he will be more likely to coin the higher. It is likely that a few of the base coins will be counterfeited, and that detection will be difficult unless the counterfeiters are caught in the very act of making, since the false base coin will be of as good value as the true base coins. On the other hand, unless such counterfeiting takes place to a great extent it cannot injure the commonwealth. If it is done on a very large scale, it is unlikely to remain long undetected owing to the number of persons and actions necessary for coining and passing.*

*No doubt base coins may be coined and sent to England in large quantities, but the same cannot be done in Ireland without detection, since such coins can only be issued by the banks of exchange, and those who take it to the amount of above 5*l.* are obliged to keep books of receipts and payments in respect of it.*

A note in the margin adds here :—*The office and authority to search for counterfeit coins should be laid on the Master of Exchange who is to give sterling for base, for no bribe can countervail the loss which he shall sustain by the introduction of counterfeit coins.*

Only the bankers and honest and trustworthy men will be really able to issue the base coins in large numbers.

A note adds here :—*Whilst her Majesty answers one species by another of the same sort she prevents the coiners from making a profit which they would make if the same should be answered in sterling.**

As for the loss which it is said her Majesty will have to bear when the base coin is called in and decried, it must be remembered that this burden has been already laid on the subjects,

* i.e., if the exchange took base coins and gave good coins of the same face value.

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and not on the Prince, both at the end of Edward VI's reign and at the beginning of her Majesty's reign. The coins were taken in at their true value in silver and not above. This course caused no inconvenience but was soon "digested" and passed off, according to the old saying that many shoulders bear a burden easily, &c.

Certain other objections were made by those appointed by her Majesty to consider the matter. So far as we remember, they were as follows :—

1. That it would be dishonourable and contrary to the Queen's proclamation, and discontentful to the army and state in Ireland, to pay the army here in base moneys no better in substance than they receive in Ireland.
2. That the introduction of base coin into England would be dangerous and offensive.
3. That her Majesty's receipts and landlord's revenues, debts and payments will be paid in base money.
4. That the realm will be filled with counterfeit moneys.
5. That the loss would be heavy to the Queen or her subjects when those moneys are again decried and called in.

Our answers to these objections are as follows :—

1. "Her Majesty's proclamation in Ireland does not tie her Majesty to answer the Irish Exchange in other than the current moneys of England, as by the said proclamation doth appear : and because the moneys allowed current in England shall serve to buy and commerce for all sorts of commodities here, the true intent both of the proclamation in Ireland and of erecting an exchange here in England is fully accomplished ; seeing it was not intended that any man should carry English moneys out of England into Ireland, but commodities only, which could not be bought here but with the current moneys of England ; and therefore was the exchange erected to furnish her Majesty's subjects of Ireland for their Irish moneys with the current moneys of this realm, which no man here may lawfully refuse."

We offer, nevertheless, to give such content to all that shall receive their exchange here in England, that they shall set down in writing under their hands to be kept in record in manner following :

"I, X, of Ireland, acknowledge myself to be thoroughly satisfied and paid my bills of exchange (amounting to £x.) on sight without delay in London, Bristol or Chester. In witness whereof, &c.

Signature."

If any complaint is made to your honours about the exchange, let us bear the blame, having such an office settled in us, or those whom we require to answer bills of exchange.

2. In times past the commons of England have "frequently been stirred to commotion upon taxes, subsidies and impositions but never for altering moneys, because the same be mysteries of State and chargeable at all times to the good of commonwealths." To change and dispose of money

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according to their wisdoms and policy is "left to the liberty and pleasure of Princes as a prerogative due to them." As therefore the Queen's subjects have dutifully condescended to all subsidies, contributions and privy seals which have been in their power to be granted or denied, much less will they interfere in a matter which does not concern them, but is a matter of her Majesty's prerogative only. It is only intended to embase some of the smaller moneys of which the common people stand in great need "insomuch that for want of small moneys they are constrained to stamp tokens of lead and to buy Scottish copper moneys upon the Borders," wanting the plenty of small moneys in which all other nations save England rejoice.

"And even in Spain, the storehouse of gold and silver, are plenty of copper moneys, serving very conveniently to all needful uses and for buying of the least portions of wares amongst the common people," for which object coins were first ordained, "and commonly no pieces of silver to be seen under their half ryall, which is our threepence." And in England "it is thought too much singularity and preciseness to make small moneys of fine silver," which are chargeable and troublesome to the moneyers, and consume silver, and are "neither manuable [manageable?] nor serviceable for the handling of a gross people who generally complain thereof and hold it an error needful to be reformed."

Moreover, the new groats, 3ds. and 2ds. will be of silver, though mixed with more alloy than the old, but will be little worse than most part of the old groats, which are worn light, broken and defaced. Taking into account all these circumstances and the need of maintaining payments in Ireland it is unlikely that this project will give offence, "but of great applause rather of the poor commoners and greater multitude."

3. Great sums, such as those which are contemplated in this objection, have never been paid in these small coins.

A note in margin adds here: There is no need to fear that Her Majesty will coin any more of these base coins than will suffice the Irish exchange; for the Queen's loss will be a thousandfold greater than any private man's if the revenue should be paid in in this coin.

Text proceeds:—They never will be so, as only sufficient base coins will be coined to supply the exchange of Ireland and serve the place of the ordinary small moneys which shall be withdrawn by degrees, so that soon no other moneys will be left in England from the groat downward, save only the new. If 100,000l. or 200,000l. worth of these new coins are dispersed "this so populous kingdom shall drink them up or a far greater sum" yet cause but little burden to any man. In Spain there are many copper coins, but we have never heard of the King's receipts or lords' revenues being paid in them.

If her Majesty's receipts are overcharged with moneys which cannot be conveniently issued again in her disbursements,

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let the overplus be delivered over into the exchange bank here for Ireland. There it will be issued "by our endeavours to her Majesty's great profit" without any allowance for the same. Also if any landlord or any subject else shall bring into our office of exchange any sum of their new moneys (not less than 5l.) he shall receive sterling money with the loss only of 2s. in the 1l.—provided that whenever we certify that the bank for Irish exchange is overcharged, coinage of the new coins shall be suspended and no more coined till the bank itself be cleared and discharged.

4. *As regards counterfeiting—we may mention that although copper coins are common in Spain yet the State is not hurt by counterfeits. Besides the danger will be ours and nobody else's, as we undertake the exchange. As the penalties for counterfeiting are those of treason no man will risk them for a small profit, but, if he decides to risk them, will counterfeit the more valuable coins. [A note in margin here is the same as the note to objection 5 above: "The office and authority," &c.]*
5. *There may be a burden on the people when these coins are decried and called in, since their uses are so necessary to the multitude; but the burden, if any, will not be nearly so great as it was in King Henry VIIIth's time when the whole, from the shilling downwards, was altered and afterwards called in by King Edward VI, the shillings being bought in at 9d. or 6d. In the second year of the Queen they were bought in at 4½d., 2½d., or declared to be of no value at all. The subjects bore, and overcame, this loss.*

Pp. 14½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 248A.*

24 Dec.
Camp before
Kinsale.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

We cannot progress much for want of the men needed to ply our works and to form guards on our approaches. The Irish enemy are now within two miles of us and have cut us off from Cork, keeping us from our victuals and the "vivandiers"* that followed the army. Our provisions have to come by sea, but northerly and easterly winds are rare here at this time of the year. We have to keep a constant look out at night for we hear by intelligence that they mean to force our camp, the Spaniards taking us in front and the Irish in the rear "which if they dare to perform it must be presently, for there is no possibility for the Irish to lodge many days by us."

The state of our army is exceedingly weak. "The last 6,000 out of England are consumed. Ten or twelve able men in a company is the ordinary proportion, and 30 or 40 sick, unable to do any duty, is seen in every company; and of these few recover. I assure your honour I do think that a more miserable siege hath not been seen, or so great a mortality without a plague. The

* So this phrase is in English since 1601.

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Spaniards on their parts endure infinite miseries, grown weak and faint with their spare diet, being no other than water and rusk. Dogs, cats and garrons is a feast when they can get it." Two hundred of the Spaniards who came to Castlehaven with Suriago are in Tyrone's camp under five colours; and 100 men have been left to guard the munition, treasure and victuals at Castlehaven. The place is guarded with eight pieces of artillery, mounted to command the haven. At Baltimore [?], they have left 100 soldiers to defend the castle and two pieces of ordnance to forbid any shipping to anchor there in safety. Bearehaven they likewise possess and in the castle of Dunboy, O'Sulevan Beare's house, who is in the King's pay, they have placed 100 soldiers. All Carbery but McCarty Reoghe (who lives in his castle to give aim [?]) are in rebellion, and, among others, Sir Fynin O'Driscoll, "an ancient civil gentleman that until this hour hath evermore held firm to the State, is now grown wild." They have all pay from the King and sell their commodities at exceeding high rates to the Spaniards.

"Of the English race as yet in Munster no man of quality is in rebellion, but how Spanish ryalls of plate may corrupt them I leave doubtful."

I do not know how the war can end till the Irish army is either defeated or broken up for want of relief. The war is now begun, and if it be not stopped before the Spanish supplies arrive (and they can be easily landed as the Spaniards have control of so many good ports) I think it may be drawn out to a great length, and cost England more than she can bear. Scots should certainly be entertained to divert the Ulster forces which are here for O'Donnell and Tyrone cannot remain long in Munster, as the country cannot support them. It is necessary also to ruin Ulster in order to make them unable to maintain a war. I thought, and still think, that, for the speedy taking of Kinsale it would have been politic to have drawn hither all the forces from the north and Leinster, necessary wards alone excepted. If we had lost territory in consequence of such a withdrawal it would have been territory which we should easily have recovered as soon as we had conquered the Spaniards, "and now we see that the vulgar opinion is deceived in thinking that the garrisons now left in Ulster would have made a diversion and kept Tyrone at home for the safety of his cows." I always thought they would come to the Spaniards and now see, in letters of theirs that have come to my hands, that they "have set up their fortunes in this action and protest to win the horse or lose the saddle."

I told you that Don Dermutio Carty has been executed. I have lately heard that Don Carlos Cartie, another follower of Florence's, has died of wounds received in the sally on our artillery on December 2. Captain Roger Hervey commanded at the point attacked by the enemy and behaved very well. Don Juan de Aquila has been slightly wounded in the face by the splinter of a stone broken by a great shot. The Spaniards discipline the Carbery rebels after their fashion and arm them

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with corsletts and taces* down to the knee and have distributed great quantities of arms amongst them.

The Carties are the only Munster sept which has gone into rebellion. Their chiefs are Florence's brother and cousin german. Had he been at liberty now he would have had 3,000 men to follow him, whereas all that have joined with Tyrone are not above 300 at the uttermost. Pray send us supplies as asked for in Sir Oliver St. John's despatch.

P.S.—Did you get my cypher letter enclosed in one to my Uncle Harvey?

Our horses and the new men fall sick and perish rapidly. A Spaniard who has just been brought in reports Don John's miseries as incredible. He deserted for want of food. He says that Don Matteo Ruiz, sergeant-major and next commander to Don Juan, has died of a wound received at the attack on the gun. From Cork I hear that nine Spaniards have come in from Tyrone being unable "to endure the field," and say that the rest are sure to do the same.

Pp. 4. (Hol.) Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 249.

24 Dec. ABSTRACT of the FORCE at LOUGHFOYLE as mustered
24 Dec., 1601.

Foot :—

Present :

Captains and officers	..	..	..	..	169
Soldiers able to journey	..	..	..	..	1,362
„ unable „	..	..	..	..	197

Absent :

Sick soldiers	..	..	..	..	394
5 captains and 11 soldiers on passes	..	..	..	..	16
1 captain, 1 lieutenant and 1 soldier, prisoners with the enemy	..	..	..	..	3
Allowed by the Lord Deputy	..	..	..	..	10
Preachers and canoniers	60
Dead-pays	180

Horse :—

Present :

4 officers and 126 men and horses	130
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Absent :

1 captain, 3 scoutmasters, 9 dead-pays	13
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P. 1. Signed : R. Marsden. Endd. Ibid, 250.

24 Dec. LIST of the SPANISH COMMANDERS in KINSALE.†

Don Juan de Aguela, general, master of the camp.

Centeno, Knight of St. John, first master of the camp.

Don Francisco de Padillio, second master of the camp.

* Bands of steel surrounding the hips; see Fairholt's *Costume in England* (1896), Vol. II, Glossary.

† This list differs materially from that given by Ware in *Hibernia Pacata* (ed. 1810, Vol. II, p. 339), and is therefore given here.

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Matteo Ruiz, sergeant-major to Centino [Centeno].

Diego de Aguela, sergeant-major to Padillio.

Miguel de Briena, quarter-master.

Ruiz, paymaster.

Ferdinando de Sotto, Don Piedro Morizon, Don Luiz de Vela, Don Sanchio de Biedino, Don Christofero de Ayla, Don Francisco de Pynoio, Don Gomes de Vergos.

Captains : Malderano, St. Vincente, Orlando Furioso, Swazo, Escovar, Paras, Pec, Henricus, Juan Ortes de Coutrerres, Sarramilles, Heredia, Luis Dias de Navarr, Segular, Taviler, Chavis, Cardinioso, Miguel Cassua de Quellar.

Captains Pedro de Castillo and Ruaz [*sic*] Dias were in the attack on the gun [on December 2] but escaped unhurt. The sergeant-major himself was dangerously hurt and not likely to escape.

P. 1. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 251.

Latest date, JOURNAL of such SERVICES as were done since the 13th of
24 Dec. December when SIR OLIVER ST. JOHN left the Camp.

[A copy of this document is calendared in *Cal of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3, pp. 190-194. The words "President and the" in the Carew copy (*Ib.*, p. 192 and *n*) are not in this journal.]

Pp. 16½. *Signed* by Lord Mountjoy. *Endd. Ibid.*, 252.

24 or 25 Dec. The Relation of DON ALONZO DEL CAMPO, Alferez (ensign) to CAPTAIN BARAGONE, part delivered on 24 December, the day of his taking, and part on 25 December.

He says that :—

There were with Tyrone six ensigns of the Spaniards and with them five captains of foot, of which O'Campo was chief. There were with him 180 Spaniards. Their food was only beef without bread.

They brought with them sixteen barrels of powder, eight barrels of bullets, and two quintadels of match.

Eight captains came with them out of Spain one of whom, O'Campo, was taken in this day's service. The others were Francisco Ruiz de Valesto, Juan Baptista Castellana, Sebastian Granera and Captain Peryda.

In Castlehaven there are 200 Spaniards with one ensign. Their captain is Captain Baragan. They have eight very good brass pieces and two demi-cannon there, great store of biscuit, 400 pipes of wheat, with powder, &c.

Nine ships (of which he thinks that three are lost) came from the Groign (Coruna) with much munition and "habillements of war" in them, such as horse-nails, horse-shoes, saddles, lances, &c. Much of these are at Castlehaven, some of each being laid aboard each ship.

One thousand foot had been embarked on these nine ships ; but owing to the loss of three ships only 750 men were landed.

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They were distributed as follows :—To Tyrone 180 ; to Castlehaven 200, each with one captain. In Baltimore [there were] 11 pieces of artillery and victuals ; in the other Captain Sanedrae with the rest and with eight pieces of artillery.

Six ships which should have come to Kinsale were driven into Castlehaven. One of these laden with biscuit and wheat was sunk there by the Queen's ship, another was sent back to Spain and four (including two merchantmen) remain at Castlehaven.

Don Antonio de Sonigae, Maestro del Campo, general of the kingdom of Portugal, was to have been sent here, but refused it unless he might have 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse, whereupon Don Juan de Aguila being in prison and to answer some actions of his in Brittany, was sent along and undertook the service with 4,000 foot.

Tyrone and O'Donnell, whom they call *Los Condes*, agreed with Don John to set upon our forces in all parts. By the messenger from him they had word that if they would not do it he would make his own composition and return home.

Don John brought with him 200,000 ducats. There were 40 ships ready with a new second. There were not in Tyrone's camp 4,000 fighting men and 500 horse.

Don Diego de Brocheroe, general admiral of the King's fleet, came hither with Don Juan de Aguila. Pedro de Subiare, general of a squadron, came in the fleet also and put back to Spain. He is now at Castlehaven.

Forty galleons may come. Thirty-six were built in Biscay this year, and the men were ready to embark. There wanted only provision which, it was expected, would be ready in six weeks.

P. 1½. *Endd.* : "An abstract of Spanish letters." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 253.

25 Dec. SIR RICHARD LEVESON to SECRETARY CECIL.
Kinsale Road.

I leave it to the Lord Deputy and Lord President to describe our great victory, as I am ordered by the Lord Deputy to remain here for the continuance of the service (though my victuals are getting near an end). I have sent home the *Defiance* and the *Crane* and three merchant ships, to ease the merchants' charge and to enable me to take some supplies from the ships sent home. Victuals from England may be long in coming to me here ; and if Spanish supports arrive (as is generally expected) I should like to be stronger than I am ; so pray send ships as well as supplies. Captain May, the bearer, has behaved very gallantly.

P.S.—I would have sent over the other merchant ships but that we have to keep the land munitions in them for want of store-room ashore.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 254.

25 Dec. SIR EDWARD WYNFIELD or WINGFIELD to SAME.

Camp before
Kinsale.

. . . It is my duty to send you all particulars. Since 7 November, when I wrote last, we have made many works of

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approach. We have had divers skirmishes. We have not yet planted our artillery where the Lord Deputy proposes to make a breach. We played on the Abbey till we beat it down, for it commanded the point decided on for the breach and flanked all the western part of the curtain. Our real reason for not battering in the breach is, however, the closeness of Tyrone's force at our backs, and the division of our camp and the multitude of our forts and great works. "But thanks be to God, the 24th day of December Tyrone, advancing himself with all his forces towards Kinsale, lost his way and was discovered by our scouts. Our camps were both in arms [and] my Lord Deputy and Lord President drew forth with three regiments of foot and all our horse saving two companies. When these two lords had taken notice both of the enemy before them that they were to resist and [had] considered of the Spanish forces that lay in the face of the camp, the Lord Deputy commanded the Lord President to return to the camp upon the north part of the town and there to remain for the defence thereof. The camp is large and was ill-manned in respect of the danger of two enemies, the Spaniards before us and the rebels behind. But fears possessing Tyrone, viewing of our forces and seeing himself both out of his way and cowssant [cozened?] of times by can [began?] to make his retreat; which being observed by the Lord Deputy [he] commanded both horse and foot to follow and to charge. There was a slight skyrmydge for so great a slaughter and a happy victory unlooked for. The rebels ran; our horse did follow the execution almost two miles, killed 1,000 in the place, hurt 800 and took 2,000 arms. This is credibly reported to be true."

At my Lord Deputy's return he came by the camp which my Lord of Toumond commands and acquainted him with his happy success, whereupon for joy of victory many "vowllies" of shot were given.

"My Lord President, not knowing but that the Spaniards had sallied, drew forth with a regiment from the camp he did command, and advancing towards the town he met with the Lord Deputy," who told him of his success. "But our soldiards perceiving that the shouting was in the other camp for joy, spared no powder but did make their pieces pronounce their joy." The Spaniards hearing of this terrible noise and whot [hot] skyrmidge, to their thinking, did assure themselves that Tyrone and our forces were in fight, whereupon the Spaniards sallied but were quickly beaten back, and to their great grief did behold seven of their colours displayed by our horse close by their walls.

Upon the 25th my Lord President dined with my Lord of Thomond. Presently after dark the Spaniards sallied upon the camp; but, after a good smart "skyrmidge," they retired. The same night after supper he [the Lord Deputy], being in his own quarter, the Spaniards sallied very valiantly upon a trench that we were about to make. The Lord President, hearing the skyrmidge to increase, took his horse and rid thither; but this skyrmidge lasted an hour after his coming. He beat back the Spaniards

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and proceeded with his works. We lost four killed and six hurt. The day before we lost but one man—a cornet to Sir Richard Greame.

Pp. 2. (*Badly spelt, and apparently written by an uneducated person. Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 255.

26 Dec.
Camp [before
Kinsale].

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

On the 24th the Irish enemy drew out of his camp with purpose before day to have put men into Kinsale, and by the aid of the Spaniards, who should have sallied, to force our quarters. They expected to have put us to the sword, "but, as it pleased God, at the fall of the night before their coming I had intelligence by some of my espialls out of their camp of their intentions, wherewith I acquainted the Lord Deputy, sending Captain Taaffe unto him, by whose means I procured the intelligence. Whereupon good guards were kept, but Tyrone, by the darkness of the night and ignorance of his guides, having but two miles to march at the most, missing his way came not near unto our camp until it was day breaking, and then finding a regiment led by Sir Henry Poore, which he discovered by the matches to be drawn out of the camp, whereby he was assured that we were all in arms, made halt, and likewise our scout[s] discovered them. The alarm being given, the Lord Deputy with 1,000 foot and 300 horse advanced towards them and by that time it was perfect daylight." He left "in his camp the greater part of his army fearing that the enemy had but with a part of his forces made countenance in the place where he was to draw him further, while in the meantime with his gross he might have forced the quarter.

"The enemy, perceiving his purpose frustrated, as well in coming too late as in finding us ready to confront him, distracted in his counsels began to retreat, which being perceived the advantage was taken, and in an instant after a few volleys of small shot and our horse charging home, their horse fled and their foot, which marched in three battalions, brake. On our side but one man was slain, and of them 1,000 killed, 700 or 800 hurt and near 2,000 arms lost. This miraculous victory, for so I may well term it, no man can yield reasons for. God only did give it us, casting into their hearts a needless fear, having six hands for one to fight against us."

Tyrone had with him 200 Spaniards from Castlehaven. Many of them were killed and some are prisoners. They rail much against Tyrone, and those that are with him "do not stick to his face to task him with cowardize." Alonzo di Campo, the chief commander of those who landed at Castlehaven, is a prisoner, and many others of good quality. Seven of their colours were brought to my Lord Deputy and the soldiers had good spoil.

Tyrone at first resolved to retire from Munster but I hear he has abandoned that course, owing to the importunity of the Spaniards; so I do not know what he will do next. I do not think he will remain long in Munster; for his reputation is lost with the people of this province.

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Don Juan seems to make little of this defeat, and, to mark it, has made petty sallies during the last two days with more than usual spirit. He says he is 3,000 strong and will hold the town till he is supplied out of Spain.

Now that Tyrone has received this blow we will be better able to go forward with our great task than heretofore. The burden on our shoulders is eased, and Tyrone, though he will be a bad neighbour to us, will not try to force us, having a hard task to bring beaten men into the field soon after a defeat "and especially this nation to force trenches or fight upon hard ground, which they must do if they give upon us." Kinsale will not yet be taken without great loss of life, for Don Juan is an advised captain and will sell his life at a dear rate. Before we take that town and the other places occupied by the Spaniards, seconds may arrive from Spain.

Pp. 2½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland*, 209, 256.

27 Dec.
Camp before
Kinsale.

THE LORD DEPUTY and COUNCILLORS in Camp to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

[For this see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), Vol. III, pp. 83-86.]

Pp. 3½. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy and Carew, Wingfield, Gardener and Bouchier. *Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 257.

Same.

THE LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

[For this see *Ibid.*, p. 86-7.]

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 258.

Same.

SAME to SAME.

"Sir,

"I beseech you, Sir, to believe that I do hold no comfort of my life more dear than the noble love it hath pleased you to profess and to prove so well unto me; and believe me again I desire you that I will endeavour nothing more than to deserve it; and so, Sir, I beseech God to send me the happiness to see you shortly, and to thank you for all your favours."

P. ¼. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 259.

27 Dec.
Camp.

SIR HENRY POWER to SAME.

When the rebels approached the Lord Deputy assigned me a regiment of eight old companies who were appointed to attend the service wheresoever it should fall out. Tyrone approached on the 21st and was within a mile and a half of our trenches. Espials passed continually between Don Juan and Tyrone and they fixed a day to attack our camp. Their purpose was to put Terrell and 1,000 men into Kinsale and also such of the Spaniards as could be spared from the other places which they had occupied. They were then to attack our camp and made no doubt but that they would carry it.

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The concerted attack was arranged, and a signal given at 11 p.m. that Tyrone would attack at dawn. We took the warning and I drew out with my regiment and lodged where they must come. "The day beginning to shew, I found Tyrone very nigh the place where I was, beginning to light their matches." I acquainted the Lord Deputy who at once "drew out all our horse. Tyrone, finding my Lord in that readiness, durst not attempt. The forces fronting one another, my Lord Deputy commanded me to draw towards them with my regiment. My second was Sir Henry Folliott with his regiment. The rebels, finding my Lord preparing to fight, drew back both horse and foot; notwithstanding, we went on, and upon a ford they made a stand and skyrmidged with us, from whence they were beaten back to another ford not far distant from it. We forced them from that likewise. Then of necessity they must [*i.e.* had to] take the plains." Being in the field they were by the Spaniards put in fashion to fight. My companies being in fight the horse gave a proffer to charge, but that was not performed, which caused the rebels to give a great shout; so that I came up with the remainder of my regiment and then the horse and foot together charged through them, [and] brake that gross, which consisted of 1,500 men. They were all of the country of Tyrone. This being [was] such a fearful thing to the rest that they all brake and shifted for themselves, so that if our horses could have held out I think very few had escaped. Their horse were the first that brake. In horse they were between 3 and 400 and so were we. In foot they were 8,000* we were but 1,000, for my regiment was . . . 500, Sir H. Folliott's 300 and part of Sir Oliver St. John's 200. These were all the forces we had to fight with them."

Corroborates foregoing statements as to Irish killed (800 found dead on field). *Proceeds* :—Thirty-seven Spaniards were taken, including Alonzo O'Campo, four alferez and one other captain. Two Spanish and six Irish ensigns were taken. "This we must attribute all to God. The adventure was great of my Lord Deputy with so few men, yet was the best blow was given since these wars; and so much the better for that the Spaniards were eye-witnesses to it, who now rails upon them and say they saw no cause they should run away we being but an handful of men."

I think Tyrone will go north again. He would have done so before had not Terrell persuaded him to stay here. Don Juan, I am convinced, is out of hope to be relieved by Tyrone; and now the Lord Deputy will go roundly to work on the town.

Professions of duty.

Pp. 3. *Signed.* Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 209, 260.

28 Dec.
Camp before
Kinsale.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Repeats the information as to the victory over the Irish given in his, and other, preceding letters. *Proceeds* :—"Never any general in this kingdom had a more fortunate day or in his own

* The MS. looks like 8,000, but may be 5,000.

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person and direction has better deserved, for the dice were cast, the kingdom being ready to sway on that side that proved victorious." It is thought that Tyrone and O'Donnell will now go to their own countries; but we are not certain of this, and must therefore continue to hold the grounds we did. "But admit they be gone and Kinsale taken, which ere it be many days I hope will be effected, yet a cloud of mischief out of Spain threatens a long war," as may appear by the Spanish letters which have come to my hands* and which I now send to you, and which show that seconds out of Spain are at hand. If these come before the Spaniards are rooted out of Baltimore, Berehaven and Castlehaven, Ireland will be in a more dangerous state than ever heretofore and the Irish will be encouraged by such substantial assistance. I write this to warn you that if Kinsale be won the work will not thereby be finished. Those who say that it will be so say that "when in Spain Don Juan's displanting in Kinsale shall be bruted no seconds will be afterwards adventured," but if your honour looks at the dates you will see that, even if Kinsale were instantly taken it is scarcely possible that news of its fall could come to Spain at this time of the year when northerly winds are rare before the ships were gone to sea. And even supposing Don Juan were ruined yet the other three havens being theirs why should any man suppose that they will give over the enterprise? "Some will allege because in none of them there is a good town, the best being but an Irish village. To answer that poor objection, let Don Juan's own actions suffice, who in Bretagne at Blavet and Brest chose his seats, respecting commodity more than his ease; and, Sir, believe me it will be a harder task to displant the Spaniards in any of the havens abovementioned, where they build their own forts in places of advantage in a regular form and where they shall have all the country to friend, than to force them in any old town compassed with unregular walls subject to grounds adjoining, as all the towns in Ireland are; and further, in those remote places, her Majesty's army shall undergo many miseries (which now we feel not), when we can expect no relief but from Cork by sea (which is very uncertain); whereof we now have lively experience being neighbours unto it.

"The west of Munster, where these havens are seated, is a mountainous, barren country, wherein no horse can serve or carriage pass. No relief can come unto us but by sea; and I beseech you to believe my judgment that my Lord Deputy will find it to be a task of as much difficulty to remove these small garrisons if they list to defend the places they have than [*sic*] he hath had of these greater forces in Kinsale." It will be hard to remove them if their supplies from Spain reach them. I know this discourse will be "unpleasing to other ears" and therefore pray you to keep it to yourself "but by the living God I protest I deliver the truth of my heart unto you as if I should speak before God and his angels." The only way to stop the war is to send

* See the enclosure in the Lord Deputy and Council's letters of 15 Feb., 1602 *post*.

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ample supplies of all things. We have had good supplies already, but her Majesty and the Lords must persevere and send more.

"I thank God James McThomas and Florence are in England. They were the head of the English and Irish in Munster and upon them two the whole province would have relied." Their presence would have led to a general defection and to infectious risings in the other provinces, for the number of really loyal men in Ireland is very small. I have at Cork letters from Tyrone and others to Florence which will confirm his former treasons; and will send you these when I have time.

Florence's kinsmen and followers are the only ones who, as yet, have joined Tyrone. Amongst those who formerly ran his fortune and are now in the King's pay are O'Sulevan Beare, who has 200 foot, Donagh McCartie with 100, his brother Florence with 120, O'Donevan with 100, and Felim McCartie with 100. "But now, it is reported, since the overthrow they stagger; but, if my poor advice may take place, neither they nor any other that have joined with the foreign enemy should be ever received to mercy, though their heads will cost the Queen a dearer rate than they may be valued at." I approve the drawing of Scots into Ulster, for they will ruin that province and make it impossible for O'Neale to subsist in war. Pray send supplies at once. Promptitude is essential. "The towns and the English race do yet stand at the gaze; and also many of the Irish do the like; but if this invasion be not presently suppressed they will declare themselves Spanish, unto which nation their affections are inclined." It will then be a hard task to reduce them.

P.S.—Lord Thomond sends his thanks for favours, and respects.
Pp. 3½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 261.

28 Dec.
Camp before
Kinsale.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I recommend Sir Henry Davers. His wounds prove his loyal service He has been an eye-witness of all our actions, which he, and the journal, will describe to you.

P. ¾. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 262.

Same.

ANTHONY COOKE to SAME.

I send no news as I hear you have it all from better sources.
Professions of service.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 263.

29 Dec.
Knockfergus.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER to SAME.

With regard to the employment of Scots here :—An occasion is offered [to test them] through Sir James McConnell's taking the Castle of Dunluce. This will draw the Lord of Kentyre [Cantire] with his people into this country. They will make war upon the sons of Sorley Boye at their own

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charges ; and when I have tested them I will give an opinion again. They are “ a very savage and heathenish people, speaking Irish, wavering and uncertain, better affected to this nation than to us, liking their manners and dissolute living better than our justice and living under law ; which makes me doubtful of them being in great numbers, and a few can do us no good. But were there an army in the field or strong garrisons in Tyrone, good use might be made of them for a time.” They would waste the country ; but after that it will be hard to displace them without blows.

This lord writes that he will bring over some 700 or 800. Of their service and honesty we shall soon make trial. He demands from me a protection for himself and his people, which I will not give until he surrenders the castle, or gives me good pledges, which he has promised. I am negotiating with him ; but the son delays things till his father come [from Scotland]. I distrust them “ for they have the very shifts of the Irish.” I will let you know how they do. They will probably be effective in weakening the sons of Sorley boy ; and then we may, as occasion offers, use them for service against Tyrone when we come to plant there.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 209, 264.

ADDENDA, 1601.

9 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.*

I have written at large to their lordships in favour of Edmund Fitzgibbon, called the White Knight, and need not repeat what I have said to them. Pray favour him and his suit, that he may be encouraged to continue in his dutiful courses. He wishes you to take his son into your service, which will cost you nothing for the father will maintain the son.

P. $\frac{1}{3}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 265.

Same.

SAME to SAME.

I send your servant Flint with a few hawks and would have sent more but they have been very scarce this year. As it is, he takes “ one cast of goshawks, one leash of tarcells [tiercel] of goshawks, two cast of falcons and three cast of tarcell [tiercel] gentles ; and with them three great greyhounds.” The next season I shall begin collecting earlier and send you a larger supply.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Add. Endd. :—*

(1) Generally ;

(2) With note (half destroyed) as to landing the falcons ;

* This and the next two letters had been misplaced at the end of *S.P. Ireland* 209, and were not discovered till too late for insertion in their proper places. They should, of course, come in above at p. 14.

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- (3) Haverfordwest, 12 Aug., 3 p.m.
 Carmarthen, do. 6 p.m.
 Swansea, 13 Aug., 3 p.m. R. Parry.
 Cardiff, do. 10.30 p.m.
 Newport, do. 12.45 [*i.e.* 12.45 on the morning
 of the 14th]. John Jones.

S.P. Ireland 209, 266.

9 Aug.
 Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I send some hawks ; but these Irish are bad falconers and have spoilt most of those sent me in carriage. Thank you for the venison which Thomas Walshe says you sent me. He sent it round to my friends.

I have apprehended two coiners who had just begun their operations, and had coined 18s. in 12-pences. One of them is John Cock, a son of Mr. Cock of Herts, who is brother to Sir Henry Cock. The other is called Field. They [?] were of Sir Henry Davers' troop of horse and had their leave to go for England. Field has confessed but Cock refuses to do so* ; and it is he who was the principal actor and inventor. One is committed to the Marshalsea and the other to Dublin Castle.

I grieve to hear that Thomas Watson is accused of having slandered your honour. He is a dissembling wretch, for he has often, in my presence, protested his gratitude for your favours. I expect the accusation comes "from some splyny [spleeny] stomachs that malinges that I use him more often to your honour and the rest of the Lords about my business" than I do others whom I have found to be less diligent and intelligent. Unless he frees himself from these foul imputations I shall not use him again.

The Lord Deputy has sent for Cormack McBaron's son to camp. I suppose he intends to execute him there unless Cormack McBaron does some service soon. He has done the like with Neil O'Quin's pledges, whom I sent to him in the Queen's pinnace. My Lord hath sent for 700 or 800 men under Sir John Barkley. Sir Henry Docwra was coming to join him [the Lord Deputy] but could not do so for want, as they say, of match, and garrons for his carriages. Sir A. Chichester has his boats ready but is kept at the Masseryne by tempestuous weather. Pray declare my accounts and allow the few petitions I am to present to your honour and their lordships. *Professions of service.*

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 267.

SAME to SAME.

Captain Abraham Evans, who brings this, is an old soldier, who for five years has commanded Sir Charles Wilmot's company. As corporal of the field he has done service which entitles him to a company. I recommend him.

P. ½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 268.

* A note adds "Cock has now confessed."

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Dec.

MEMORANDUM on the Benefits conferred on IRELAND by the new STANDARD.

1. It holds treasure "as under a sure lock" in England, which was formerly carried to Ireland in great masses not only to pay the army and state in Ireland but by merchants, through whom it went to "France, Scotland and where not."

2. It keeps good coin out of the hands of the rebels, with which they formerly purchased powder and all their munition. From this and from all foreign trades the rebels are now cut off.

3. It bars no subject in Ireland from the use of her Majesty's sterling. They have it by exchange "receiving sterling money in England for their Irish money delivered in Ireland, the same being a more gracious respect in her Majesty towards Ireland than any her Majesty's progenitors ever had; who gave them for the most part moneys as base yet without an exchange."

4. The army is benefited in this way, that whilst sterling money was on foot in Ireland they were often destitute of money and so of relief. Since then the army hath been full of money "which buyeth every commodity as readily in Ireland as sterling did before"* by reason of the exchange, "whereby commanders and all sorts of men throughout the army have both ready money to spend in Ireland and sterling money to serve them in England, than which more cannot be desired."

5. To the merchants Irish money is payable as was the sterling by the benefit of the exchange, "and rather to them more commodious, because they can now receive their money in England to answer their trades without hazard of carrying it by sea; which is a benefit to the merchants, and the merchants, if contented, bring contentment to the army."

6. The country of Ireland is benefited because the country people now get coin from the soldiers to whom they sell goods, whereas formerly they got tickets which were not current payment and could not be passed on. For their goods they now get coin, and sell their coin for goods to the merchant "or sterling money, if they require it in England."

7. The Queen benefits because if she has not sterling money to pay the army she can pay it in base money and can, meanwhile, provide sterling to answer the exchanges at home, which is a stay [*i.e.* a support] to the army; "and hath been reckoned no small advantage in great Princes' affairs, to gain time."

She pays the army with a fourth part of the silver which she spent before, and another fourth part answers the exchange of sterling in England; for, all the other moneys being decried in Ireland, the kingdom shall always retain the greatest part of the Irish moneys only current, for their necessary uses and commerce. By which means it shall be found upon survey of her Majesty's profits and charges that since April last (when these

* Numerous statements in the papers already calendared declare this statement to be absolutely untrue. I deal with the question of the Irish coinage in my Preface, and do not trouble to criticise in notes the multitudinous absurdities contained in this and other memoranda dealing with it.

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moneys began first to be issued) there will be saved to her Majesty in the "fine" of this present December* at least 70,000*l.*, which had otherwise been spent in the course of sterling.

In conclusion, the new moneys can give no cause of discontent if the exchange be held, which is the life and soul of the moneys.

"Neither does her Majesty's glory consist so much in the plenty of gold (whereof the Spaniard hath not otherwise to boast) as in the love and supreme command over a brave and copious people. Therefore neither should the Spaniard be envied that he payeth in gold, nor her Majesty be offended if her pay were in moneys of leather, made good again as sterling by the exchange, wherewith all men hold themselves well contented."

These benefits do the new moneys draw infallibly with them so long as the exchange is upheld. From these her Majesty should not be discouraged whilst she gaineth by the course. When loss appeareth, other remedies will be found again.

P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 209, 269.

About
Dec.

NOTE on the real CHARGE of IRISH MONEYS.

One lb. weight of silver of the standard of Ireland costs the Queen 16*s.* $\frac{7}{8}$ *d.*, and the workmanship 1*s.* 8*d.*, or in all 17*s.* 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ *d.* It makes in Irish money, by tale, 3*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.*

Multiply this by 1,000 and you get cost of production 885*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* and face value 3,100*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

One lb. of copper costs the Queen 6*d.*, and the workmanship thereof 1*s.* 10*d.*, which is in all 2*s.* 4*d.* It makes in tale 16*s.*

One thousand weight of Irish pence and halfpence after that rate costs 116*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, whilst its face value is 800*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 270.

About
31 Dec.

ESTIMATE of the Charges of the ARMY in Ireland, paid with new money, and also of the state of the Exchange from 1 April—31 December, 1601.

Total charge of the army according to the last establishment	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
167,987	17	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Against this are the following sums charged on the Treasurer of Ireland :—			
There has been sent in specie of the new moneys from hence at several times ..	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
152,000	0	0	
New money has been returned unto the Exchange (with a gain of 1,856 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i> at 12 <i>d.</i> in the 1 <i>l.</i>)			
37,611	3	2	
Sterling moneys received in Ireland and sent to the banks at Chester and Bristol ..			
12,376	11	0	
Total	201,987	14	2

* This dates the document.

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	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The charges of the sterling money, copper and coinage of the 152,000 <i>l.</i> sent hither is	41,500	0	0
The money paid in England upon bills of exchange with 133 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> lost, at 6 <i>d.</i> per <i>l.</i> is	47,570	2	4
The entertainment of the Master of the Exchange for himself and his ministers is	1,500	0	0
The portage of 152,000 <i>l.</i> of new moneys sent from hence at 20 <i>l.</i> per thousand (20 marks per thousand were formerly allowed when the Queen used to send sterling here)	3,770	0	0
Portage of 37,000 <i>l.</i> new moneys returned into the Exchange at 10 <i>l.</i> per thousand			
Portage of 34,500 <i>l.</i> sterling money paid in England for maintenance of the Exchange at 14 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> the thousand ..			
Total of these sums 94,440 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> , leaving a balance of	107,547	11	10

It is to be remembered by your lordships, and in your wisdoms to be considered, that against the gain by the Exchange must be set the fact that 77,243*l.* 15*s.* has been issued out of the Exchequer here for victuals for which defalcation is made by the Treasurer in Ireland, and that these defalcations are only to be answered by him in money of the new standard. By this the Queen loses the difference between sterling and base money as well as her losses in victualling.

We do not know exactly what the Queen's loss is until we know precisely what victuals have been delivered to the army by the contractants since 1 April last. Your lordships should cause them to give a certificate on this point. We shall then have the information.

Pp. 2½, with a note of certain items of expenditure on shipping and supplies sent to Ireland. *Endd. S.P. Ireland*, 209. 271.

NOTE on the GAIN of the MERCHANTS [in the matter of the new Coinage].

100*l.* *E.* produces 200*l.* [*Ir.*] From this you must deduct :—

For exchange for 80*l.* *E.* 40*l.* *Ir.*

” ” 120*l.* *Ir.* 6*l.* *Ir.*

So there remains for the principal and gain the sum of 154*l.* *E.*

The merchant for his merchandize bought in England lays out 100*l.* *E.*

He sells it in Ireland for 200*l.* *Ir.*

He receives for this 200*l.* by the Bank of Exchange 200*l.* *E.*

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The following are defalcations to the merchant for charges arising out of the said 200*l.*E. paid him in the bank[s] of England :—

He pays for exchanging 80 <i>l.</i> Ir. into 80 <i>l.</i> E. (at the rate of 20 per cent.)	.. .. 40 <i>l.</i> Ir.
He pays on exchanging 120 <i>l.</i> Ir. into 120 <i>l.</i> E. (at the rate of 5 per cent.)	.. .. 6 <i>l.</i> E.
So he retains for principal and gain	.. .. 154 <i>l.</i> E.
Thus every 100 <i>l.</i> E. produces 54 <i>l.</i> profit besides his principal.	
P. 1. <i>Endd.</i> S.P. Ireland 209, 272.	

MEMORANDUM entitled "A DISCOURSE OF IRELAND."

Your honour knows to what great expense the Queen has been and is being put by that "rude and uncivil country of Ireland," and no great reformation thereof had. I presume to give my reasons for this fact in the following memorandum.

The first cause is the withdrawing of the troops when the Irish forces grow weak, and the giving of protections and pardons.* For when they find that they will have time to recruit themselves in munitions and men, the rebels are apter ever after to go into rebellion presuming of the like. Her Majesty's outlay is wasted so long as many rebels still remain, for if the chiefs are not destroyed they will always gather round them stronger forces than before "for such is the looseness of the people and the general idleness of them, not taking any pains in any trade nor having knowledge in any faculty or science to get their living but by their rebellion. And therefore though all the rebels should be clean cut off in several parts of the kingdom yet if some few chief rebels be left in any part" of it they would find idle and loose persons who would join them from all parts of the kingdom.

If the rebels are pardoned and enjoy their whole countries or possessions as if they had never offended, what will be the use of wars? Ireland will never be quiet until a number of English are planted there sufficient to put down any sudden rising. This cannot be done unless the rebels are cut off and their lands escheated. If such lands, and the rest of her Majesty's revenue be given away without any convenient rent reserved towards the maintaining of her Majesty's charge, or if those to whom such lands are given are not bound by any condition to the lessening [of such charge] it is no better than if the rebels were living. "Her Majesty tilleth the ground and weedeth the tares, but either vermin devour the corn or other reap it." *Other similes.*

If any Irishman, or his ancestor, has at any time been in rebellion he will never live at peace except when compelled to do so either by fear or want. If they have had bloodshed of their friends or kindred they will look ever for revenge. Men of evil disposition will be guilty of any villainy when they may presume of mercy, "and it is generally reported that before this

* A note *adds*:—When rebels are received in their unruly troops resort to some adjoining rebel.

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Lord Deputy's time the rebels themselves did vaunt that, for a certain number of cows or a sum of money, they might be protected and pardoned when they would" and so cared not how often they ran into rebellion. They never ask for pardon until they have cost her Majesty as much as they possibly can, and are reduced to the greatest want and weakness. When they have been reduced to such want they make a composition with the next Governor, by which some of their wicked tribe are protected : and then these protected men, coming in, procure supplies for the others. Very often, doubting the efficacy of a protection, they procure a pardon, so that one of them may more readily have access to the great towns and confer with his friends : for certainly each faction of rebels have friends in each of the great towns. There he confers with his friends about supplies ; and the pardoned rebel, as soon as the supplies have been obtained, goes into rebellion again.

The money of the new standard has been declared by Royal Proclamation to be lawful in Ireland, and all other money unlawful "and to be esteemed as bullaine," and it has been thought that this proclamation would help to defeat the rebels as it would deprive them of a coinage current abroad by which they might purchase supplies. No doubt this is so to some extent, and the proclamation enables the Queen to pay her army and build strong towns ; "yet I suppose I shall make it manifest that if they may have like assistance of the protected and pardoned rebel as heretofore they have had they may use means to be almost as largely supplied as ever they were" and therefore the depriving them of other standard (though it be very beneficial and necessary) yet it is but as one accessory to the felony near executed and the principal not apprehended nor brought in question. "For the rebel have several great commodities . . . which they may exchange with the stranger for munition. The principal commodity is hides, tallow and sheepskins and for that the rebel for the most part (being many thousands in number) do feed of nothing but beef and mutton." These supplies are larger than the State supposes "and where they are not compelled to eat up their stud mares, or that they be not taken away from them by her Majesty's forces, they have great breeds of horses, which are a very great commodity. Moreover in the north part of Ireland they have a great commodity of yarn, which formerly they have traded into England, but now they reserve it to exchange for munition." If these products do not suffice to buy what munition they want, yet the merchants who are their friends export to Ireland great quantities of English produce which are as good as English money for the purpose of purchasing the Irish supplies of munition from abroad. Large quantities of victuals are, however, supplied to Ireland by England, and these might be cut off. The factors who bring them are the protected and pardoned rebels. These men come in to get provision from the towns and in every horseload they take out some munition and afterwards convey it from their houses to the actual rebels by night. "If all means

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should fail to supply their wants there is never any rebel but he will rather sell the kingdom (if it were in his power) than want means to maintain his rebellion."

On all these grounds it is clear that to reduce her Majesty's forces before the rebels be cut off is to breed a continuance of the wars. No pardons should be given except upon conditions, and they should only be given on condition that the persons pardoned come in within one month of the date when they are declared to be traitors, and further* do some excellent service as a proof of good faith. If an Act of Parliament were passed annexing these conditions to all pardons it would deprive the Irish of a principal mean to supply themselves with munition, and would much dismay them.†

If this be done and the present Lord Deputy, "whose wisdom, justice, valour and pains is exceedingly commended of all the subjects in Ireland," be not too speedily called away, no doubt but in few years all the chief rebels will be cut off. Their lands will be escheated and will be a great source of revenue to the Crown. The subjects will live peaceably together, and various reforms, which might be given in detail, will be carried out by the Queen's present counsellors. Hitherto only 3*d.* has been paid [in Crown rent] for every Irish acre; but that acre which is equal to four acres‡ might easily answer, for the worse sort of "errable" meadow and pasture 6*d.*, and, for the best, 12*d.* an acre. Wood and bog never have been rated and should not be so. Moreover, every man who holds six score acres should be bound, himself or his under-tenants, to supply an armed and efficient man for the next service to which he may be called by the Lord Deputy.§ Each tenant should keep an English servant always ready for service. Inasmuch, too, as the want of good inclosures is a great help to the rebels, who suddenly raid for cattle and drive them off to some great wood before an alarm can be sent to the next garrison town, it would be well to annex to every grant a condition (on the tenant or his under-tenant) that . . . they will cast "one main ditch about all the meadow, arable and pasture lands of every several town|| and the same repair according to the first proportion, which ditch should be two yards broad and one yard and a half deep" and the earth cast out of it to be made a mudwall a yard high on the outside. A further covenant should be annexed compelling tenants, within two years or on commandment given, to divide their arable land into fields, pastures or closes, each of

* A note in margin *adds* :—Pardons to those found guilty of manslaughter in England are always conditional on good behaviour.

† A note in margin *adds* :—The rebel will receive no Englishman that shall come from the subject, but first he will enjoin him to some special service upon some of his next of kin.

‡ A note in margin *adds* :—There are three "acres" in Ireland, the "large sense acre," the Irish and the English.

§ A note here *adds* :—The Irish churl will never bear arms nor fight in his own defence; but the English farmer or clown, after he hath been once or twice upon service, will serve as sufficiently and valiantly as most soldiers in garrison, and therefore the more English the better for the State.

|| Town is evidently used here in the old sense of "townland." The numerous Irish place names which end in "town" are, of course, cases of the same usage.

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not more than 12 English acres, and to put round each of these a similar ditch ; “ and at the entrance to all these lands to be set a strong pair of boarded gates, with an iron bar cross the midst, which should be always locked. This would prevent preys from being carried away by the Irish to their fastness before aid can be summoned from the next garrison town.

“ And for that the Irish churls are not acquainted with this nor any other good English husbandry, it were good that a certain number of labourers were pressed forth of this land to be placed two at the least in every one of her Majesty’s towns ” and every one of them to have 120 acres at least in land by lease or grant for a certain time under the aforesaid rents and conditions. As these labourers will have little to start with the Queen might remit their first two years’ rent to them. As all her Majesty’s tenants are bound by these conditions it were well to pass a law imposing them on all others.

For the easing of her Majesty’s charge no lands should be given away in *custodiam* for years or fee farm thereof but at the aforesaid rent or a higher, and the aforesaid conditions should be imposed. If the land is defended the rent and conditions are easy.* They cannot be objected to but by those who prefer their own gain to her Majesty’s charge or the common wealth.

Her Majesty owns many castles and puts constables and garrisons into them which she pays ; but there is no reason why she should not charge the constables rent for the land attached to the Castles. As it is important that there should be many English gentry in the country it is desirable that no knight should have more than 1,000 acres and no captain that is not a knight more than 800, no private gentleman above 700, and no farmer above 200, and no husbandman or churl above 120. The most deserving should be seated on the best lands. An honest and careful surveyor should also be appointed to remain in Ireland and make a true survey and valuation of the land in Ireland at the aforesaid rate of rent before any of it is given to any persons. The woods and bogs are a great hindrance to us and help to the rebels, who can, with a few men, kill many of ours in a wood through which they can pass only at certain paces [passes]. The rebels can then remain in the woods till they recruit their strength. In the bogs our old soldiers, who know them, can fight at no great loss, and can see the enemy’s strength ; but in woods they may fall into an “ ambuscado.” If the country is quieted by cutting off the principal rebels much good could be done to the bogs by our labour and by the Irish churls felling, dressing and burning the trees in heaps. This could be done whilst leaving sufficient timber for the use of the country, if a tree is left every twenty yards and the shrubs, &c., either stocked up at the first or continually cut up.†

* A note adds :—“ It is to be noted that the soil of the land is generally very good.”

† A note here says :—Many people think that it would have been well if Ireland had been turned into a seapool rather than have so charged her Majesty. It would have been a better course to have burnt down all the woods, which would have saved her much.

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It has been an ancient custom that if prey taken by the rebel from the subject remains unrecovered for 24 hours, it goes, if recovered, to the commander who recovers it and not to the previous owner. This is clearly a bad arrangement as it makes officers slack in recovering preys and the owner, therefore, certain to get nothing back. Many captains, in order to get the greatest part of their soldiers' pay to themselves, cess them on the country, either with or without a ticket, though they might victual them from her Majesty's store, "and such is the extortion and rudeness of the soldier that he will not content himself with such fare which is very convenient and fit for him, but will carry away and spoil whatsoever they find in any house or place, and the master of the house must either give them 6*d.* every meal or else they will carry away his cows or cattle in pledge." If a captain has any grudge against any gentleman he will send a ticket with an officer and guard and carry away all the gentleman's cows, alleging that he wants them to victual his company. This injustice has driven, and will ever drive, many into rebellion. They dare not make complaint for fear of "revengement," and, if they join the rebels, they are better relieved with victuals, although the course be wicked. So long as these evils remain her Majesty's land is not worth 1*d.* an acre to any but the captains or their under-tenants. Some captains are the worst people in a civil common weale "and if Ireland were as freed from rebellion as England, and some of them planted there the kingdom could not long be freed from tumults and rebellion."

If the extortion of victual in this way is a danger so is the supply of bad food. When I was in Ireland about five weeks ago I heard several captains say that the butter in the store in Dublin was such that you could hardly go into the store for the smell, that no man could eat it, and that they had not carried it to their garrisons for a long time : also that the biscuit was so coarse and badly baked that no man could eat it ; yet the soldiers have lived so long with that biscuit and 'Poor John' that some of them were almost famished, others got diseases and others ran away. If this be not remedied no doubt the soldiers will extort upon the country.

In addition to extortion by officers the private maintenance of rebels by supposed subjects is a great hindrance to peace "yet Wales was exceeding wild until Bishop Rowland's* time, who, being Lord President of the Marches, maintained so many spials . . . and had so good intelligence who were the maintainers of the thieves and doing justice upon them without partiality ; for the greater the man was the less would he favour him ; and by these means many of the maintainers of thieves being cut off and some, by the example of others, being so terrified that they reformed their own wild courses, Wales in short time became civil." Since the Lord Deputy came to Ireland he has shewn

* A note here adds :—Bishop Rowland when he came first into the Marches, "being told if any cattle thereabouts were put forth, and yet some to keep them, they would be stolen away, said that 'ere long he would make the Black sheep keep the white.'"

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that he would act in this way if he had the information, but he is generally in the field and cannot have such information so well as some others of the State might have it. At the beginning of his government of Ireland, Sir Richard Bingham followed Bishop Rowland's example in getting intelligence and did much good thereby, and if such steps were taken by some of the Council in Ireland and the justices in Munster and Connaught it is likely that those who most offend the country by extortion would be found and punished, the principal maintainers of rebels found out and the law executed. This would benefit the people, and the Queen would get the estates of those who were justly executed.

As Leinster is a large province, and some parts of it are far from Dublin, it would be well to institute a court like the principal court in Munster. This court should sit somewhere near the middle of the province; for as there are many soldiers in garrison thereabouts it is not unlike that the people there are "much pestered; and not far from them some supposed subjects are vehemently suspected for the maintaining of those ancient rebels of Lease." This court, being near to the soldier and the offender, will be able to administer prompt punishment. There is much need of learned Justices of the Peace in several decayed countries. They could suppress offences within their jurisdiction and find out intelligence for the government.

The Queen should build many walled towns in the districts near the rebels, placing a garrison of horse and foot in each of them, to prevent the rebels from passing to and fro to spoil the country or keeping preys near such garrisons. The loyal subjects could retire into such towns in times of sudden emergency. These towns might be supplied with tradesmen and handicraftsmen from the English towns, which could easily spare them. This would be benefit "to this [kingdom] because it is so full of people that it drives all things to an extreme dearth and in many towns they can hardly live one for another, and to Ireland because in many parts of it few or no handicrafts are to be found," and, by this means, instruction in them might be given. The lack of employment and the lack of law are the reasons why there are so many thieves. These towns will not cost much "for the money of this new standard will be so dispersed amongst the poorer sort of people that little or none of it will ever trouble her Majesty's exchanges; and their lime stands, and timber will be had with a more less [*sic*] charge than in this kingdom." The surrounding countries will help in the work.

The rebels have pulled down and defaced most of the churches and clearly show their wicked dispositions. They should be cut off, which would be "most pleasing to God," and English should be put in their places, "whereby God's temples might be re-edified and God truly worshipped and that many learned Divines which cannot be preferred in this kingdom, for that all spiritual places are full, might there be preferred, to the glory of God and their own good.

Pp. 9½. *Endd.*: "A discourse of Ireland." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 273.

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INTELLIGENCE FROM IRELAND.

O'Donnell and Tyrone have written to Spain to find out what terms England and Spain are like to make, and to ask that if a peace be made all Ireland may be comprehended in it, but, otherwise, to send them men and money. They marvel at not having heard from the King for fourteen months. They request a speedy answer.

P. 1. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 209, 274.

EXCEPTIONS taken against HUGH BOY.

Till about the 9th of this month, when he saw by the coming of the supplies that there was hope to preserve O'Dogherty's country from violence, he never tendered his obedience.

At the coming of the said supplies O'Donnell was afar off and so the country unable to make any resistance.

It is common with the Irish, when they observe her Majesty's forces to be strong, to feign much submission. O'Dogherty's dealing with Sir Henry Docwra will shew what they do when the contrary is the case.

Hugh Boy has been "a long rebel against her Majesty." He has been bred in the Spanish war with Stanley, the only plotter to betray the fort of Culmore*, and chief friend and counsellor to O'Donnell. No man so much employed to the Pope and King of Spain. "He is tall of person, bold, young, active, suptill and practised in stratagems. He is fast tied by honourable bonds to princes abroad and friends at home. He hath already dealt perfidiously with Sir Henry Docwray."

By his capitulation with Sir Henry Docwra he serves his own turn, preserves O'Dogherty's country from spoil, and enriches his people with our money for wood, straw and some Irish victuals bought at treble rates from him.

"By his frequency amongst her Majesty's forces he discerns their strength, prys into their weakness, views the forts, observes the discipline and notes the defects, whereof he may see more than is to be wished.

Indiscretion of the Governor.

That being told all this concerning Hugh Boy, he smiled at it saying he durst pawn his life for his fidelity. He has lately entertained forty of his followers, being stout rebels, amongst the Queen's companies."

When told this was dangerous he grew discontented, saying they would more disadvantage the service than 10,000*l.* would recover.

It is thought that by re-edifying the fort of Culmackatrin [Kilmacrenan] the inhabitants of O'Dogherty's country might be kept down by force and not received to mercy as now they are; and that by these means 20,000 cows, besides horses and cattle, might have been gotten.

P. 1½. *Endd.* : Loughfoyle. *Ibid*, 275.

* In January 1600-1. See the preceding volume of this *Calendar*, p. 158.

1601.

MEMORANDUM on the FORTIFICATION of CULMORE.

According to the form and proportion mentioned in this card Josse Everaert undertakes to make up the fort of Culmore in four months, so that it will hold 800 men, and may be defended by 100 against any fleet of Spain whatsoever, being furnished with convenient artillery. He will do this upon the following conditions:—

He wants 500*l.* and 50 soldiers' labour. He will pay these men 6*d.* a day. He wants also 100 churls "with whom he will agree by great."*

With these men he will cut turf and faggots sufficient to finish the work and will make the main "rampier" round about the fort to resist the cannon; and toward the water, he will make the platform 30 foot thick and the parapet round about 6 foot thick at the bottom.

He will draw the water round about it and make a fair "drawen-bridge" with a port proportionable for such a work.

P. 1. *Signed*, "Josse Everaert." *Endd.* in Docwra's hand. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 276. Followed by:—

Jose Everart's Plan of his Fortification at Culmore.

A detailed plan to scale 10 yards [?] to an inch, shewing the fortifications, angular and triangular tambours, &c., and entrance port, with explanations and measurements written in Dutch.

P. 1. *Signed* Gul. [?] Moes and Jous Everart. *Endd.*: "Culmore." *Ibid*, 276A.

MEMORANDUM shewing all the PROVISIONS which have been sent into DONEGAL and BALLYSHANNON by SIR HENRY DOCWRA since August 6th, 1601.

Gives list of victuals, munition, hospital ware, and building materials, apparel, cash, and weights and measures, which have been so put aboard in the following instalments:—

1601, 6 Aug., on the *Nightingale* of London.

" 8 Sept. " *John* " Yarmouth.

" 1 Oct. " *Search* " Beaumaris.

" 20 Oct. " *Welfare* " London.

" 24 Dec. " *Hopewell* " Aldeborough.

Pp. 31. *Signed* by Sir Henry Docwra, *full details given.* *Ibid*, 277.

MEMORANDUM on the OVERTURES of SIR JAMES and RANDELL McCONNELLIS [McCONNELL].

Anent the enabling of them to be safe from the rebels (they returning to her Majesty to do her Highness some service against them).

As yair [their] return to obedience will set the enemy upon yame [them], they desire to have 600 foot and 100 horse in pay,

* *i.e.*, for so much for the whole work of fortification.

1601.

or so many as the Lord Deputy thinks necessary. This is not half the number they must entertain for the defence of the country during the war ; and, after, for their protection, 50 horse and 100 foot without check during their good behaviour and need yariof [thereof].

They desire to be feoffees [?] of their own country by new grant and patent and to enjoy the lands they possess with all commodities appertaining to the same, they paying the usual rents and duties.

That they may be allowed to keep all spoil which they take from the enemy.

That they may be "considerit" and "rewardit" according to their service in honour and other ways.

That, if anything be said touching their loyalty, they may be held to answer and use their defence in England.

"Giff" these receive not liking, then they desire that they may have landis passed to them afresh with all commodities upon the payment of the accustomed rents, they not aiding the rebel against her Majesty nor forced to serve against him out of their bounds.

If none of these please, then to learn her Majesty's pleasure and return it "to we" that we may use our selfis to our powers accordingly.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$, with Scottish spelling. *Endd.* S.P. Ireland 209, 278.

NOTES for the Discovery of FLORENCE McCARTY's Treachery.

The Lord President should first re-examine all the witnesses before some others of the Council there upon their oath with a good interpreter.

The times of each of his acts should be set down ; because it may appear which of them was done since his pardon, which he says was dated in April, 1601, and which pardons all former offences. Yet it is meet for better information these former offences be known, because he stands proudly upon his innocency from the beginning, and denies that ever he went to Tyrone or to the King of Spain or the Pope, or was "privy that Tyrone and James McThomas and Bishop Crahe sent Owen McKegan to the Pope for his excommunication to such as adhered not to their action." He denies that Donoghe McCorm[ick?] was his agent, or used by him to Tyrone as John Barry confesseth.

He denies knowing of any purpose of invasion from Spain.

He denies betraying O'Sullivan More to Dermod Owne.

Such original Irish letters whereof we have copies to be sent over.

He denies that the White Knight's daughter's accusation against him, so she should be examined on oath.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 279.

NOTES on IRISH CAUSES.

1. Gallies should be built and sent over to Ireland to keep the sea coasts from the O'Malies and other rebels. These live by robbing poor fishermen and others that pass in small vessels,

1601.

to the great hindrance of the common wealth. No galleys should be made or used by any subject.

2. The arrears of twentieth parts of the spirituality from before Michaelmas, 1601, are unpaid and may never be paid. The forfeiture of all recognisances, fines and amerciements from time to time should be levied for the building of a new hall for the Four Courts to be kept in, "because there has been many practices to set the store house where the powder is laid to be fired (*i.e.* on fire). The hall to be built in the decayed monastery without the walls of Dublin, together with the gardens adjoining thereunto belonging in times past. The remains of the money, if there be any, to be employed to re-edifying Loughlin bridge and other bridges ruined* in the country."

There should be a Master of the Wards and Liveries in Ireland and a Court of Wards and Liveries kept there as in England; for in Ireland many wards are concealed from the King which that court would bring to light.

There should be an Escheator General in every province and as many men under him as may be found necessary. At present there is only one.

Every barrel of herring and salmon packed in Ireland might be viewed and, if found to be wholesomely used and properly packed, might be sealed, and her Majesty to have for every barrel sealed 3d. and one night's fishing of every boat every season. Her Highness has formerly granted this right to private persons.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Underuritten*: "Aliquod latet quod non patet." *Endd.* as in title. *S.P. Ireland* 209, 280.

PETITION of SIR JAMES and RANDELL MCCONNELL to the QUEEN, shewing that :—

They, her Majesty's born subjects in Ireland, misled partly through the persuasion of the great rebels there, and partly for avoiding their displeasure, and therewithal also to avoid danger by entering with her Majesty's officers [whom petitioners were made to fear], and suspected to intend their ruin, unnaturally lost their obedience and betook them to the rebels' unlawful disobedience to her Majesty, and to the protection of themselves from her wrath, and the suspicion they were moved to conceive of her Majesty's intents. They regret this ever since her Majesty's gracious proclamation of forgiveness and acceptance to mercy and favour of such as should return to their natural duty; and they not only withdrew themselves from the rebel, but also have studied by all means how to recover her Majesty's mercy and favour, sorrowing and craving God and her Majesty's mercy for their said defection, finding her Majesty's mind not to be, as was given out by the rebels, to root out and ruin the blood of that her Majesty's kingdom, but to draw them all to God's and her Majesty's obedience, and the rebels' mind to be to renounce her Majesty's government, and to give the land and the people to the great enemy of Spain. They have

* "Ruinated" is obsolete in modern English, except as spoken colloquially in Ireland; but here appears as good English.

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thought it the best way for them [the petitioners], and most inducing to her Majesty, to move his Majesty of Scotland, [petitioners] being come out of his kingdom to do the same; most humbly beseeching her Majesty to pardon them, and to grant them her Majesty's charter thereof for their assurance; and with her Majesty's said mercy to them, and her enablement against that great enemy, reconciling or exem[pt]ing them from the commandment of such of her Majesty's [officers] as seek their [petitioners'] overthrow, and giving them [petitioners] the necessary helps and strengths against the rebel power. [If these favours are granted] they shall presently thereon enter [in] to her Majesty's service, and into blood with her Majesty's rebels, and give her Majesty good security for future loyalty.

P. 3, *in bad English*. *Endd.*: Supplication to her Majesty for Sir James McConnell and his brother." *S.P. Ireland* 209, 281.

ATHANASIUS REBELLO to ———.

Your lordship's best course to secure the sending of some fathers from Rome to Ireland to speak to the Irish is to write to the Pope asking his Holiness to command the Vicar-General of the Society to send some learned men for the reformation of Ireland, since this work is specially one for religious orders. Your lordship should also write to the [Vicar] General, when I am sure the fathers will be sent.

If a fleet is being prepared in the name of the King it would be easy to have fathers in it, as the fleet had which was prepared at Santander. Your lordship may write to the King [of Spain] that the reformation of Ireland depends much on the ministration of the Society and that for this reason he may order the provincials of Tolosa and Old Castille to send eight or ten men of good counsel and learning with the soldiers, to help them to settle disputes, administer sacraments and teach the Christian faith. Let letters be written on this matter also to the Nuncio at Madrid and to the General that he may order the provincials to do the same. I will help you any further if I can.

P. 3. *Latin*. *Signed, undated* but perhaps enclosed in Carew's to Cecil of 28 Dec. 1601 (*supra*, No. 261). *Endd.* *Ibid*, 282, *ad fin.* 282.

1602.

S.P. Ireland 210.

1602.

1 Jan.
Dublin.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in Dublin to
the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We send a despatch telling of the Lord Deputy's victory and hope that God will give us further triumphs over both our enemies, "they both having turned their rage as much to the reversing of His true religion as to rent from her Majesty this kingdom, being so ancient and great a portion of her Imperial Crown." But this defeat may "sharpen and stir the King of Spain to a further stomach" and fresh invasion. We need reinforcements for the army which is much weakened by a winter of unusual severity; also a stronger fleet to impeach the seconds out of Spain. The danger may come faster than the remedy.

P. 1. Signed by the Lord Chancellor and by Cary and Fenton.
Add. Endd. *S.P. Ireland 210, 1. Enclosing:—*

*The Lord Deputy and Privy Councillors in Camp to the Lord
Chancellor and Privy Councillors in Dublin.*

Relates the advance and defeat of the Irish on Christmas Eve as detailed above (pp. 239, 240). Their intention was that Tyrrell with the vanguard, with whom were the Spaniards from Castlehaven, should, about daybreak "put between Earl of Thomond's quarter and the west fort" where Don John with all his Spaniards had promised to meet them, and thence to "give upon the other camp; and at that instant Tyrone's two other bodies, which were the battle and the rear, should have set upon this camp which they thought their numbers were great enough to do." We only drew out 300 or 400 horse to meet them and 1,000 foot, for we could spare no more whilst keeping our camp guarded. Had our horses not been too weak to pursue more than two miles "we might have done what we could have wished for they never made any resistance or looked back, but were utterly broken."

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed by the Lord Deputy, Carew, Gardener and Wingfield. Add. Endd. *Ibid, 1A.*

2 Jan.
Derry.

SIR HENRY DOCWRA to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

Explains his reasons for not having planted a garrison at Coleraine, which he had set out to do. Proceeds:—I leave you to judge whether the master of the ship has been wanting in his duty.*

I sent down Captain Orme and 200 English and the Irish of Eneshowen to pass over by water at Greencastle; so that, they

* See, for his previous letters on this point, the Index s.v. "Docwra."

1602.

entering at one end of the country and I at the other, the prey might be more assuredly taken, or more spoil done. I myself went by land, passed two paces [passes] without resistance, entered a third, beat them from defence of it, set fire to their camp containing 30 great houses full of corn, took O'Cane's brother prisoner (who had before revolted from the Queen) whom I sacrificed on the place, and so passed by, not through the wood, because it was no ordinary passage, but by the seaside, and so came to the plains and heart of the country. There I met Captain Orme at a place agreed, and he had on his way killed a few men, &c; but the Irish had escaped, for all his sudden coming, to the mountains. I divided my force into three parties and went through the country spoiling and burning "such a quantity of corn and number of houses as I should hardly have believed so small a circuit of ground could have afforded if I had not seen it." Not meeting the ship, I held towards Tyrone, intending all under one journey to have wasted and spoiled as high as Dungannon; but I was prevented by a sudden thaw which raised the rivers, and could with difficulty get home.

On returning I heard from Donegal of their extreme want of victual owing to the non-arrival of a ship which I had sent away a month ago with all provisions. I resolved to move there next and to establish a garrison at Ballyshannon. I went there with 100 garrons' load of biscuit and relieved their most pressing wants. While I was there the ship [referred to] and another arrived. They had been kept by very bad weather of which I was eye witness. It was bad enough to keep them from entering either Ballyshannon or Donegal all the time I was there, which was twenty days. All I did was to cause Neale Garve to make a "cutting" on the country for cows, with which the garrison was plentifully relieved. I went to Asheroe and there left four companies of foot and 50 horse which I carried from hence, besides those that were at Donegal before. I provisioned it with corn enough to feed the horses all through the winter, turf and "old houses" for fuel [which I got] by commodity of the garrons I had with me, saw the condition of Bundroyse [Bundrowes], Belleek and all that part of the country, and so returned to Donegal where I took in McSwyne Fanaght and some others of the country for whom Neale Garve hath undertaken and delivered in pledges of his own. I took them rather to bridle himself than for any use I think they are. The extreme foulness of the weather induced me to accept their subjection upon slender assurance. Had time served to compel them to other conditions I should have been more severe. By these steps I have at least quieted Neale Garve's importunity. If his humours were altogether restrained, he might have proved a desperate rebel. *Details.* He is even now constantly complaining of his half-pay, but cannot have the [former] excuse for rebellion that all his goods are taken from him. Moreover men who [like him] are pardoned and return and bring back their goods [to the English quarters] give us something which we can seize if they again play us false; whereas, otherwise, those goods

1602.

would be concealed amongst the rebels where we should never find them.

The bearer, who has lived some time thereabouts, will be able to add to what you already know about the advantage of settling that place. He can also speak of the wants of the army both there and elsewhere. The captains there have chosen him to speak for them.

I could not take Ballyshannon Castle, for the piece of artillery was not come and I had not any materials, so much even as a board, for that purpose. These necessities have now been sent thither, and, when they arrive, the work will be easily effected; "but your lordship must understand that the bar at the coming in is so shallow (whatsoever some vain men will talk to the contrary) and the road so open without being covered with any manner land" that the ships which go there must necessarily be of very small burden, if they get in. If any weather arise they are compelled to go and unload at Donegal [as Ballyshannon is so open] and all things there unloaded must be carried to the other place; so that both the charge and trouble thereof will be greatly increased.

I have assembled forces now to make a journey into Tyrone, but the weather is so bad I shall have to suspend it till the rivers and highways are more passable. My next step will be to fortify at Coleraine, which I know I shall be able to do, though all the rebels be returned before I undertake it. Our forces will, however, be then so much extended that we shall not be able to do more than hold the places we have till a new supply of men arrives. These would come best about the end of next month, when their cows (which, now that their corn is gone, are their only support) are most easily set away or spoiled. In spite of the threats which we hear, I do not think the Spaniards will come here; but if an army able to master us in the field, and with artillery, comes, the river and all our provisions both of victual and munition will easily be taken from us. We can, however, much prevent this if our forts be made up in time (and this is almost done already), and if we have two good ships of war at Culmore to stop up that streight. These are my last requests.

P.S.—When at Ballyshannon I commissioned Captain Willis, who was lying at Liffer [Lifford], to make a journey with the forces I left behind upon Sleught Art, a people in Tyrone. They had made offers of subjection but on such terms [details] as I could not accept. He fell on them, took 300 cows and burnt most of their houses and corn. They offer a new parley, but I am determined to take in none of Tyrone "least their numbers to feed upon their own hungry store should be diminished." I shall observe this rule with all of that country, except in very special cases.

In all pp. 4½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 2.

4 Jan.
Derry.

SIR HENRY DOCWRA to [SECRETARY CECIL].

You and I are so busy that I forbear to give you full details as to the state of the place and our necessities, on which the

1602.

bearer is fully informed and instructed to make demands. I must say something of Neale Garve and "those Irish"; and say freely that the government and use of them for her Majesty's benefit is the most difficult task which I have to perform.

As for Neale Garve "his first coming in without compulsion, his bringing us to Lyffer [Lifford], the furtherance he gave us for planting at Donegal, the helps he gave our men in time of their greatest wants when O'Donnell besieged them, the loss of his brother in that service, the trial of his fidelity by standing firm in so dangerous a time, and lastly the goods he forsook of his own to serve the Queen for half-pay"—these are arguments which tell much in his favour. "On the other hand his extreme pride, ambition and insatiable covetousness, his want of any knowledge when he is well dealt withal, his importunity in all things right or wrong, his continual begging and unprofitable wasting of whatever he gets, his aptness to desperate and unspeakable discontentment for trifles of no worth, his facility to be misled by people of base quality and his underhand juggling (which is too apparent by many indices) with the rebels" must be remembered against him. To challenge him now and declare these faults of his would be to bring on a new war and alienate the whole country from English rule. To discharge his people would be to discharge our best spies and prey-takers. Moreover, they are armed from amongst us and have cost the Queen so much—and these arms and service would be lost [if we declared against them]. They give continual advertisements [to and from the enemy ?] from and to us. They will not stay in forts without help. "To make their peace with O'Donnell they shall never find difficulty; to join with the Spaniards if any come near these parts they may if they will (and will undoubtedly if they be never so little discontented) and hardly can they be prevented."

On the whole I think it best to temporise with them for the present, though it is chargeable to the Queen, and to "mingle lenity and severity so as some be punished for those notorious abuses when they are apparently proved (let him rage and storm while he will) and others winked at whose faults are as apparent and yet more closely carried from direct and manifest proof by testimony of witnesses; and therewithal to get (what by fair means and what by force, as I see best occasion to temper them) the best pledges he hath, both for himself and the chief of his people, into my hands" and keep them till I have at least less cause to suspect him.*

I have already taken this course and taken his second son (his eldest being at Dublin) and two of his chief supporters, with his own consent, as pledges.

He will no doubt complain of me for this, and many of our nation will "whet him forward," from ignorance or malice towards me. I rely on you for my defence and shall take any better course which may be prescribed for me.

* Sir Henry Docwra is a past master in longiloquence. This sentence is but a fragment of one of his periods.

1602.

I must also speak about Enenshoen [Inishowen] and Hugh Boy, because I see you are very jealous of his fidelity. I cannot answer for him; but the lords will know, from my last letter, by what pledges he is bound. His brother took Rory O'Cane prisoner and might have released him without my knowing it but did not, though he was offered a very large ransom if he would do so. His whole kindred, and all Eneshowen, are on that account grown into great enmity against O'Cane. He fought again the same day, received four dangerous wounds, was taken prisoner and was rescued by the young O'Dogharty and his own two brothers "who, I assure your honour, did all serve so well in the sight of our whole army as I should but wrong them to conceal their doings or not acknowledge their desert." They are civil men and serve with little charge to her Majesty when I ask them, and "without that beggarly humour which all their country is affected withal beside" as the best born Englishman here. They send me cows whenever I ask for them at reasonable rates, and in large numbers considering how small and poor their country is. They provide us with garrons for carriage and churls to do us service "without all which we should hardly live in this place." Yet sometimes from pride, malice or jealousy they "shew themselves intemperate in their passions and oftentimes carry matters closely and in a suspicious fashion." I will, however, keep a constant watch on him and not be cajoled or over-reached.

Pp. 3½. *Signed.* Not *add.* or *Endd.*, but probably to Secretary Cecil. *S.P. Ireland* 210, 3.

6 Jan.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

Tyrone is retiring to Ulster and has reached Fercall in Offaly, as I heard this morning from the lord of that country. His numbers unknown. Sir Terence O'Dempsey has written saying he hears of only 600 men with him. and that the rest of his broken army is left to get home as it can in single troops. He hastens so that I think he will be this night in Ulster, which he may easily do, being unopposed, though, immediately after his overthrow, "the State" gave order to have all passages and "streits" laid for him, as we saw that this disaster would drive him to the north. I am told that McMahon, O'Rorke, Surley Boy's son, McGuire and Henry Oge MacShane have come with him, being his chief confederates. O'Donnell, Tyrrell, Redmond Bourke and Mostian are left in Munster, being in the King of Spain's pay. It is thought that O'Donnell and Tyrrell will go at once for Spain to solicit for more forces to carry on the war.

It is hard to say how Tyrone will find himself in Ulster when he gets back there. Many parts of that country have, during his absence, altered to his disadvantage and I do not see how he will be able to reconcile them in a short time, so as to make use of them to his good, especially as he has lost his main force

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and his reputation will be greatly damaged by the failure of his attempted combination with Spain. [*Details.*] They say he has brought home very little more than his own person; so it will be hard for him to draw them soon to any attack on the Pale or the Ulster garrisons. Many of the Irish lords "who before followed him, not for love, but as men overawed with his greatness and tyranny, will be wary how they join with him again in the declining time of his fortune." Some of these lords have almost lost their countries in his absence and will now see that he cannot help them, when he is puzzled how to defend himself. You will hear all further news on this matter from me.

This recent blow has lightened the cloud in Munster, but so long as the Spanish troops remain there it is not, of course, dispelled. We need further help by sea to impeach the Spanish supplies, and by land to strengthen our own army. If our last success is not followed up promptly, the siege of Kinsale will be long, and an opportunity given to the Spaniards to thrust in more forces "and seek to nestle in Galway or Limerick." Spain will not release her foothold unless it is challenged by England.

P.S.—I enclose a letter just received from a very trustworthy alderman of Galway.

P. 1½. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 4. Enclosing:—

Alderman James Darsey to Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

We are alarmed here by hearing "from the west parts of us" that the Spaniards "I mean Don John and O'Donnell" have written a letter in Latin to one Morchoe ne moe O'Flahertie and other of the frowardest men hereabouts earnestly requesting them by some means to surprise this town and attempt to win it, promising them large rewards in money and Spanish garrisons during their lives if they do so. I acquainted the Mayor herewith, and he made proclamation that all the inhabitants should be in readiness night and day "and that no one should put off his clothes till Christmas were passed." Each of us keeps watch every fourth night. I wish we had one company of English with us. I cannot "be free from bodily fear till I see some English camping here."

P. 2/3. Signed. Dated Galway, 29 Dec., 1601. Add. Endd. Ibid, 4A.

6 Jan. LIST of the COMPANIES as they lie dispersed.*

	Place.	Commander.	Strength.
Derry	Sir Henry Docwra	.. 200
		Captain Orme	.. 100
		„ Floud	.. 150
Dunnalonge [Dunalong, near Lifford]	Captain Badby	.. 150

* Dr. Grattan Flood has kindly helped me with the identifications in this document.—*Ed.*

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<i>Place.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>Strength.</i>
Dunnamayn [Donaghmoyne, now Donagh]	{ Captain Atkinson .. " Willis .. " Coach .. " Pinner ..	100 250 100 100
Lephor [Lifford]	{ " Leigh .. " Brookes ..	100 100
Aynogh	" Sidney ..	100
Culmore	" Alford ..	100
Cargan	" Rand ..	150
Culmackatren [Kilmacrenan]	" Vaughan ..	100
Bert	" Windsor ..	150
Ramullan	{ " Bingley .. Sir M. Morgan ..	150 150
Donegal	{ Captain Orrell .. " Sydley ..	150 100
O'Boyle's Castle	{ " Gore .. " Sir John Bolles ..	150 150
Asheroe	{ " Digges .. " Bassett ..	100 100
The Little Island	" Stafford ..	100

Sir Henry Docwra has 100 English horse and Sir John Bolles 50.

Of Irish foot Neale Garve has 200, Shane McManus 50, and Donel McQuyn 50.

Of Irish horse Neale Garve has 75 and Shane McManus 25.

P. 1. *Endd.* in Docwra's hand. *S.P. Ireland* 210, 5.

8 Jan. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.
Camp before Kinsale.

Recommends Richard Brandon, who has served her Majesty for nine years as a voluntary in all journeys without pay. He has served bravely and well at this siege.

P. 2. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid* 6.

Latest date 9 Jan. JOURNAL ON AFFAIRS AT KINSALE.

[*This journal* begins at 27 September with the arrival of the Lord Deputy and Lord President at Cork. It is not kept regularly; and ends with the return of the Lord Deputy to Cork after the fall of Kinsale. So far as the matter in it is not contained in the foregoing pages or in Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* it is calendared here.]

Oct. 20. At the skirmish with Sir John Barkeley's force the Spaniards were amazed and cried out *Misericorda!*

Oct. 31. [Lieut.] Carbery, lieutenant to Captain Thomas Butler was slain.

21 Dec. Tyrone, O'Donnell, O'Rwairk [O'Rorke], Magwir, McMahon, Ranel McSurley, Redmond Burk, O'Conor Sligo's

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sons, and all the rebels in Ireland drew into Munster and were joined by six Spanish ensigns landed at Castlehaven. They were audacious, as appeared by their messages to Don John and by his letters to them, which we intercepted. He mentioned his extremity, their promise to assist him and the facility of the enterprise, the weakness of our army, its position [between two fires &c. *Details*]. The rebels rebored [reported?] all to be theirs "and reasoned whether Don John or Tyrone should have the Lord Deputy his prisoner." Tyrrell and O'Campo that commanded the late arrived Spaniards contended for the frere [?] to relieve the town.

The Lord Deputy gave orders to march on and directed the Lord President to secure the camp and repel sallies, and left with him the Earl of Thomond's horse and Sir Antony Cooke's and Sir Oliver Lambert's [troop and company].* With himself he took such forces as he thought convenient. The marshal advanced with the horse near the ford which lay between them and the enemy, and sent to the Lord Deputy to say that he perceived the enemy to be in some disorder and that, if he had leave to charge, he hoped to do some good service upon them. "The Lord Deputy left it to his discretion. The Earl of Clanricarde that was with the Marshal importuned him to fight. The Lord Deputy drew up the foot with all expedition marching as fast as it was possible. The marshal immediately gave occasion of skirmish. The enemy put forth some loose shot, their firm battalions standing firm on the other side of a bog. Our loose shot were put up close to our horse, but well seconded, to beat the enemy's loose shot into their battle, which was most prudently foreseen by the Lord Deputy. Then the Marshal, the Earl of Clanricarde, Sir Richard Graeme, Captain Taff and Captain Fleming with their horse offered a charge on a battaill of 1,000 foot; and, finding them to stand firm, wheeled about a little while.

By this time Sir William Godolphin with the Lord Deputy's troop and Captain Mynshall with the Lord President's horse, who were appointed to keep still a gross to answer all accidents [and] Sir John Barkley with several bodies of foot were come up, whereupon the Marshal with the Earl of Clanricarde and the captains before named charged again the rear of the same battaill, who presently thereupon fell into disorder and brake, and all the enemy's horse fled. All this while the vantguard of the enemy, in which was Tyrrell and the Spaniards, stood firm upon the side of a bog, unto whom within caliver shot the Lord Deputy had drawn up the rear, and commanded them to stand firm until they received further direction; but, perceiving a certain gross drawn between our men that followed the execution of the fugitive rebels and the other bodies of foot, most circumspectly he drew up a certain squadron to charge them in flank; whereupon immediately the

* Lambert had 25 horse under his command (Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 43). Cooke had 150 foot (*ib.*, p. 41.)

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rebels ran, confusedly marching to the top of the next hill, and there for a little time made a stand; but, seeing the Queen's forces furiously pursuing the volume [?] of her enemies the vant went away with few slain but with the loss of their arms, the which they could not carry away with their berayed trooses. The battell, being the greatest body of the rebels, were all put to the sword, few excepted. The Irish ran away. The Spaniards, like amazed men (cursing the day that ever they came to Ireland) made a stand. Many of them [were] killed; the rest yielding themselves to mercy." O'Campo, the Spanish commander, an alferes and 40 Spaniards were taken prisoners by such as followed the execution* "which continued a mile and a half to the utter shame of the Irish rebels, until the horses were out of breath in running and the horsemen wearied with killing. The dead bodies of the rebels on every side were like the weeds of the field; their calivers, musket, pike, sword, target, head pike and all [for fear] left behind to carry away their cursed carcases."

It is generally reported that none in the field that day blooded his sword more for the Queen of England than the noble Earl of Clanricarde who still cried out, "Make no Irish rebels prisoners. Put them to the sword!

After the retreat was sounded the Lord Deputy knighted the Earl of Clanricarde in the midst of the dead bodies and, returning with the whole army, gave God thanks."*

Other details as to number of combatants, recriminations of the Spanish and Irish, and events on 31 Dec. and 9 Jan.

Pp. 4½. *S.P. Ireland* 210, 7.

[12] Jan. The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in DUBLIN to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Tyrone's retirement from Munster was more like a running away than an orderly march, for he got to O'Moloy's country in Ophaly before we knew he was on foot to return. We had, however, foreseen the probability of this retirement, and had written to the "lords of the Irish country in Leinster" and of the Pale, and especially to Lords Delvin and Dunsany, to draw their men to the passages where they thought Tyrone was most likely to pass, and obstruct him. Yet, notwithstanding these letters timely written, we grieve to say that we hear he and his rabble with him passed along without any encounter, "taking his course over the river Enny near the Abbey of Shroure in Westmeath [Abbeyshrule, co. Longford?]" on the 5th. He will go on through the Brenny to his own country, but we know not in what numbers. We shall send further news as we get

* This vivid account adds much to the story as told by Fynes Moryson. It has apparently been used by Ware for the account given in *Pacata Hibernia* (1810, Vol. II, p. 418 *seq.*), but adds much to that account also. It is evidently written by an eye-witness.

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it, but greatly grieve that such an archtraitor should have been able to go from the north to the south and into the west and back again to the north without any stop or hindrance. We have written to the commanders at Loughfoyle, Knockfergus and the Newry that he is returned, and ordered them to entangle him as much as they can. If the "contract of Scots" had fallen on Tyrone's country during his absence they must have wrought good effects to his ruin; whereas now he will no doubt try to get in some of that race himself, being otherwise weak. On this account the King of Scots should be dealt with to prevent any of his subjects, whether of the islands or mainland, from giving Tyrone any help either in men or means.

We think it likely that the King of Spain is preparing to support the force at Kinsale with further forces. We hear from merchants who have come from those parts that he has lately embarked [embargoed] several French and Scottish ships and that some ships of this city are staid at Lisbon by his order which had been here long since had they been free. We therefore ask for further and prompt succours both by land and sea. *Reports* Don John's letter to Murrough ne Moyre [as above, p. 266]. *Proceeds*:—Also, there has lately escaped out of prison in Galway one James Blake *alias* Captain Caddell [who is] altogether Spanish, and will, we are sure, be a dangerous instrument to execute this surprise. To guard against such surprises we beg that a special force of English be sent over to guard the port towns and corporations, the Lord Deputy being compelled to use most part of the English troops in camp and the Irish soldiers not being to be trusted with such a task.

Pp. 2. *Signed* by the Lord Chancellor and by Cary and Fenton. *Add. Endd. with date* 12 Jan. *S.P. Ireland* 210, 8.

12 Jan.
Dublin.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in DUBLIN
to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We have just heard of a late parley between the Lord Deputy and Don John whereupon there followed a composition. We have heard nothing from the Lord Deputy, but understand that the town of Kinsale is delivered up to his lordship, "which is a most honourable service."

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed* as foregoing. *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 9.

13 Jan.
Rincurran.

ALLEN APSLEY to SAME.

I send an estimate of the victuals in this province.

Three ships are ready here to go to Baltimore and Berehaven to take in 600 Spaniards, and other ships are ready at Cork to bring 1,400 of them from Kinsale with the first wind. That will leave, by their own computation, only 1,200 of them at Kinsale.

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The victualling and embarquing of these men is left in my care with the assistance of the Lord Admiral. I shall do my best in the task.

P. ½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 10. Enclosing :— Estimate of the Victuals in Munster on 12 January, 1602.*

Gives details of the biscuit, butter, cheese, rice, beef and pork which are in hand at Cork, Rincurran, Limerick, Baltimore and Berehaven.

150,000 [i.e. 1,500 cwt.] of biscuit is reserved for the Spaniards. The victuals, of which details are given, will serve 5,000 men with bread for 65 days and other victuals for 62 days.

P. 1. *Signed by Allen Apsley. Ibid, 10A.*

13 Jan.

MEMORANDUM on the IRISH COINAGE.

Shewing how these moneys (as they are now made at 2oz. 18dwt. out of the fire which is near 3oz. in the body) may be made to "hold in charge and proportion" as follows :—

Silver Moneys.

1l.E. makes 3l.Ir. 10s. 0d. or in the proportion of 7 to 2.

Copper Moneys.

The cost of coining 1,000*lb.* of copper (cost of copper and of making) is, estimating the penny at 30*gr.* and the halfpenny at 15*gr.*, 145*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* This is about 7 to 1, and, with her Majesty's allowance, may be made up to 10 to 1.

There has been sent into Ireland 162,000*l.**Ir.*, of which 150,000*l.* was in silver and 12,000*l.* in copper moneys.

The silver money has cost her Majesty 42,857*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.*, and the copper money 1,750*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*, making in all 44,607*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.*

So, out of 55,200*l.* received out of the Exchequer and in Spanish [?] money, there remains to be accounted for—10,592*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.*

Of this about 2,000*l.* is in the workers' hands for coining. About 15,000*l.**Ir.* is ready made in the mint, 5,000*l.* is in hand in gold and silver ready to be coined and in money in receipt of the mint.

Some part is employed in repair of plates and implements, and in fees.

The remainder is ready to be employed upon my account made up. I have long since laboured to do this and cannot do it on account of Sir Richard Martin's perverse dealing.

P. 1. *Anonymous. Endd. generally and with date. Ibid, 11.*

14 Jan.
Cork.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

For this letter see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), Vol. III, pp. 101–108. The letter is there (p. 101) erroneously stated to have been written on Jan. 24th. Its real date is that given here.

Pp. 8. *Signed by the Lord Deputy and by Carew, Wingfield, Gardener and Bouchier. Add. Endd. Ibid, 12. Enclosing :—*

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A. Copy of Don John de Aquila to the Lord Deputy.

The kind friendship which your lordship has shown to me and my affairs obliges me to the same, and by reason thereof to pray your lordship to send hither a person of weight and trust, who may be consulted on a certain business, in which you will understand my friendship. And upon this signature of my name he may come safely.

Quinçal [Kinsale], 10th of January, 1602.*

P. ¼. Copy. Spanish. Signed. Add. "To the Vice-roy and Captain General of the Kingdom of Ireland." S.P. Ireland 210, 12A.

B. and C. Articles made between the Lord Deputy of Ireland and Don John de Aquila for the surrender of the town of Kinsale.*

These articles are published in Fynes Moryson, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 93 seq., and in Ware's Pacata Hibernia (ed. 1810), Vol. II, p. 438 seq. The articles here calendared differ only in phrases from those published in these works; except that the stipulation contained in Art. 8 of the articles (as given by Ware and Moryson) to the effect that the Spanish commander will leave three of his captains in the Lord Deputy's hands as security for the performance of the convention does not appear in these MS. copies. Ware dates the Articles 2 Jan., 160½, and Moryson 12 Jan., 160½. The date given in my MSS. is (in both copies) 7 Jan., 160½.

Pp. 2½ endd. and Pp. 3, endd., &c., as in the printed works referred to. *Ibid*, 12B and C.

D. Memorandum on Don John de Aquila's demands.

For the victualling and transport of his men to Spain he asks that passage be provided for 3,200 men and food for them for six weeks, that they be given flesh on four days of the week and fish on three; and that on every flesh day he may have for each man 24oz. of bread and 6oz. of beef [?]; and on every fish day, the same amount of fish and bread and 1oz. of butter.

He demands for every 100 persons one pipe of wine, and water. He demands for every three men two tons of shipping, and will pay 40s. for every ton and asks that his men may be sent to the Groyne or the next port they may arrive at. He demands 330 tons of shipping to be sent to Baltimore and the western ports to transport the forces which are there, and that they shall carry 40 days' provision of flesh, fish and butter in the above proportions.

P. ¾. Endd. *Ibid*. 12D.

JOURNAL describing the CAMPAIGN in MUNSTER.

This journal begins with the meeting of the Lord Deputy and Council at Kilkenny on receipt of the news of the Spanish

* Kindly translated for me by Mrs. Lomas. In the covering letter the Lord Deputy and Council say that this letter was written by Don John on "New Year's Eve." The difference in the Calendars of course explains the apparent discrepancy.

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landing at Kinsale, in September, 1601, and ends after the surrender of Don John. It recapitulates the narrative contained in the foregoing documents down to the date of the defeat and flight of Tyrone. It *proceeds* to speak of Don John offering a parley [on 31 Dec., see Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 88] and continues the narrative of the negotiations with him down to the time when the Lord Deputy and Council decided to accept Don John's terms [*ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 92-3]. The journal, however, is at its conclusion more explicit than Moryson's narrative as to the bad case of Mountjoy's force, which induced him to accede to the offer of the Spanish commander. Consequently it is given below as follows* :—

When Sir William Godolphin reported these offers to the Lord Deputy and Council, which, by much negotiation had been brought to the heads of the articles of a treaty, it was thought well, "for divers important reasons, to proceed roundly to the agreement. For whereas in the propositions by him made there was not anything that admitted exceptions on our part, but only that he required to carry with him his ordnance, munition and treasure, that being no way prejudicial to the main scope or drift of our treaty . . . besides that, the treasure being at first but 100,000 ducats" and that much wasted by payments and still liable for the wages of the poor soldiers, "how needful it was to embrace this accord may clearly be seen by whosoever considereth the state of our army, almost utterly tired; how full of danger and difficulties it was to attempt a breach defended by so many hands; how long time it might have cost us if we lodged in the breach before we could have carried the town, it being full of strong castles; how her Majesty's ships lying in the harbour should have been, and others, forced speedily to forsake us for want of victuals; how ourselves were not provided above for six days at the time of this parley; that we had neither ammunition nor artillery but for one battery in one place at once, five of our pieces being before crazed, and finally that if we had missed of our purpose the whole country had been hazarded. Furthermore . . . that the Spaniards at Baltimore, Castlehaven and Berhaven by virtue of this contract were likewise to surrender those places and depart the country, which how hard a matter it would have proved and how long and dangerous a war it would have drawn on to root them out, they being strongly fortified and well stored with victuals, munition and artillery, may easily be conjectured," since the army must have rested some time and then have received fresh supplies, &c. [as in Moryson, *op. cit.*, p. 92]. Moreover, the rebels can now be attacked, which would have been impossible without this agreement.

Pp. 123. Signed by the Lord Deputy and by Carew, Wingfield, Gardener and Bouchier. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 13.

* The following narrative should be compared with Moryson's narrative, *op. cit.*, p. 91, par. 3, to p. 92, "absolute subjection."

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Cork.

The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have now the army to dispose of where it may both live and answer the demands of the service and foreign expectations. I have also to reduce the list, to take care for our sick, and make arrangements which will rid us of the Spaniards, and to receive and assure the places which they evacuate. But what troubles me most is that we have failed to give her Majesty satisfaction by the despatch we sent by Sir Oliver St. John ; "for to make an apology of that I presumed clear in itself is as hard as to prove principles, though common sense doth allow them." God has prospered our efforts ; but it is our hard condition as her Majesty's ministers in these great and doubtful affairs, "that we are not only subject to the dangers and labours of our charge but to the imputation of the event if it be not good," however just our counsels or constant our care. Our plans in the matter of ridding the realm of the Spaniards have been successful, and have saved her Majesty from a charge which she would hardly have been able to bear ; yet if the Queen does not make a gracious interpretation of our actions there is plenty (in our late conduct) on which the malice of our enemies may seize. "I can say no more but we have sowed faithfully and I hope God will give the increase, and with his blessings in a good harvest chock all the tares that the divill hath mingled with our good seed."

Now is the time to apply ourselves to the final settlement of this nation ; but the method which we are to adopt to do it is for her Majesty to decide. We her ministers can only deliver her the particularities of it, *nam est officium intellectus concludere ; sensus versatur in particularibus*. I do not know how this may be done so fully as I desire without my own presence at the disputation unless you will give my Lord President leave to come over. I should much rather come over, though for a short time, myself, to kiss her Majesty's hand and thoroughly understand their lordships, so that I might in the future proceed more directly according to the rules they may lay down to lead me ; "and in truth, Sir, my spirits are so wasted with a continual labour of body and mind that I shall grow unprofitable if I do not fetch some new life from her fair eyes that are the only motives of all that I think or do worthily ; and, seeing from her beams all you derive your light in counsels and comfort of your lives, alas, what have I deserved that I should be thus long banished in darkness !"

If I come over I must return speedily ; and if you send for the President, I must of necessity stay in Munster. The President knows Munster very well ; and I am less experienced in it than in any other part of the kingdom ; so that I think I may be best spared. If foreign forces come not, there will not be much to be done ; and if they do I may be back as quickly as reinforcedments can be sent. The Spaniards may be "deep wise men" and may be trying to deceive me into the belief that they want to be disengaged out of Ireland [whereas really they do not want to be so] ; but if they are not so anxious I am more deceived

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than ever I was in anything ; and I am sure that if the news of this composition comes to Spain before the dispatch of their supplies they will never again send into Ireland ; but when these men do return, and the King of Spain finds himself with shipping and an army ready, I know not what he may do elsewhere. If they come here it will not be for any long work in Ireland but to push for England. If he had landed in Connaught he would have been far away from England but sure at the first to have made use of the greatest part of Ireland and would have forced the Queen into a long and inconvenient war. The only way to avoid that is, I think, to leave some slight opposition which will prevent him from passing suddenly or far into the kingdom "and to begin with him in Spain with the flower of this army strengthened with an addition out of England." I think this is the best course, but have no desire whatever to take part in such a campaign, and should not envy any man who was appointed to carry it on.

Pp. 3. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 14.

14 Jan.
Cork.

The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have cast Captain Butler, who had one of the new companies. The newest are the weakest and I would not have cast him if I had known how to keep him standing. I shall have to cast more soon to save the Queen expense. I let you know of this as I think Captain Butler worthy of command, and efficient.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 15.

[14] Jan.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SAME.

Recapitulations. Proceeds :—O'Donnell, Redmond Bourke and Captain Mostian departed for Spain with Suryago, who left for Lisbon the Sunday following the defeat of the Irish forces. Tyrone in his hasty march out of Munster lost many men, leaving some men drowned at every ford. At the river of Mallow he lost above 100 ; and at the river of Moy, near Lady Kildare's house called Crum, he left many, and in passing a small river near Limerick, in O'Mulrian's country, many were drowned. "All the way they went his tired runaways let fall their arms, which the people of the country gathered up and, withal, took some of their heads ; but nothing so many as they might, for a troop of women would have beaten his army." We have not heard what has become of him since ; but from the letter* which I send you will see that we killed more of the traitors than our [earlier] relations alleged.

Refers to the negociations with Don John as set out in the preceding letters. Proceeds :—Sir William Godolphin's negotiation of the matter earned him the highest praise and he is admitted to be a man of extraordinary good parts.

* A note here adds :—"I cannot find the letter at the moment, but the Sheriff of Limerick wrote to me that Tyrone's people confess to 1,600 killed and 400 hurt."

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The day after Don John had signed the articles he dined with my Lord Deputy in the camp; and the next day Sir William Godolphin, Admiral Leveson and I went to him [Don John] to arrange about transporting and victualling his men. I dined with him in Kinsale "where I beheld a miserable town, unsavoury, and the houses so torn with our artillery as I think the like hath been seldom seen; and yet hard to make any great slaughter of men by reason of the vaulted cellars in which they lodged securely."

On the 9th the Lord Deputy brought Don John with him to this town where he remains a hostage for the performance of the articles. Captains Flower and Harvey have been despatched by sea with orders to receive the castles of Castlehaven, Baltimore and Berehaven from the Spanish garrisons and, in the ships which carry them there, the Spaniards must be carried to Spain.

Sir Richard Moryson will tell you at length the reasons why both parties agreed to the composition. "If any Tamerlan mislike of this composition and will say that he would have done more in making himself more victorious by his sword, when your honour hath well considered of the reasons that moved us, it may be you will commend his valour but suspend his judgment." We have now to export the Spaniards to Spain, and they are not less than 3,500. This is Don Juan's estimate and is no doubt accurate; for it would be folly for him to exaggerate the number when he has to pay for victual and transport for all. When these Don Diegos get back to Spain and tell their fellow countrymen what Ireland and the Irish are like, "I suppose" it will alter the King of Spain's counsels. No one could believe in what scorn and detestation the Spaniards at this present do hold the Irish but we, who are witnesses of the fact.

Ireland is now in a condition more favourable for complete reduction than at any time in her Majesty's reign; but those who of late relapsed are almost desperate, thinking their faults unpardonable. This may make them persevere; and "to reduce them by the sword, although it is feasible, yet the charges of such a reduction will cost the Queen more crowns than their heads and lands will countervail." As "a mere commonwealth man of Ireland or as a soldier," I think it would be well if all of them were made examples to future ages; but, having to consider the mountains of treasure that have been exhausted here, and the length and expense of such a war of extermination, I wish in my heart that the Queen would receive these traitors into her mercy, provided they humbly submit. I cannot say that they will be good subjects, but I think that we shall not, in our age, see any dangerous or general revolt. The main cause of the late rising was the hope of Spanish succours, of which they will now despair. In Munster none of the English relapsed, and none of the Irish but the Carties and dependents of Florence McCartie. Their numbers in rebellion were not above 1,000, but the country in which they live (to the westward of Kinsale, mountainous and inaccessible to carriages, without which our army cannot live) will be very difficult to conquer. They may

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no doubt be banished in a few months; but that is only a qualifying of the rebellion, for as long as the rebel lives he returns on every light occasion to make more business. Examples of this habit are the Baron of Lixnaw, the Knight of the Valley and John Fitzthomas, "who with a few rogues do now range up and down the country"; and unless they are extirpated there will be no permanent peace. The extirpation will be a costly task. The Queen may do with Ireland as she likes; and the proudest traitor in it will be proud to accept her mercy.

Since Tyrone's defeat, the Lord Deputy and I have been very careful to seek out a fit instrument to deal with him as you and the Lord Admiral prescribed. He has sent to us one Richard Owen, who took his son to Spain. He came to me and I brought him to my Lord; and there in my presence he delivered Tyrone's message, which was that he desired to be received into the Queen's mercy and to live as her subject so he might be assured of his life. The Lord Deputy entertains the matter in a cold manner and has sent Owen back to bring a written submission from Tyrone, and will then let him hear his pleasure. In the meantime you may let his lordship know if the Queen still continues in the same resolution. If this "monster of Ulster" is reduced Ireland will be wholly in conformity, and I do not believe that there will be in 20 years a rising which 500 men will not be able to correct. During this long siege the best subjects in Munster, as I foretold, "stood at the gaze" and gave no aid. The towns also looked on, ready to join with the strongest sword. In my opinion both the towns and country are sorry that the Spaniards did not prevail. While Tyrone with his army lay upon our backs the townsmen of Cork were proud and would not know those Englishmen with whom they were familiarly acquainted; [but] no sooner was the victory ours but their faces changed, and ever since are tractable. The noblemen and gentlemen of the country came presently unto us, making semblance of joy for our happy success, and some of the relapsed rebels are moving to be received. Till I hear from you I know not how to advise the Deputy to deal with these; and he will not leave here till he has an answer to this despatch.

It is most convenient that some strong fortifications be built at Kinsale, Baltimore and Berehaven to protect these parts against any foreign enemy, "which must be the King of Spain's bridge into England, for so Don Juan confesses he determined." No point further off on the coast is suitable for this purpose; and, to master those proud towns, some citadels must be built in Cork, Limerick and Waterford, whose garrisons may be defrayed by some dues levied on the merchandize. The Lord Deputy agrees with me in this, and would be glad to go into England but for two months in order to propound a policy for settling Ireland. If the Queen does not consent to this (and she may think that he should stay to "hammer the irons which himself hath forged") then he desires that I may go furnished with his instructions, as being best able to deal with the matter next after himself. I think that one of us should be allowed to

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go, and if I am chosen "I will justly perform the office of a true relator of what his lordship shall give me in charge to deliver into her sacred ears."

I agree with you that a fleet should be sent to sever the Irish from Spain; but the Spanish forces may land before it can get to this coast; and if they do so the object with which it is sent is frustrated. If Don Juan is made the commander of the new forces the King's word is engaged, through that of his general, to return them to Spain without doing offence, but if they are under some other officer "then we have only an action of unkindness against the King, and Don Juan's person, which is too small a gage for so great a cause." Some small shipping should therefore lie off and on in the height of the North Cape to see if any fleet pass in Ireland; and another to the westward of Scilly. Sir Richard Leveson [should be ordered], if the fleet be passed before he set sail, to direct his course to Ireland and do his best upon the fleet, if they do not, according to Don Juan's covenant, speedily return. Even if they do return, yet the Lord Deputy has not promised that our fleet shall not annoy the coast of Spain; so that he [Leveson] may serve against that fleet without any breach of faith or dishonour.

In the general despatch you will receive satisfaction as to the disposing of the supplies, &c., now coming, and as to all the occurrences of the service.

P.S.—I am very glad that all men have leave to transport commodities here out of England, for here we live in great scarcity. This province is wasted by supplying the various armies and by the spoiling of loose vagabonds, and we must yet harass it more bitterly that it may feel the fruit of the rebellion.

You write that "your fingers in England tickle to hang James Fitzthomas." He should be spared for a short time, for his brother is now in Munster, but not followed by many; and this, I think, for fear that James be harmed in the Tower; but once this rebellion is crushed he might well be made a "fair example."

Pp. 8. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 210, 16.

14 Jan. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.
Cork.

Refers to the other despatches of the day in which public affairs are dealt with; and will now deal with his private affairs. *Proceeds* :—The Lord Deputy is very anxious to get leave to go over, "pretending it to be very expedient" that himself should go, and asking that, if he is not permitted, I may go and that he will stay in Munster during my absence. I think one of us should go and that I may be best spared; for the whole weight of the kingdom is on him, whereas I am only responsible for a particular [part]. I no doubt cannot speak so well as he about other parts of Ireland, but if I have his full instructions I shall be able to do so; for I know Ireland well generally, and no man can give a better account than I of Munster—the province from which evil to England will arise, if it arise at all. I write this to show that, as one of us must go, reason is in favour of sending

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me, and I hope you will labour for my leave, "and when you have me once there I hope you will find the means that I may lead the rest of my life with you, which, by the living God, I do more thirst after than to be the greatest officer in this kingdom for term of my life." Temperate spirits are easily satisfied with a gentlemanly living free from want. My wife's jointure she brought with her will support my children "and a small help will settle my estate that gape not for plums above my reach." I have written a letter to the Queen, which I enclose. Please deliver it or not as you approve or disapprove the style. "I dare not move anything that may make her suspect that I would be a suitor to amend my fortunes; and therefore only do sue for leave to see her, which I protest by the mighty God I do infinitely desire."

I am ruined by the dearth which this late war hath brought upon the country. A tun of beer is sold for 10*l.*, and at that rate I pay for all the beer I have. Other prices have risen in proportion, "and tho' I cannot deny but that my entertainments are very good yet, the time considered, it makes the heare [hair] grow through my hood." If I am to be poor I had rather be poor in England, where I may have the company of my friends, than here with people whose conversation is displeasing and to whom our nation is hateful. "Sir, I beseech you, draw me unto you and, while I am able to stir, make use of my service, for unto you I have dedicated my heart's love and from you I will never depart if my cursed fortune do not make the separation." If you were not living I protest I would not leave the place I hold to be "the minion unto the greatest subject in that kingdom; and if it be my ill hap to outlive you the rest of my life shall be spent in widowhood." I have every reason to be grateful to you. *Flattering and fawning expressions.*

I hope you have got my three cipher letters sent you by different hands. [*Details.*] The Lord Deputy is very kind to me, and of late in greater measure than before, for he uses me altogether in his affairs of weight and tells me of all his proceedings, which he does not do to any other counsellor in the kingdom. "The emulation you feared, and myself was doubtful of, is, as I think, wholly removed, whereof I am exceeding glad, as well for the public good which his services hath performed as for my particular, now assuring myself that no cause of breach can arise between us." Although he is chiefly to be praised for this success, we also, the inferior ministers, are entitled to "some spark of glory." He now applauds my counsels much more than he did before these happy days fell unto him. "He is much distasted with 3006 and 2048, for by his friends in England he is advertised that the[y] plague him to 2021. This did 2049 see in divers letters written to him."*

Pp. 3. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 17. *Enclosing* :—

* I have no means of identifying the persons designated by these ciphers. In the *Cal. of S.P. Carew* (1601-3), p. 221, the editor has identified several persons thus designated, though I know not on what ground. Amongst them are 3006=Raleigh and 2048=Cobham.

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*Sir George Carew to the Queen.**"Sacred Majesty,"**I offer loyal thanks for your Majesty's letter. It is a great comfort "to a poor creature exiled from the blessing which others enjoy in beholding your angelic person, whose beauty adorns the world and whose wisdom is the miracle of our age.**Divine Sovereign,—Three years are now almost fully expired since my employment into this kingdom took its beginning" during which I have had no rest in body or mind. If this realm is not to be invaded from Spain (whereof in a few days a judgment may be made) grant me leave but only for two months to attend you at Court this winter, which will do the service no harm and will relieve my mind and body.**"Ireland is deficient of learned men of English birth, and with Irish physicians, knowing the good will they bear me (if they were learned), I dare not adventure." Fulsome expressions.**P. 3. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 17A.*14 Jan.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

When the better sort of citizens quitted Kinsale they brought unto me their charter, seal, standard and mace, but with a protest that the handing over of them was not a surrender, but to show their duty and have them safely kept. I doubt not but by law all is forfeited, and their franchises in the Queen's power. When the Spaniards are gone I am sure they will demand them of me; but until I receive instructions I shall not return them. Her Majesty will probably restore them to their ancient liberties; but in this matter some discretion should be used: for the corporate towns of this kingdom have in general got privileges which are too large, which hinders the Queen's service. These should be abridged, and as her Majesty thinks that some fortifications should be raised the citizens should be enjoined to make them or, if they cannot do so without help, to contribute as much as possible to their construction. Pray let the Lord Deputy know your views about this matter. I send you a letter from Mr. Morgan, the Exchange-Master here, to Mr. Watson, which will show you how the exchange of moneys goes in Cork. *Details.* I pray God the exchange may hold, but I fear there will be so many coiners that she will lose. It is said that Tyrone has at present his mint in working, and many other knaves are practising that art.

*P. 1. Add. Endd. Ibid, 18. Enclosing:—**Morgan, the Exchange Master at Cork, to Watson, the Exchange Master in London.**I have not in this month taken in any English or old money, and do not look to do so until some things are reformed which now, by reason of the troubles, pass current uncontrollable. Many people abroad in the country will not forgo any*

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commodities save for old moneys decreed [decried?]. The commodities are now no other than flesh [sic] that are [sic] bought out of the country; and which the butchers say that they cannot get except for the old money. I do not know whether this is so or not, but they and all others of the Irish towns desire this opinion of them to be held amongst us. "The people here are very subtle and will both bite and whine." The merchants here complain much of these moneys; and yet (the wars excepted) they never gained so much by anything that was here established as they do thereby. The exchange of these new moneys chargeth them but with one shilling less in twenty, which heretofore they would gladly have given for the warranty and assurance of their money in England, "and yet what commodities soever they sell they make five in twenty [i.e. 25 %] difference between old and new in the price of their wares," thus making a profit of 4s. in 20 over and above what they were wont to make before. In exchange amongst themselves they hold the same rate—5s. in the 1l. between old and new; "and therefore her Majesty's exchange must needs fail where she is so much outbidden."

The townsmen complain very much that the country do refuse these new moneys, but will accuse none in particular thereof, "for that they are well content it should so be, howsoever they seem." Their reasons for this are two: first that thereby they will bring old money to better esteem that they may make their profit thereby of others' necessities, while these new moneys runs only current in town and camp; and secondly that, the country refusing obstinately to accept the new moneys, and none other being obtainable except at a dear rate, at last upon a general want there will spring up a general complaint whereby her Majesty may be moved again to restore the old currency.

That the merchants maintain the difference as aforesaid between the old and the base coin in the price of their wares I will prove by two instances. A stone of tallow (16lb.) may be bought here for 3s. 4d. old money, but costs 4s. 4d. new money. A good hide will cost you here 15 royals, but 11 royals in old money. All the money that the country [people] obtain for commodities they quickly bring to the merchants to exchange for usquebagh wine and cloth. "When the merchants receive old moneys out of the country then there is no speech of differences, but when he is to forgo old money to them that want it for employment in the country then he will learn them the difference. These people without conscience will meet their profit at a hair's breadth; therefore look to them," for I think that when they receive standard coin out of the exchange in England they will bring it over here to make a profit, or use it for purchasing commodities in France.

Two reasons combine to make me think that they return money from England hither. One is that they make a profit by doing it; the other is the desire which merchants of this town now have to pass their moneys to Bristol rather than to London;

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for if they meant to employ it for wares, they would rather pass it to London, which is the chiefest and widest market. The remedy is, I think, to refuse to give standard money out of the exchange to Irish or foreign merchants unless they will undertake to spend it in England, and not to grant more bills than one to any person who shall not return a certificate from the banks or Custom house that he hath made good proofs of his employments there. I desire neither to offend by charging the banks or to ease the banks to the charge of her Majesty. I have had no directions except the proclamation and a warrant to avouch my doings. "Although the leene [lien ?] between me and the Irish is like what the ive [ivy] hath to the oak," I dare not do as I would. I have in the last month charged the banks more heavily than ever. In each month I will be careful not to receive back so much as has been issued by the paymasters. The paymasters here have no money for the impresting of the army, but till the middle or end of February I can supply them [with] what they have from me; "against when*" pray call on the Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary for the appointing of the same here. I pray you also make them acquainted with the special notes in this letter.

P.S.—9,000*l.* or 10,000*l.* have been sent from Dublin by Mr. Treasurer for impresting the army here.

Pp. 2½. Copy. Endd. as in heading; the endorsement verifying the copy, and being signed by Sir George Carew. S.P. Ireland 210, 18A.

14 Jan.
Cork.

SIR EDWARD WINGFIELD to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have not been able to perform what I promised in my last letter, and "bedge" of your pardon. My "expenes" here is intolerable.

Refers to the surrender of Don John in person as pledge, &c. [as before]. *Proceeds* :—The Spaniards had fortified themselves strongly at Berehaven, Castlehaven and Baltimore.

The composition was honourable for either side : they to march away with their arms "badg and badgidge." If they had endured a breach it would have cost many lives before it had been carried. They had "2,000 hands within the town, which are always able to stop a gap with great advantage against a powerful army." Besides, our troops were grown weak by the long seige and our supply of powder low. Moreover, after we had taken Kinsale (with heavy loss) we would have then had a worse campaign against the other forts; for we could not draw ordnance there by reason of the mountains, and our ships could not have entered the harbour without great peril. They had possessed and fortified the harbour; so that "without mines or by scalladoe [escalade] I do not know how we should have supplanted them." Thank you for reminding "my Lord Deaboty" of me.

P. 1. (Hol.) *Primitive spelling. Add. Endd. Ibid, 19.*

* The use of "against" for "by the time that" is evidently good English at this period.

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14 Jan.
Rincurran.

ALLEN APSLEY to SECRETARY CECIL.

By Sir Richard Lucen [Leveson] I sent you "the like estimate . . . as is here enclosed," telling you something of the shipping of these Spaniards. There are in this harbour three ships which have in them 300 soldiers with victuals for three months and 42 days' [victuals] for 600 Spaniards. They are ready to take the first wind to Baltimore and Berehaven, where the soldiers will be landed and the Spaniards embarked. In two days 150 more Spaniards will be embarked here to go direct to Spain. We shall then have shipping, here and at Cork for 1,250 more, which will leave 1,200 still at Kinsale. These must stay till shipping comes either from England, Waterford or those ports. I shall do all I can to expedite their going.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. Signed. Enclosure missing. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 20.

15 Jan.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CARY to SAME.

As Tyrone was marching home I sent a messenger to cross him in the Brenny and bring word of the manner of his retreat. Enclosed is his information.

I hear that the Lord Deputy will now return to Dublin after he has rested here a little and reduced his companies to ease the Queen's charge. I hope he will "prosecute the traitor in his den" and not "omit the opportunity now offered being pulled on his knees." Pray send more "powther" over, for our store here is reduced to 35 barrels. We late sent sixteen barrels to Loughfoyle with a double proportion of match, where it was sorely needed.

I am exceedingly desirous that nothing should hinder this journey nor to give any long breathing to the rebel, but that the service may be followed with all expedition; and have therefore written to the Lord Treasurer for victuals.

Contrary winds prevent treasure from being brought from Chester. We want it near, as I sent all my reserve to the army in Munster.

P. 1. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 21. Enclosing :—

Intelligence as to Tyrone's Retreat.

Tyrone encamped on the 7th in O'Rely's town and "there relieved his force with some cows he had taken from O'Rely, they having not eaten anything till then since their overthrow but garron's flesh." On the 8th Tyrone lay at MacMahon's house, on the 9th at Henry Oge's, and on the 10th at Dungannon.

Tyrone was very angry with O'Rely and the rest of the borderers that they had not during his absence invaded and spoiled the Pale.

Rory O'Donnell, brother to O'Donnell, Macguire, MacMahon, Henry Oge and Randall McSawerley returned with Tyrone.

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O'Rorke parted from Tyrone in O'Farrell Bane's country with 200 men. When all these were brought together their numbers were about 2,000 foot and 200 horse. Half of them wanted arms and their horses were weak and scarce able to go. They were themselves much worn, and he thinks 400 fresh soldiers would easily have overthrown them all.

The rebels estimated their losses, in battle or on the journey, at 3,000, and 500 garrons and horses with all their baggage. "There was wonderful howling and lamentation in the country upon their return for the loss of their people."

The intelligencer left Tyrone on the morning of the 10th at Henry Oge's house. Tyrone grieved much at his journey into Munster and "sorried" that he had not staid and spoiled the Pale. He seemed to be angry with Henry Oge for persuading him to go the journey. Henry Oge answered "Tyrone, though I persuaded you to go the journey I would not have had you run away, but to have staid and tried your strength."

The rebels themselves say that their losses would have been much greater but for the action of our Connaught horsemen, who "drave the rebels before them, striking them with the butt ends of their staves." They attribute their defeat to the fact that their horse ran away when the Lord Deputy's horse charged them, and brake into their battalia and disordered their foot, "and then the Lord Deputy's horse followed and killed them at their pleasure."

After the overthrow Don John sent to Tyrone to reunite his forces and attack the Lord Deputy again, but Tyrone would not listen to the suggestion and hastened away home, and was in the Breny before any one heard of his coming.

He heard that Tyrone and O'Donnell conferred after the overthrow and agreed that O'Donnell should go into Spain, "and that they give it out that O'Donnell before St. Patrick's Day next will return unto Ireland and bring with him 20,000 Spaniards"; and that Tyrrell is in O'Sullivan's country, whither he escaped, after the overthrow, with 500 soldiers.

Thirteen leaders or captains of galloglasses were lost in the battle. Of Randall McSawerley's 400 foot not above 30 returned. O'Rorke lost 300 of his 500. Cormack McBaron and McGwire lost nearly all the foot they sent out, and so did McMahan; so that their losses were, it seems, very great.

Six or seven days before Tyrone's return his son Hugh was gone into the Rowte with 1,000 foot and 120 horse to impeach the English for the preys they made there.

Pp. 2½. Endd. "Intelligence of 13 Jan. 1601[-2]." S.P. Ireland 210, 21A.

14 Jan.
Newry.

SIR FRANCIS STAFFORD to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have information as to Tyrone's discomfited return from other sources and especially from Shane Sheale, Tyrone's trumpeter,

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who was with Tyrone in the fight and on his return, and now maketh means to me for his protection. He says that :—

On the 8th Tyrone came to Henry Oge's house accompanied only by Henry Oge, 12 horsemen and four boys. Most of them had no swords, morions or staves. Tyrone was very glad to get back to his own country. They all admit that they have lost 1,100 or 1,200 men. They draw home daily stripped of all their arms and very poor. His bonnaughts said openly that if they had not been swifter of foot than our horses were not one of them would have escaped. God be thanked that they were put to that trial; and "I pray God send her Majesty and her Deputy many such matches.

Tyrone braggeth much and proclaimeth great pay of good silver and Spanish gold and threateneth to do what mischief he can to the Pale, but it is thought that the blow which he hath now received hath so heavily lighted upon his people both in the loss of their arms and other ways as he need not to be much feared here for a while."

On the day in which he was defeated Tyrone had in the field 20 ensigns with 300 men under each ensign. The company of Spaniards in Castlehaven are about 700, and with these were 300 or 400 with Tyrone. "Their own horsemen began first to break them." O'Donnell was not at the fight, but was severed from them by reason of a mist in the morning, and Tyrone has not seen him since.

They report that many more were drowned in their retreat than were killed, "and, by these very words, that as a herd of swine would take the water so for fear they did and were drowned in great numbers more than can be known; and further saith that they that would kiss them in their going forward did both strip them and shoot bullets at them in their return; and, for their arms, they did drown them and tread them down in every bog and soft place under their feet." I further in jesting sort told him that I understood that Tyrone had since his return gathered a new force to go into Munster to help the Spaniards. His answer was "Tyrone might go in a boat if he pleased, but that never a man of Tyrone would go with him," and that the Spaniards had best trust to themselves, for that they were like to get small help from Tyrone, and that, till May Day, the furthest journey Tyrone would make would be from Dungannon to the Blackwater or Magheriloune [Magheralough].

Randell McSurley of Donluce [Dunluce] lost seventy of his rising out. I understand that very few horsemen were lost. Tyrone is very sorry that it fell upon his foot, in whom was always his greatest trust. They confess that 100 horse stole from them while they were in Munster. I send a list of Tyrone's captains who, beside many others of note whom I cannot set down, were killed.

As you know, I lately had the misfortune that Cormack McBaron's son escaped out of this place by the treachery of the jailor. I hope you have suspended your judgment on me for this, and now write to say that I had that false jailor killed at

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Dungannon on December 31 last, where, for his reward, he was made constable by Tyrone. The party that killed him has proffered me better services.

I hope to keep all the forts here in good condition (as they now are) until the Lord Deputy look hitherward again. I suppose this will be soon; yet, as Tyrone is now so weak, I am "put in mind still to touch to your honour how many good occasions of service have slipped us here, for want of better force in these parts," and that if we were now enabled I would be able to do some important service. I leave it to the Council in Dublin to say how I have served hitherto.

P.S.—The following are the names of Tyrone's captains slain in Munster :—

Rory Oge Mc Cordoragh McOwen, captain of 200 and a leader of great account with Tyrone.

Two of his brothers, gentlemen of good respect.

Kedagh McDonell, captain of 150.

Terleogh O'Hagan, " "

Donell Gorme McRedmond McDonell.

Cooley Duff McDonell.

Two of McCann's sons, gentlemen of good worth.

Neale O'Neale, ancient to Captain Sheale.

Pp. 2½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 22.

15 Jan.
Cork.

THE EARL OF CLANRICARDE TO SECRETARY CECIL.

I hoped to be in England ere this, or should have written, to clear away all doubts as to my affection for you. But as each day brings with it occasions to keep me here, "and that my desire to be declared yours (if at least you will be pleased to esteem of my affection) is impatient of delay, merely in the confidence of your worthy disposition and mine own innocency," I wish to say that "as I unfainedly loved him whom I esteemed her Majesty's most dutiful and worthy servant," so I will with better reason "embrace and honour your noble self."

P. 1. *A polite letter. (Hol.) Add. Endd. Ibid.* 23.

15 Jan.
Knockfergus.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER TO SAME.

*Refers to his agreement with Sir James McConnell for the delivery of Dunluce Castle, his negotiations with the Lord of Kentyre, &c. Proceeds :—*Tyrone is now returned back to Dungannon, and those who joined him are anxious to be received [into mercy], but, as they are now fallen and miserable, to forgive them would only be to start a new rebellion. There is not in these parts "a lordlike Irish truly and obediently her subject. Ignorance, colour of religion, desire of liberty and detestation of civility makes them to hate us with a deadly hatred; and their barbarism gives us cause to think them unworthy of other treatment than to be made perpetual slaves to her Majesty." Their treachery has caused a loss of blood and treasure which might have

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conquered three such kingdoms. I hope they will receive such "laws and punishments as they have well deserved and that they will be "crubde [cribbed?] from further running into madness."

The Lord Deputy's letters shew an intention to make these parts his base for operations against Tyrone. No place is better, for the traitor is hemmed in on the south by the garrisons which his Lordship has placed or will place, and on the west by the force of Connaught, whilst Tyrconnell is already taken from him and there is an easy entrance by the Bande [Bann] side [to Dungannon]. Any defences which he has prepared are towards the Blackwater.

Some fortification must be erected on the Lough side near Dungannon, and supplied by boats from Massereene. This will keep a force [acting against Dungannon] from want of supplies and carriage. To that end this store [*i.e.* at Knockfergus] must be plentifully supplied (it is now bare), that we may be able to transport it to Massereene. The country [between these points] is now waste and wanting carriage. Sir Henry Docwra intends to plant at Coleraine on O'Cane's side; and we should do the same on this in the Roote, but have not the necessary tools. This place can be victualled by sea and by passing up the Bann; and from thence [Coleraine] it is a plain march to Dungannon. Owing to the late victory we shall need no Scots to help us.

The misery here is great. The new coin will not circulate except in the town amongst ourselves. The Scots and others in the country will not take it, for "their trading for small sums will not bear their charge in seeking it returned from the places of exchange." A Scot lately broke the lodging and chest of Mr. Beere, the exchange master here, and stole over 500*l.*; but we recovered the money in 14 days and executed the thief. Pray give orders to replenish our store here. The men and arms sent last were the worst ever sent to a war and a charge rather than a service to the Queen.

We want horse, as we have only thirteen; and we should have 100 good men to replace the worst of those sent last.

Among the Irish it is reported that O'Donnell is either slain, drowned or gone into Spain.

Pp. 2½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 24.

16 Jan.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Recommends the bearer, Captain Panton, who has been "casht." He has served as well as any other, and imagines that he is injured in reputation. He should be remembered if occasion arises.

P. ½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 25.

17 Jan.
Shandon.

SAME to SAME.

Recommends the bearer, Captain Walter Crampton, who was cashed merely for the weakness of his company, which had been depleted by hard weather and service. His company was one

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of the last sent to Ireland and suffered the most, being least acclimatised.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *Similar to foregoing. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 26.*

17 Jan.
Cork.

SIR WILLIAM POWER to SECRETARY CECIL.

Professions of service. As my best friend in England, the young Earl of Desmond, is reported dead, I have further reason to ask for your protection. I am grateful to you for causing me to be restored to my company when the now Lord Deputy did cash me at his first coming here, and for the order (not yet executed by his lordship) that it should be raised to its old strength of 150. My service has earned this, and I pray you to see the order is obeyed.

The late unfortunate young Earl of Desmond has left four poor sisters behind him here. One, Lady Roche, is best off of them, but of mean estate. The others are much distressed, as the annuity allowed them by the Queen is very small. They are friendless. You have been a father to them, and it would "add much to your immortal fame to be so unto them in procuring her Majesty's goodness towards them for their reasonable matching here or there." Pray excuse my importunity on account of my charitable motives.

P. 1. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 27.*

18 Jan.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SAME.

I recommend the bearer, Captain William Yelverton, one of the last captains employed into Ireland with a foot company. He fought valiantly at the siege, but the climate reduced his company so that it had to be discharged. He did his utmost, but, with men unaccustomed to the tainted air of camp, the loss could not be avoided. I hope he may be employed in further service or, if not, may be rewarded; for all his land in Connaught lies waste.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 28.*

Same.

SAME to SAME.

Similar to foregoing in favour of Captain Thomas Butler, who has been cashed.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 29.*

19 Jan.
Cork.

SAME to SAME.

I recommend the bearer, Captain John Marbury. He was formerly employed hither with a company and was soon after discharged—I know not for what reason. He went through the siege without discontentment, "but with a good spirit ever ready to attend the hottest action."

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 30.*

1602.

24 Jan.
Barry Court.

The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

When casting some companies I had to cast Captain Yelverton only for weakness of his company. I would not have done so if I could have kept it standing without great charge to her Majesty. The weakness was caused by the "extremities of this winter's siege."

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 31.

29 Jan.
Cork.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCILLORS at CORK to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

[For this see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), Vol. III, pp. 111-113.]

Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed by the Lord Deputy, Carew and Gardener. Add. Endd. "R. 6 February by Captain Butler." *Ibid*, 32.

29 Jan.
Dublin.

SIR EDWARD MOORE to [].

Details. I am daily in danger of being sued by John Sanky, and not without cause, for you have dealt negligently in the matter and suffered yourself to be overthrown by negligence. You have thereby hurt yourself and put all John Sanky's friends against him; "for that he hath so earnestly dealt in the matter, trusting upon your following, which now proveth nothing but discredit to every one that dealt in it." Pray let me be secured from that and the rest, so that in my trouble I be not driven to complain. If you take not better order for St. Michan's you will be deprived. Have a care to it. Your wife has dealt with them for your wages, but their answer is that no wages are due to you. Pray let me know how I shall be answered for all matters.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Hol.*) Endorsed with two Latin enigmas as follows:—

1. Si caput est, currit; ventrem coniunge, volabit;
Adde pedem, comedas; et, sine ventre, bibas,
which is satisfied by *Muscatum*.
2. Quinque placent ori; quatuor per aethera volant;
Tres portant homines, dulce duaeque sonant,
which is satisfied by *Dapes*.

Ibid, 33.

31 Jan.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

This poor lady, Lady Ellin, daughter and heir of the Earl of Clancartie and wife of Florence, has obtained the Deputy's leave to go to England and asks my recommendation. Her father's living is now in her Majesty's disposition, but by surrender only and not by attainder, and this lady has ever "withstood and repugned (as much as in her lay) the undutiful courses of her husband." Pray take some means for her support for her lifetime. I have always found her loyal; and Patrick Crosbie can say so, who is well acquainted with her cause.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed. Add. Endd. *Ibid*, 34.

1602.

[Jan.]

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

There is now no further use in the kingdom for Captain George Orrell, so he is anxious to return to England. He was one of the corporals employed in the Earl of Thomond's camp. I saw his valour and good carriage during the siege; and he "refused no service were it never so full of danger." *Other commendations.* I hope you will find further employment for him.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Undated. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 35.

FEBRUARY, 1602.

2 Feb.

Cork.

SAME to SAME.

Apologises for the freedom with which he recommends officers. *Recommends* William Fitzharris, who has voluntarily and at his own charges accompanied the Lord Deputy and State on all their journeys for two years past. Fitzharris served through the siege of Kinsale and was shot through the body to the danger of his life.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 36.

5 Feb.

Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SAME.

Since his return Tyrone has been busy in trying to raise new bonnaughts and "to shadow his last running away with fabulous reasons," seeking to make them believe that his loss was small and that he came from the South only to help his friends in Ulster. This is all he has done since his return. He has not tried to trouble the Pale, but has sent a few of his beaten companies to give countenance to Randall McSurly* to trouble the Rowte, for he knew there was little hope to recover that country completely. "Touching the imposing of bonnaughts upon his confederates, I understand he hath little comfort therein and less expectation of better, for that some of the best of them have denied him, not for their poverty, but upon other considerations of their own estates, which they perceive will be hardly sustained by him who is not able to repair his own ruins; so, as I understand, many of them are in council amongst themselves how to provide for their particular safeties." His shifts as to the smallness of his loss in Munster are contradicted by the report of men who were with them and who tell the facts to their friends. He pretends he is going to invade the Pale and prepares for it, "which, as an old fox, he doth in course of wiliness" to make the world believe that his loss in Munster was small and to prevent his countrymen from falling from him.

Against his pretended invasion the State prepares by strengthening the garrisons on the borders of the Pale and by putting the country "in their keeping with their best forces and manner of defence." I hope the companies at Loughfoyle and Knockfergus will stir. We have written to them to draw to a head for the diverting of Tyrone and to fall upon him in

* This name is spelt in many different ways.

1602.

this time of his weakness until the Lord Deputy send some men from the west to complete the prosecution.

Art McBaron, Tyrone's brother, the O'Quynnes and several others of the house of the O'Neales have made means lately to be protected, but the State has refused to receive them, for we know that this is only a course suggested by O'Neale, who desires to procure tolerance to those his special followers whilst they might have means to sow their corn and graze their cattle abroad. These are now upon the point of starving, having long been kept shut up in a fastness. We have sent our reasons for refusal to the Lord Deputy, who, I think, is not likely "to receive them to mercy at a time when they are least able to do hurt." His lordship is still at Cork.

P. 1. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 37.

6 Feb.

MEMORANDUM of what is due by her Majesty in the three EXCHANGES on bills of exchange sent out of Ireland and yet unpaid.

Gives a list of thirty-three bills, with name of the drawer and amount of each.

The bills are for the most part drawn by officers of the English army in Ireland, whose names are familiar and are therefore not given here. Several of them are, however, merchants of Ireland; and these are as follows:—

Robert Cutts,	Henry Wilkinson,
John Gilbert,	Thomas Veisie,
Richard Lattware,	George Hooper,
William Fynings,	John Pitts of Weymouth,
William Vaughan,	Mr. Cornelius of Southampton,
Thomas Newans,	Henry Cordells.
William Clerke,	

P. 1. *Endd. Ibid.* 38.

10 Feb.
Whitehall.

SECRETARY CECIL to the CAVALIERE EMLA, DON PERONI or SIEUR MORLARA of Ireland.*

Knowing that the occurrences of these parts are rare or falsified according to the various products of ignorance or malice, and according as particular humours dominate the minds of men, I have endeavoured to make known to your honour the bare and sincere truth of affairs lately happened in Ireland. Your honour may know that there being arrived in Ireland a new recruit of about 1,000 men, with abundance of artillery and munitions, the rebels of the northern part of this island, Tyrone and O'Donnell, with their confederates, having drawn together all the forces they could, came to the province of Munster, and joined themselves to some of the Spaniards shortly before disembarked there, with intent and hope by force to raise the siege round about the territory

* Kindly translated for me by Mrs. Lomas.

1602.

of Kinsale, and thus to free the said territory. The Deputy of the Queen, being informed of their intention, and believing that it would be a dangerous thing to permit the enemy to approach his boundaries, resolved to go with a part of his army to meet them; and thus, with 1,000 foot and 300 horse, attacked them a mile and a half distant from his camp. The bulk of the rebel army, which was 6,000 men, halted to await the attack, which was boldly given by the English. *Describes* the battle of Dec. 24 near Kinsale, and the surrender of the town to Lord Mountjoy. *Proceeds* :—If some new succours shall arrive in Ireland after these are gone, they are bound to stand neutral, in order to the observation of the capitulations. Don Juan del Aquila and other captains will remain hostages, and until all are departed and disembarked in Spain and the ships returned, they may not depart. This is the principal sum of the capitulations, which, although they may appear too favourable for an enemy invading the country of another, yet, matters being as they are, the Deputy has not done badly, but prudently, to agree to, his whole army being weary and weakened by the long siege in winter-time, and in consideration of the resolution of the besieged enemy, and that being taken by assault would have involved much bloodshed, whilst reduction by famine the siege would have required much time, and meanwhile new succours might arrive from Spain, and thus the war be prolonged; and that, moreover, the Spaniards being masters of divers other places and well fortified, these others might have been a new expense and danger for the Queen of England, although Kinsale were taken, these other places being inaccessible for assault and not [open?] to artillery, and tenable by few men against a whole army, and it being always held brave, prudent policy to make the enemy a golden bridge by which to retreat, rather than to stand upon punctilios and chance the fortune of war, of which the event is always doubtful and uncertain.

By this composition is born a very great disagreement between the Spaniards and the Irish, abusing and accusing each other bitterly for having proceeded in this manner.

O'Donnell and another principal rebel of Connaught have fled into Spain with Sebuero [Cubiaur]. Tyrone, the principal captain, has returned into Ulster, the northern part, with great difficulty, having lost most part of his men on the road.

I will conclude with this good jest. Don Juan d'Aquila, discoursing with the Deputy upon the affairs of Ireland, said to him: "Truly I think that when the Devil took our Saviour Jesus Christ to the pinnacle of the Temple, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world, he kept this of Ireland hidden, so as not to disgust our Saviour with all the rest, and prevent his worshipping him; or else he thought to keep it for himself, for I believe that it is the Inferno itself, or some worse place."

Thus your honour will have all the circumstances of these matters before your eyes, and may know the truth of them, not doubting that there will be many who endeavour to obscure it,

1602.

And thus ending, I commit you to the protection of our Lord Jesus Christ.

From the Court at Whitehall, 10th of February, 1601.

From your affectionate friend,

ROBERT CECIL.

Pp. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$. *Spanish. Copy. Endd.* with address. *S.P. Ireland* 210, 39.

15 Feb.
Cork.

The LORD DEPUTY and LORD PRESIDENT to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

[For this see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), Vol. III, pp. 116–118.]

Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid*, 40. *Enclosing* :—

A. *The Duke of Lerma to Don Juan del Aquila.**

I wrote to you a few days ago, and will now answer your letters of the 13th and last of October. I can assure you that his Majesty has confidence in your care and worth. As regards the men and the other things you ask for, there is a good quantity of everything, and more is being provided; and so everything possible will go on being sent without any negligence; for his Majesty is keeping this matter before his eyes, and I have put my hand to press this course on him, and so you may be sure that there will be no lack of what will be needed and can be sent. There are now on the march 150 lances, and they will embark shortly; more are being raised, and with them money will be sent. For everything else I refer you to the King's letters.

P.S. [in the hand of the Duke of Lerma].—Since writing this his Majesty has sent word that there is to be added another company of horse with the 150 lances, so there are to be sent 200.

In all p. 1. Spanish. Dated, Valladolid, 4 December, 1601. Endd. as in heading. Ibid, 40A.

B. *The Duke of Lerma to the Archbishop of Dublin.*

I have received your lordship's letters thanking God for the success of the battle, for thereby a way and a door are opened for good results of your service, and for this his Majesty puts great confidence in your care and zeal. A good number of troops are being sent, and what is otherwise necessary, and more is being got ready; and so everything necessary will go on being sent without any negligence; for his Majesty is keeping this matter before his eyes. And since the most important thing in the business is that the Earls should join Don Juan del Aquila, his Majesty charges you to make your utmost efforts to this end.

P.S. [in the hand of the Duke of Lerma].—Your lordship comforts us with your letters, and I hope in God they will be full of good news.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. Spanish. Dated, Valladolid, 5 December, 1601. Endd. Ibid, 40B.

* These letters have been kindly translated for me by Mr. C. G. Crump, of the Public Record Office.

1601,

c. *Estevan de Ybarra to Don Juan del Aquila.*

By Captain Albornoz I wrote to you, and I hope that this despatch will not overtake him in Corunna, so great is my desire that he and what goes with him should be with you. I can assure you that all that can be done is being done for your assistance in all things. I wrote to you that there were being sent two companies of lances, and now I can tell you that there are three going, and in them two hundred and twenty soldiers well armed and well horsed. They will have to be on board for all this month, and so God guide them. Men are being levied in all Castille and Portugal, and ships stayed to convey them; victuals and other needful things are being provided; and at this moment there are being put on board in Lisbon, Corunna and Santander more than 6,000 bushels (hanegas) of corn, more than 300 pipes of wine in casks, honeycombs (havos) and wax, and 600 measures (arrobas) of oil.

In addition to all this, there are privateers (corsarios) collecting more, and no care will be spared to see that everything arrives. I have spoken with Captain Moreles; and although I feel anxious after his report of your position, and the few men with you, yet when I remember who Don Juan del Aquila is, my heart is lightened and I begin to hope for great things, as I hope God may grant them to your valour and against the hostile kingdoms. You should communicate with the Earls, that they may join you, for this is the most important thing of all; and if this is done before the Queen can reinforce her army, all is done. The cavalry will wish to see [service] with you, for with you there is sure to be honour gained in the campaign, and without you there will be no want of trouble. Captain Duarte Nuñez has charge of it. He is a soldier whom you know, and I have sent, and so I think you will find yourself well with him, and he will be of great help to you. The controller [Veedor] Pero [Pedro] Lopez de Sotto is wonderfully good and diligent, and is much practised in everything that can assist you in all matters of business [hazienda] and in matters of state; and you will do well to accept his help in everything. As he is somewhat fussy [bullicioso] and anxious to have his hand in everything, if you wish to get on well with him, it will not be a bad plan to make him work and use him for many things. I hope all will go well with you, and as I cannot be there to help you, I will do my best for you.

Pp. 3. (Hol.) Spanish. Dated, Valladolid, 7 December, 1601.
Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 40c.

d. *Don Pedro Franquesa to Don Juan del Aquila.*

His Majesty is much pleased with the good conduct on this occasion of your army; and I hope that with the assistance that will now be sent your situation will improve, so that you will be able not only to defend yourself from your enemies, but even to punish them; and with the results to be obtained with this success you can divert yourself until the

1601.

reinforcements which I have mentioned arrive ; for the more pressed you are, the greater will be the reward his Majesty will give you ; and in that I will assist, keeping my promise to always look after your interests.

P. 1½. Spanish. Dated, Mansilla, 30 January, 1602. Signed. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 40D.

1602.

E. The Duke of Lerma to Don Juan del Aquila.

By the letters of Cubiaure and Pedro Lopes de Soto, and from the arrival of the Earl Onel [Conde Onel], who is in Coruña,* the rout of the Earls is known, and it is supposed that all the enemies' forces are now directed against you, and that only your valour and prudence will enable you to resist them. The high opinion his Majesty has of you relieves the anxiety that he might otherwise feel, and he has ordered immediate reinforcements of ships and soldiers to be sent to you. This is being done, and will start shortly. This ship is gone by itself to you in haste, to encourage you to hold out, and to bring back sure news of your condition. All this you will see more particularly in his letter, which goes herewith, to which he bids me add that he is appointing you a councillor of the council of war, upon which I congratulate you. I am to assure you for his further favour. So go on as gallantly as you are doing and have done all your life, losing no chance of improving your own position and damaging the enemy. You may assure the army that no one ever received greater reward than his Majesty will give them, and I take this upon myself.

P. 1½. Signed. And below, in the hand of the Duke of Lerma : God is my witness that my master to-day sleeps with less anxiety ; and He keeps every one of those who are with you ; so that I could wish to find myself at the side of each of them and to be of some assistance to them. God grant good gain of it. Prayers are being offered up, and the largest forces possible sent to your immediate assistance.

In all pp. 2. Spanish. Dated, Mansilla, 30 January, 1602. Ibid, 40E.

F. The King of Spain to Don Juan del Aquila, "Maestro de Campo general" of the King's Army in Ireland.

By letters from Pedro de Subiaure and Pedro Lopez de Soto I have been informed of the rout of the Earls Onel and Adonel, and I therefore see that the only hope is in your valour and wisdom, which I value so highly that I hope that, amid all your dangers and troubles, you will preserve this army until reinforcements of ships, men, munitions and arms are sent. These are being prepared with all haste, and will start soon. Your power to use these and to punish your enemies depends upon holding out till they come, which will be soon.

* He was, of course, not so ; but O'Donell had fled to Spain just before. Lerma may have confused them.

1602.

I send no special instructions, for I am sure that your courage and experience will enable you to use any opportunity that the enemy may give you to improve your position. Both you and the army with you may be sure of my liberality, and this you are to tell to the army. The Duke of Lerma will write further to you.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. Spanish. Dated, Mansilla, 31 January, 1602. Signed, Yo el Rey; and countersigned, Don Pedro Franquesa. S.P. Ireland 210, 40F.

G. Gabriel Vasco to Donald O'Sullivan Beare.

I reached this isle of Dorce [Sursey] on the 3rd of May with letters and other warrant from his Majesty, and good news of the armada, which will arrive soon, as I hope, with the first wind. The letters I did not wish to send by a messenger to you, so I beg that you or Father Archero will come as soon as possible. Your son is well. I will say no more till we meet. From the Isle of Dorce, 3 May, 1602.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. Spanish. Add. A Don Donel Osuleban, Byrhoben. Endd. "3 May, 1602. A Spanyshe letter to oSulyvan Bere from Gabriell Vascor, counterfeyte by James Archer." *Ibid*, 40G.

15 Feb.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I hope that I may come to England. . . . Our chief care now is to get rid of these Spaniards, who shall be shipped away as fast as we can do it. Captain Harvey's letters to us have been intercepted, but we hear that he is possessed of Castlehaven and of another castle held by the Spaniards which commands the haven of Baltimore. We have heard nothing of Captain Flower, who was sent by sea to Berehaven, but have good hopes of his success. Sir Charles Wilmot was sent with forces into Kerry, where, in fastnesses, the enemy McMorris hides himself, and Sir Charles works his will in those parts. Carrickfoyle Castle was recovered by O'Connor Kerry when the Spaniards landed, but has been abandoned by the enemy and is again in our possession. I do not know whether O'Connor Kerry defaced it or not, for my news on the matter comes only from Sir Charles Berkeley who is a neighbour to that place. Few of the "provincials" here were in rebellion. The best of them, namely Sir Fynin O'Driscoll, O'Donovan and Sir Owen McCartie's sons, have not joined Tyrrell and the northern rebels, and ask to be received to mercy. They say they only conversed with Tyrone, O'Donnell and the Spaniards, and did no harm to any of her Majesty's subjects. I believe this is true.

The obstinate rebels are John Fitzthomas, the Knight of the Valley, the Baron of Lixnaw, O'Sulevan Beare and Florence's brother Dermond Moyle McCartie. Their forces are not above 800 men, and when Tyrrell is banished [from] Munster (which I hope will be soon), they will ere long be driven out of the province.

1602.

The assurance of supplies out of Spain, which has come in the form of the King of Spain's letters brought in a ship to Berehaven, animates the rebels and staggers the best affected, for all of this country birth desire a change. If more forces come it will be hard to root them out, for the best subjects will be but neutral. Their late unwillingness to serve against the Spaniards proves this.

I intercepted letters from the King of Spain to Don Juan by having the messenger who brought them robbed. Don Juan suspects me of this, though he does not charge me openly with it. These and the other letters will show how greedily the King of Spain carries on his design, and that Ireland is not the end of it. Supplies, as asked for, should therefore be sent, and may be cashiered if we hear that the Spaniards do not come. The quickest way to end the matter would be to send a fleet to the coast of Spain; but this matter is "out of the precinct of Ireland" and I leave it to "your graver judgments that sway the affairs of both the kingdoms."

Pp. 3. (*Hol.*) *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 210, 41.

16 Feb.
Dublin.

SIR EDWARD FITZGERALD to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have lately written two letters to you. *Subservient professions.* I find my letters have been intercepted so that they cannot come to your hands. Mr. Willis received some letters I sent him at the same time, but I find your honour's were not delivered.

I was shot in the leg at Kinsale. The Lord Deputy is seeing to the shipping away of the Spaniards, "who daily dieth exceedingly in Kinsale."

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 42.

20 Feb.
Cork.

THE LORD DEPUTY to SAME.

Sir Amyas Preston could alone do little against the Spanish fleet if it were to arrive, as his men sicken daily. I have given him leave to go over. I strongly commend him for his services.

P. $\frac{1}{3}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 43.

20 Feb.
Dublin.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in DUBLIN to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We have yours to February 1. We are grateful to you for representing our endeavours to the Queen and for her thanks. To her wearied ministers these thanks "giveth us full satisfaction what it is to spend our time, our spirits and our bodies in the service of so sacred a Prince." Next to God and the Queen we are grateful to you. To show you that "on our parts there hath wanted no manner of industry to keep entire and safe this tottering ship of Leinster and the English Pale, it may please your lordships to receive from us (who have had the total managing of this province) that in five or six months' absence of

1602.

his lordship and the army there hath not happened any dangerous stir or emotion either in Leinster or the Pale or any the borders thereof " except for Tyrone's raid before he went to Munster. This caused no great loss and is "ordinary to the Irishry at other times when they found their opportunity through the weakness of the borders." "Neither hath he by the terror of his forces nor by his seducing practices of the Jesuits and other Papal instruments been able to alter one contrey [county] in Leinster, no, nor to draw to his party any particular Irishman of quality, though he failed not to apply all the sleights and stratagems he could to stir them to alteration." When, therefore, the Lord Deputy returns we shall be able to hand back to him these two provinces—Leinster and the Pale—as free from revolts as they were when he left, if not better staid in loyalty. We ascribe this to the operation of her Majesty's royal means sent hither and not to our industry. It was a very difficult thing to do at a time when the whole country stood in such a dangerous balance.

P.S.—The Marshal and Sir Robert Gardener have returned and will assist us with their information and help.

P. 3. Signed by the Lord Chancellor and by Cary and Fenton. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 44.*

27 Feb.
Cork.

THE LORD DEPUTY and LORD PRESIDENT to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

[For this see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), Vol. III, p. 125 *sq.* The letter is signed by the Deputy and President only and not (as might be inferred from Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.*, III, 124 *ad fin.*) by the other members of the Privy Council of Ireland.

Pp. 3½. Add. Endd. Ibid, 45.

Same.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Since my last of the 15th Sir Charles Wilmot writes of his safe arrival in Kerry and that Carrickfoyle, though burnt by O'Connor Kerry, is still guardable. He has put a ward into it. Captain Harvey reports that he is at Castlehaven, and that the Spaniards there are ready to depart by sea. He has gone on to Baltimore, and, I hope, is by this time in possession of the castle of Donnelonge, seated in an island that commands the harbour, and is now held by the Spaniards. "Over against this castle, in the main, is Sir Fynin O'Driscall's castle called Donneshead, and kept by him. Between these two castles the shipping that comes into that harbour must ride. They are not, I am informed, half a mile asunder." I hope that, by this time, Sir Fynin has yielded up the castle and is with Captain Harvey, for "the poor old man was over-ruled by his son and hath no disposition to be a traitor; but his son and heir, called Connor O'Driscall, is a malicious rebel, and lies in wait to take the castle from his father to deface it."

1602.

I hope these northerly winds have carried Captain Flower to Berehaven, but can say little of his success. O'Sulevan Bere, Lord of Dunboy Castle in that haven, which the Spaniards possessed, sent his only son and heir to Spain with the last "pinnacle of advice" that came from Spain and returned there "as a pledge of his faith to that king; but since, being assured that the Spaniards would render the place to her Majesty, himself and a few of his servants having [been] ever more accustomed to lodge in the same, when the Spaniards were asleep a mason which he had (they having the keeps of the gate) brake a great hole in the wall, and eighty of his men were entered before anything was suspected. The Spaniards at the first made resistance, and on either side some were slain, but in the end the Irish prevailed, the captain and the better sort detained prisoners and all the rest were disarmed." He intends, I hear, to send them to Baltimore to be shipped thence. He has ten pieces of their artillery and ten barrels of their powder, but, as he has no canoniers, these will be of little use to him.

Don Juan takes this affront in great dismay, and was willing to have sent part of his forces thither to recover his ordinance; but, to avoid delaying his departure, the Lord Deputy has promised that when we recover the place these pieces shall be reserved for the King of Spain. I think the Lord Deputy has acted with the greatest wisdom in this matter. It is most important that Don John should depart, for, as long as he is here, the Irish constantly nourish fresh hopes; and they have done their utmost to hold him here, "sparing neither oaths, proffers of pledges or anything else (that is in their powers) to stop his departure, wherein because they cannot prevail they hoole [howl] against him into Spain, and some of his own nation partakes with them in their complaints."

The Lord Deputy and I have lately heard thrice from the Mayor of Waterford, and all three letters speak of the coming of helps, horse and foot, from Spain and their readiness to be embarked. The last letter, as it tells of the going of the King of Spain to Lisbon, we send you. Don John's composition [*i.e.* surrender] may alter the King's plans; and yet "a young King, violent in his humours, may perchance be headstrong in his own counsels and send forces with another commander"; so that the table which controls our affairs [*i.e.* the English Privy Council] should provide for the worst, and have the 4,000 men already asked for ready to come at short notice. Her Majesty's fleet now going for that coast is a good argument, and may in reason stay them from present sending; but when they are returned I see no reason why, towards August, we should not expect them again, unless the King altogether changes his plans and abandons the project. I am sure that Don John and his officers will persuade his Majesty in this direction, "for never men were more distasted with a people and a country than they are with the Irish and Ireland." Though the charge will be great, the Queen should fortify her principal harbours and build citadels to her towns. This I know to be necessary, but, as it is unpleasant

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to have to advise large outlay, I leave it to your wisdom. . . .
I enclose Crosbie's answers.

P.S.—The number of the Spanish forces in Ireland is shewn (to some extent) by these facts. At the last imbarquing 1,480 went in a Scottish ship. [There are also] 200 prisoners and about 200 runaways. These numbers include only able soldiers, and with the next wind 1,300 will go, of whom 1,000 are soldiers. There are also the parties at Castlehaven, Berehaven and Baltimore and the men killed by us or dead of sickness. The last (deaths on service or by sickness) the Spaniards put at over 4,000 in Linsall alone, which seems incredible.

Their treasure is small, not enough to discharge their victuals and freight.

Pp. 3. (*Hol.*) *Add.* *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 210, 46.
Enclosing :—

Robert Walsh, Mayor of Waterford, to Sir George Carew.

Last evening a merchant of this town arrived from the Rochelle, which he left a week ago. Examined by me. Says that the English lidger there told him that he had received a letter from a friend at San Sebastian's a week before the examine came to sea containing intelligence that the King of Spain was very shortly to come to Lisbon and had directed the Allantado to meet him there with all the navy in South Spain, and that 200 horse had gone to Lisbon for Ireland. An English mariner told the examine at Rochelle that he had been with Syriago at his coming for Ireland and return to Spain. The sailor then escaped, and as he passed through the country from the Asturias there was great pressing of soldiers and daily mustering, but to what purpose and whither to go he could not learn. Three vessels from Bristol with provisions for the victuallers at Cork have put into this harbour. The master of one of the ships says there are 600 soldiers at Bristol directed for this place and to be here with the first wind.

P. 3. Signed. Dated, Waterford, 22 February, 160½. Add. Endd. Ibid, 46 A.

28 Feb.
Galway.

CHRISTOPHER LYNCH, Mayor of Galway, to SECRETARY CECIL.

Knowing your father's generosity, we appeal to you to relieve us in our extreme need, "being but a few remains of a great multitude and of much wealth have but little left, and most consisting in purchases abroad, from the occupying and manurance of which we be utterly these seven years secluded, and have to our power ministered towards the relief of the forces and garrisons here during the wars." For obtaining the arrear due to us as yet we have appointed as our agent the bearer, Nicholas Dorsey [D'Arcy], son of James Dorsey, one of our aldermen. Pray favour him as a reward for our efforts in "courbing any in these parts from persisting in any their rebellious uproars, and setting apart any hard opinion conceived of Francis Marten, our late mayor, in adventuring farther with their lordships and, as we suppose,

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with your honours, for others in particular commendation than appertained or was fitting the place of mayoralty to attempt, in regard the same was without our consent or privity; which, as we suppose, ought justly to light upon him, as his private demerits required, and not upon us in general." . . . We beg your favour for our agent.

P. 2. *Signed. A polite and subservient letter in somewhat foreign style. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 47.*

Feb.
Berehaven.

O'SULEVAN BEARE to GENERAL PEDRO CUBIAUR.

I have received your letter and am thankful for your support. Our state since your departure was reasonably good notwithstanding some crosses, partly by reason of the weakness of the English forces; but presently came a brute than Don John had surrendered Kinsale, and had also surrendered the other castles handed over by the owners to you and the Veodore to the King's use. The surrender of these would greatly weaken all the King's friends in Ireland, namely myself who, by keeping my possessions belonging to my castle and haven of Bere, can at all times raise 1,000 men for his Majesty's service, besides the ward of my said castle, "where losing the same unexpected and surrendered to the hands of most heretical enemies," I "am not only disappointed of all power, but also driven to run to the mountains, there to live like wolves for the safety of my life and to leave to their merciless discretion all the poor men, women and children within the length of 20 leagues containing near [all] of my ancient inheritance." I pray you, as you have begun and in his Majesty's name passed your promise to me, to be a mean to his Majesty that such shameful compositions, void of all lawful ground, may not be "an overthrow and disgrace to the King's service and a perpetual destruction to my posterity for ever, whose ancestors maintained the credit and calling of great gentlemen these 2,600 years since their first coming out of Spain. I have made offer to the Veodore to maintain the Spaniards that were at Castlehaven, Baltimore and here with beef, fish, corn and salt till his Majesty's pleasure were known, and to find upon my own charges 1,000 men to defend them, that none by land should annoy them." I would personally have repaired thither to make relation thereof to the King but that "I do fear the wars might have the worst expedition here by my absence. Although you might think I would for a while use some resistance against the Englishmen by my people and fastness of my country; yet I know you will pity old Sir Fynnen [O'Driscoll] forced by this composition to yield his body to the merciless butchery of our heretical enemies, which leaving partly to be prevented by your good means to the King and by his most Catholic majesty, I take leave, committing you to God."

P. 3. *Copy, followed by :—*

Same to Count Caracena.

I have your honourable letters of the 4th of this month and am very pleased to hear that his Majesty has received the

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Earl O'Donnell. . . . As you interest yourself in Ireland, I will tell you how things go in Munster. An agreement supposed to be made between Don John de Laquila and the English Deputy of Ireland makes it necessary that help should be sent us from Spain at once, otherwise we may perish; for Don John is said to have surrendered not only Kinsale, but also Castlehaven, Berehaven and Baltimore. These were voluntarily handed over to General Cubiaur. *Proceeds* as in last letter. *Continues*:— I shall have to fly and hide till they [the English] find means to entrap me, where[as] in holding the castle we could have prolonged the war until further help arrived from Spain. It is "a matter to be much pitied that many thousand Christians' lives should be delivered by Catholics unto the merciless hand of heretical enemies." *Proceeds* and concludes as in foregoing.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Copy*. In all p. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Endd.* (1) with names of the sender and addressees; (2) "The originals went into Spain, and these are abstracted out of the copies that came to me, the President." *S.P. Ireland* 210, 48.

4 Mar. The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

Sir Francis Shane craves my leave to pass to England for remedy of an old hurt, whose cure, upon trial had, he despairs of making in these parts. I recommend him for loyalty and efficiency in the Queen's service.

P. $\frac{1}{3}$. *Signed*. *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid*, 49.

4 Mar. SIR GEORGE CARY and SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to the ENGLISH
Dublin. PRIVY COUNCIL.

The contracts made by your lordships with the victuallers in November and January and sent us in yours of 1 February shew what care you have taken for the service. The army has been well supplied since you took the matter in hand; and the contracts which you have made will supply it adequately for this summer's prosecution. In fulfilment of the contracts mentioned, 13 ships and barques laden with good victuals have arrived here. We send an invoice of them, and, if they are not diverted elsewhere by your orders, they will provide for 2,000 men for 8 months and 20 days and supply them with bread for a longer time. We keep all the provisions here except some small consignments sent to Carrickfergus and Carlingford, where they are needed pending the arrival at those places of the supplies specially arranged for them by your lordships. We send you further particulars of the corn taken up in this country, of which we previously wrote; and we hope the rest of it will soon be delivered in. No victuals have been sent hence to Kinsale since we last gave you details of what we had sent there, and as it is no longer needful to send anything there our store here may be wholly reserved for the service of these parts and the North. The 2,000 biscuit bags which your lordships mentioned have not yet arrived,

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and, for want of them, we have been compelled to send biscuit in bulk to Dundalk and Carlingford, which is very wasteful; and even from there the biscuit cannot be forwarded to Armagh and the Blackwater owing to lack of bags. The contractors should supply a bag with every cwt. of biscuit free of charge, as they did in Lord Essex' time, and if the captains and soldiers must pay for bags they should not in equity be compelled to take more bags than they need.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 50. Enclosing :—

- A. *A particular of all the victuals arrived in Dublin between 20 and 28 February, 1601, and delivered by the victuallers pursuant to contracts of 29 November, 1601 and 31 January, 1601 $\frac{1}{2}$.*

This return is as described in the heading, and gives full details of beef, pork, butter, meal, wheat, cheese, pease, biscuit and malt delivered by the following ships :—

- The Unity of Poole, Bartholomew Cobbe master.*
- „ Margaret of Padstow, John Bordwood master.*
- „ Kate of Lynn, John Wenforth master.*
- „ John of Lynn, Thomas Coxforth master.*
- „ Edward and John of Mingese [Mingoose ?] Martin Pollinse master.*
- „ Fortune of Falmouth, John Willing master.*
- „ Else [Alice] Bonadventure of Poole, Nicholas Gray master.*
- „ Content of Newport, John Benfield master.*
- „ Mary Tasker of Milford, George Miller master.*
- „ Rose of Bristol, John Daniel master.*
- „ George of Newport, Peter Reve master.*
- „ Thomas of London, Richard Ranolds master.*

A detailed estimate of the lasting power of the victuals follows.

P. 1, with detailed figures. Signed by Robert Newcomen. *Ibid*, 50A.

- B. *A particular of the victuals made and provided by Robert Newcomen, surveyor of the victuals, between 1 October, 1601 and 1 February, 1601 $\frac{1}{2}$.*

This return shows :—

The wheat bought by Newcomen in the Pale and baked into biscuit.

The beef bought at Carrickfergus and salted.

The dried fish bought in Dublin and sent to Cork.

It shews also how long these provisions will last for 2,000 men.

The surveyor adds that he cannot at present estimate the cost of preparing these victuals "by reason that his agents hath not yet returned him their reckonings in respect that the several commissaries of Dublin and Carrickfergus refuseth to receive the provisions into their charges, being commanded to the contrary from the undertakers." Till they are received the Queen will be at further charge. But the surveyor thinks that these provisions will not cost more in the new

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money than they would have cost in sterling money in England if the victuallers there had provided them.

P. 1. Signed by Newcomen. *S.P. Ireland* 210, 50B.

5 Mar.
Dublin.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in DUBLIN to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

On the 20th of this [last] month we received your lordships' letters of 17 January and 2 February enclosing articles of information exhibited there against us, the Council in Dublin, in the Lord Deputy's absence by the Commissioners for Victualling Causes, and "appostyled" by your lordships. Their complaints relate chiefly to the victualling business carried on by the undertakers there, and are complaints of interruptions, real or fancied, in their covenants, and of other matters in which your lordships ask for our advice. We have considered the matter, and have given our opinion or experience in respect of each complaint, with a view to decreasing her Majesty's charge and improving the administration of those provisions. We have also conferred with Beverley and Newcomen, two old officers of the Queen and well versed in these affairs, and enclose our opinion on the articles, supported by theirs, the whole being placed in the margin of the enclosure opposite each several item of complaint and the several "appostyles" which your lordships make upon each such item. I, the Treasurer, also send a particular answer to such of the items of information as in particular concern me. We have also summoned Beverley, Newcomen and all such of the undertakers, deputies and ministers as were here to see what they could say in answer to the fourth article of the information, which contains charges of "supposed abuses and strained courses carried both to her Majesty's disprofit and to the undertakers' wrong and dislike, as they pretend." After confronting them with one another, we find that the charges made are brought rather on grounds of "private spleen" than of any misdemeanour against the public service. We have, however, had particular defences furnished by Beverley and Newcomen; and these were proved in our presence by the testimony of the other ministers, who in substance rather cleared than condemned these two officials. The charges brought against them will, however, serve to make them one and all more wary and diligent in discharge of their duty to the Queen. We can clear Beverley of one charge brought against him, which is that he bought beef as if for his private use, and mixed his own and her Majesty's provisions. The purchase in respect of which this charge is urged was made last summer at the time of the assembly of the Council at Trim, and by the Lord Deputy and Council's special warrant, and was for the ease of her Majesty's store.

We also called before us Sir Ralph Lane and the captain of the musters and reproved them for their absence at a time when the kingdom "bled more dangerously at the camp than in all the other parts of the realm," and shewed them how your lordships misliked it, and us in suffering it. They have offered some reasons

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in a written defence, which we send. We shall defer dealing further with them till the Lord Deputy returns, for they are two special officers of the army, over which his lordship is in supreme command.

In one of your letters your lordships ask us to be careful of the thick coming over of bills of exchange. I, as Treasurer, will foresee [*i.e.* provide against] this still to the uttermost of my power. I have been and shall be very sparing in it till your lordships about the beginning of May next "furnish and bear up the bank." This will avoid a great deal of discontent among the people, who murmur that the bank is not held up according to the proclamation. "And out of our daily observation we all find that through the weakness of the exchange, not being maintained as was expected, many inconveniences do grow, and particularly exceeding high rates and prices of victuals, and all other necessary things, both to the soldier and subject, by reason the foreign merchant (not finding here commodity to utter his wares for want of sterling money and less means to convert the money now current to employment in the country) discontinueth his trade, which is one great cause of the universal scarcity of all things," and will impoverish the whole of Ireland if the inconvenience of the exchange be not remedied in time.

In another part of your letters you ask us to consider how the charge of victualling may be reduced and your lordships' trouble in victualling eased by raising those provisions here. We know what care and charge England has lately been at to the "bearing up of this unhappy realm" and how the army has thereby been saved from dangerous hazard and disaster. We are still, however, far off [a state of affairs] when we shall be able to relieve her Majesty in this matter, "by reason of the extreme waste and poverty of this kingdom, that we dare not give your lordships any hope till it be seen what will be the fruits of the next harvest for corn, and what success God will send to the army in taking of prey-beeves this summer." These are the two resources of the country, if any be; and when time shall serve there shall not want any industry in us.

Before your lordships' letters came the greatest part of the army in Munster heard that the Queen desired that no further provision of apparel should be made to the soldiers there, but that the soldiers serving there should receive their full pay in the new coin in such sort as they did before the order was taken for delivery of the apparel; so there is no doubt but that they have notice of this alteration.

As yet we hear no certainty of the Lord Deputy's coming hither, but hope he will come as soon as he can after the Spaniards have gone. Meantime we are considering preparations for the northern service.

Pp. 2. Signed by the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Meath, and Cary, Wingfield, Gardener and Fenton. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 51. *Enclosing* :—

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- A. *Petition and Articles presented by John Jolls and William Cockaine, providers of the victuals to her Majesty's forces in Ireland, with the Answers of the Privy Council of England thereto "by way of postills," and with the Opinion of the Privy Council of Ireland on the said Articles.*

Article 1.

Your honours sent over two bakers, Crewe to Dublin and Davson to Loughfoyle, to bake out the Queen's meal into loaf bread or biscuit. You lately appointed Mr. Waade to ask the bakers of London what sum it was right that these bakers should receive for baking 1 cut. of biscuit or loaf bread. They did so in "wreighting," and your lordships gave order for the sum to be paid as one which the Queen ought to bear. The Treasurer, on the other hand, seeks to put it on us, the victuallers, and refuses to pay the poor men the money due to them for their pains.

Comment of the Privy Council of England.

The contractors are bound to supply for every 10 lb. of biscuit 12 lb. of meal. Touching allowances, the opinion of the officers of the Navy and the wardens of the Bakers' Company of London is that it is reasonable that the baker should have 18d. for the baking out of every 100 lb. of biscuit and 12d. for every 100 lb. of loaf bread, considering that the soldier is allowed 1½ lb. of loaf bread for 1 lb. of biscuit. Therefore the Treasurer is to make allowance accordingly for that which is passed. If it is thought in Dublin that this is too much for the future, the reasons [of the Irish Government] for thinking so are to be sent over.

Opinion of the Privy Council of Ireland.

As to the money to be paid by the Treasurer to the victuallers, we refer you to his private answer. We think the allowance for baking is reasonable, but, after conferring with the ancient officers of the victuals here, we think that that charge should be borne by the now contractors, as Mr. Dorrell and Mr. Jolls, who were the first joint-contractors in this service, bore it. They baked partly in England and partly here; but bore the charge of both themselves. They may perhaps allege that in respect of the charge of baking they allow 1,200 lb. of meal for 1,000 lb. of biscuit, and that the 200 lb. of meal thus allowed in overplus is sufficient to countervail the charge of baking. But we find by the report of skilled men that 1,200 lb. of meal will very scarcely make 1,000 lb. of biscuit, and that nothing will be over towards the charge of baking; so as, if her Majesty bear that charge, she maketh them a greater allowance than she did to the former contractors. Besides, they have much by bringing of meal hither, which serveth them in every ship for ballast, which they should want if they should have all their provisions of bread in biscuit.

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Article 2.

*When we undertook to act as commissaries for issuing of the victuals, it was stipulated that neither we nor our agents should be forced to go with the same to every several fort and castle, but might give delivery at the magazine place. If we did anything more we should be saving her Majesty of a great charge, and we hear it is now done at Loughfoyle. Further [it was agreed] that we should have 100*l.* imprested to each of our commissaries to defray charges with sundry others, and that our agents' accounts should be taken with the Treasurer and his deputies every two months and allowance thereof given accordingly. But we are, "in no one of the said agreements performed withal," put to all hazards in those several transactions and have to lay out our own moneys about her Majesty's service, which are not repaid. We cannot go on in this way.*

Comment of the Privy Council of England.

A copy of the contract with the purveyors was sent to the Council of Ireland long since ; and these three things were set down in it as reasonable ; so as, if this complaint be true, her Majesty's service is thereby hindered and the providers injured. The Treasurer shall be admonished to see that the contract is duly observed.

Opinion of the Privy Council of Ireland.

The victualling of Loughfoyle garrison is no precedent for the rest of the realm ; for those at Loughfoyle are but small castles and, for the most part, victualled by water. If the soldiers in these parts and the rest of the realm fetch their victuals from the magazines her Majesty's service would be greatly weakened and many places of great importance, as castles, would be kept with small wards, and forts would often be endangered. Moreover, the soldier would, under that pretence, "continually range up and down the country" to its great oppression, as experience shews. For the rest we refer to Mr. Treasurer's answer.

Article 3.

Our contract provides that if, by unreasonableness or waste or loss, we are prevented from providing victuals of each kind in detail according to its terms, yet if we provide the soldier with his full daily allowance of one kind or another it shall be deemed a good performance. On this point we are unfairly dealt with, and ask that the auditors may be ordered to pass our accounts accordingly [i.e. according to the terms of the contract] and they and the Treasurer be directed not to wrong us in this matter.

Comment of the Privy Council of England.

*They set out the precise terms of the contract and proceed :—
Under this clause the want of beef or pork may be supplied*

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with cheese or butter, or the want of cheese with butter or vice versa. Oatmeal, rice or pease may also be served as a substitute, so as none of it be supplied with fish. If this is done we think it reasonable that allowance be given of the same, provided nevertheless that from thence they certify unto us a particular note of all such alterations of supplying one kind with another, so that we may see how such substitution came about.

Opinion of the Privy Council of Ireland.

It is not true, as suggested, that the commissioners and auditors endeavour to wrong the victuallers in the matter of these covenants. As the victuallers have not yet delivered in their books of receipts and issues to the commissioners and auditors, they cannot even tell that they are going to be treated in the way they suggest. We think, subject to your lordships' orders, that the undertakers cannot have allowances for more deliveries in fish than those stipulated for in the contract. Subject to this they are entitled to the benefit of the clause which provides for the delivery of victuals other than those specifically agreed for in case of shipwreck or loss; but if they for their own private respects do of purpose shorten the provisions of these natures and try to make delivery in fish only, "being a provision most profitable unto them but most displeasing to the soldier," we do not understand your lordships to say that such delivery is to be allowed for.

Article 4.

We understand that Mr. Newcomen and others, straining the meaning of certain letters of your lordships [which directed him] to have some store of victuals provided locally, "are become great brewers, dealers [and] ingrossers and use merchandizing in victuals, employing the baker, the store-house, and filling in all other convenient offices appointed for the Queen's service with their provisions, commixing and intermingling them with the Queen's victuals, whereby very bad and ill parts are and may be used to the prejudice of the soldier, evil service of the Queen, and imputation of scandal and blame unto those provisions made here in England by us, which, being good, may bear the blame of their bad provisions," if they make any, in herrings, newland fish, &c. They may especially do this by issuing first their new provisions and putting her Majesty's provisions, which have been supplied by us, to lie by. The result is that ours decay and are lost, to our and the Queen's discredit. They always buy what is cheapest there [and sell it at once] and put us to the loss by having the victuals which are at dearest rates lying upon our hands.

We ask therefore that either we or they may have the sole right to issue victuals in the provinces in which we are employed, or else be free of blame if waste or corruption happen by reason of our double providing, they relying on us and we

1602.

on them. If your lordships are content, we are willing to give way unto them to supply solely for the army. "And we humbly desire your lordships to take special notice that hitherto upon any occasion we never put penny on the exchange to the Treasurer at Wars there to receive sterling money therefor in England; but if your honours be pleased the provisions in Ireland may be gathered for the use of the army solely by us, the undertakers, whereby no commixture of victuals may be used, we will take the new Irish money there, as we shall need it for exchange, and will repay sterling money for the same to the Treasurer's agents here or into the Exchequer, to her Majesty's most perfect and best use of the new coin."

Comment of the Privy Council of England.

The undertakers here charge Messrs. Beverley and Newcomen with trying to make private gain at the Queen's expense. These gentlemen bring a precisely similar charge against the undertakers and the commissioners [who are] their deputies. We request the Privy Council to examine the matter, and to mete out severe punishment as it may be deserved. The offer of the undertakers in the matter of paying in sterling money and accepting the new coin is, we think, so favourable that it should be accepted on the terms on which it is made unless a better offer is made by Messrs. Beverley and Newcomen.

Opinion of the Privy Council of Ireland.

We have examined Newcomen and Crewe, who vigorously deny the charge made against them, save only that Newcomen says he bought some wheat, for which he had warrant from the Lord Deputy and Council, for the Queen's service only. We also sent for Percival Salomon, Tellow and Richardson, who were the only commissaries or agents whom the providers had here. Having told them of the charge, we asked them if they could impute any abuse to Newcomen. They answered that they could not. However, we have caused Newcomen to send in a written defence, which, with Beverley's declaration, we send you.

Article 5.

We now also hear from Ireland that, contrary to our contracts and to orders formerly given to our commissaries, the Treasurer at Wars forbids the delivery of any further victuals but by his or his deputy's special warrant. Is your lordships' or the Treasurer's warrant to stand? Pray let us have warrant therefor accordingly.

Comment of the Privy Council of England.

The delivery of victuals there is regulated by the terms of the contract and the instructions to the commissaries, which hold good till altered.

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*Opinion of the Privy Council of Ireland.**We leave this to be answered by Mr. Treasurer.**Article 6.*

We ask for an order that the commissaries' accounts may be taken every week or month by Mr. Treasurer or his deputies, otherwise the army may, by issue of these new moneys, be overpaid. If this is done it is Mr. Treasurer's fault and not ours; for, by ancient custom, he should not pay the army till he has defalked the victuals.

Comment of the Privy Council of England.

It is stipulated in the contracts that once every two months, or oftener, the Treasurer or his deputy shall take an account from the commissaries of the victuals they issue to each company, and of the money by them expended for transport and other charges, and to give them allowance therefor according to the contract. To avoid the inconveniences which arise from the non-taking of those accounts, we direct that they be presented by the commissaries and taken by the Treasurer and his deputies every week or as often as may be.

*Opinion of the Privy Council of Ireland.**Mr. Treasurer having answered this head, we have nothing to add.**Article 7.*

We are ordered by your honours to receive pay of the captains in Ireland [at the rate of] 12d. per biscuit bag and no more in new money. The bags cost us above 11d.E. each in England; and we have to go long without our money and have adventured many biscuit bags into Ireland to our great loss. We ask for an order that Mr. Treasurer may pay for the bags, as the officers refuse to do so, and for a better price, or else that we be paid here in sterling money for the bags. "And whereas we are drawn to a brewing course at Loughfoyle with Mr. Newcomen, where we furnish the soldier with good beer at 1d. the quart, and for the furnishing of the office we sent over brewers, malt, hops, coals and sundry other utensils," we ask that the money which we receive for biscuit bags and beer may be taken by the Treasurer by exchange or paid here, so that we may be able to buy more bags, malt, hops and coals to supply the army further; otherwise we must cease to supply biscuit and beer.

Comment of the Privy Council of England.

The contract provides that the purveyors shall provide bags here with sterling money and that they shall be paid by the Treasurer, who shall deduct what he pays them from his payments to the officers. The purveyors shall spend what they do receive from Mr. Treasurer on victualling in Ireland and must not put it on the exchange.

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Opinion of the Privy Council of Ireland.

Mr. Treasurer answers this. We only add that if your lordships think that the captains should pay for the bags, then the providers should be compelled to take back their old bags if they are serviceable. If the providers are no longer bound to provide bags, then the captains should not be charged above 12d. for them; but some charge should be made, otherwise there will be no care to bring them in again; and the poor soldiers will utterly lose them and still be charged with new bags.

Two very large pages. The opinions of the Irish Privy Council signed by the Lord Chancellor and by Cary, Gardener, Fenton and Usher. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 51A.

B. Answers by Sir George Cary to the Articles exhibited by the Victuallers.

To Article 1 he says :—

I cannot imprest money to any accomptants for extraordinaries but by special warrant from the Lord Deputy and Council. I have paid on all such warrants presented by the commissaries, and they should have got warrants for baking if they had desired them. It is doubtful whether they are entitled to the money. The late contractors bore the charge at my first coming over. No one of the victuallers has made any complaint on this point except Skinner at Loughfoyle. He certainly does not know his place, for he asks to be paid for baking without either warrant or account. The victuallers, and not the Treasurer, should keep an account of the bread and biscuit issued.

To Article 2.

The service will be exceedingly hindered if the soldiers have constantly to go and fetch victuals from the magazines, which may be 20 miles or more from the garrisons, and the country would be spoiled by the soldiers in their passage. The suggestion that they receive no imprests, but lay out their own money, is untrue. Between their entrance and 30 Sept., Percival received 1,300l. for Leinster; Bennett 666l. for Newry; Smith 730l. for Connaught; and Skinner 300l. for Loughfoyle; besides 1,000l.E. paid to Mr. Jolls in May last in England; so as it seems as if they do not lay out much of their own moneys. As I am an accountant myself, it is improper for me to take their accounts, her Majesty having auditors and commissioners for that purpose. . . . Their accounts should be brought to the touch before these officers, who can best discern them.

To Article 3.

**I should not intermeddle with other accounts, being an accountant myself. I think it is distasteful to most of the*

* The defence from here onwards is sometimes in the third person singular—"Mr. Treasurer says" this and that, and sometimes in the first person—"I say," &c.; but I have kept to the first person for clearness.

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army to receive most of their victuals in “poor John” when they contract for other things in specie.

To Article 4.

I don't know what the advertisements are from Mr. Beverley ; but Mr. Newcomen denies that he intermeddles in victualling causes otherwise than as ordered by the State—to wit [by purchase of] corn and beef. The same remains in store to be issued only to the army for the benefit of the soldier and service. I propose shortly to go to England to justify myself in this matter, though the service can ill afford my absence. I am well content that, if your lordships so desire, the victuallers should have the sole right to gather victuals in Ireland ; but, if they do so, I think it will be for her Majesty's benefit (the better to disperse those moneys) that they receive imprests from me and not be burthensome to the exchange ; and that from time to time they make known to your lordships what victuals they buy in Ireland. And whereas the victuallers ask your lordships to notice that they have not yet put 1d. on the exchange, I, the Treasurer, answer that if they themselves have not done it their ministers have. Skinner at Loughfoyle has, as I am informed, exchanged above 100l. [or 500l. ?] and, as it is said, has “very lewdly . . . taken in other men's money and brought it into the exchange and gained 5l. and more in the hundred.” An agent of theirs here in Dublin, by name Solomon Tailowe, tendered to me 100l. [or 500l. ?] to be exchanged ; but I would not take it. They also paid 100l. [or 500l. ?] to one Mr. Weston in Dublin for Newland fish ; and this he would have exchanged with me, but I refused to take it, lest her Majesty should be twice charged with sterling money for one provision.

It seemed to me very strange that the purveyors, having no entertainment from her Majesty but only receiving imprests for carriage and transportation of victuals, should in so short a time have so much new money in their servants' hands ; and I cannot but think that they receive such moneys for victuals sold out of her Majesty's store. This should be prevented by the Lord Deputy.

To Article 5.

The charge made is true : and my reason for doing as alleged is that, through the former loose carriage in the delivery of victuals, I found that at the end of last September several captains had been overpaid and victuals had been delivered to some persons here in Dublin, unknown to me, when their companies were in service at the Blackwater and elsewhere far from here. I found also that much victuals were being delivered to men's private houses, as to the Earl of Kildare, Sir Christopher St. Lawrance and others, to the diminution of her Majesty's store. If this were not stopped there might be a want when provisions were required. I, as Treasurer,

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know where every company lies and how it may best be relieved with victuals or money, or both, and how best to spare the store of victuals and keep them for the army when it is drawn into the field, and to issue the new moneys, which I take it is "most for her Majesty's profit."

To Article 6.

I, the Treasurer, do not think it right to meddle in their accounts. They have never offered me any accounts of theirs, nor is there any possibility for them to do it monthly or weekly, the garrisons lying so remote one from another. I cannot finally balance their accounts till three months or thereabouts after the end of each half-year, before which time they cannot bring me their books of issues.

To Article 7.

I marvel that they make this vain suggestion. They know that bags are reckoned as victuals and are allowed for accordingly by me, and I make deduction of the price of them from the captains in their warrants of full pay. As to their asking for a further allowance in sterling for the bags :—The captains are greatly aggrieved that they will not take back their bags, though whole and sound, but force them to receive new bags as often as they victual. The victuallers, by failing to send over enough bags, cost her Majesty much, for we have often, when shipping biscuit, to ship it in bulk, which is most wasteful ; and when it has to be carried by land delay and consequent hindrance to the service arise from want of bags. If I do not mistake their contract they should deliver the bags free of charge, as Mr. Dorrell and Mr. Jolls did when I first came into Ireland.

Pp. 5. Signed by Sir G. Cary. Dated at Court at Whitehall, 17 January, 160½. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 51B.

c. Answer by Sir Raphe Lane, Muster-Master General, and Raphe Birchensha, Comptroller of the Musters, as to their absence from Kinsale while the army lay there.

We begin by setting out part of the Lord Deputy's letter to me, the Comptroller, written when his lordship was going to Munster, whereby it appears that I was to attend the companies in the North and thereabouts :—

Mr. Birchensha : I hear the garrisons in the North are becoming very weak. I cannot strengthen them till our supplies come from England ; and let you know this so that you may look carefully to it yourself, and charge the Commissaries that the checks may be answerable, otherwise the Queen will be much deceived. . . . For your own discharge move the Council there to give straight charge to the port towns, where the soldiers are said to be commonly transported without passport, that none be suffered to pass but such as have licence under my hand or from all the Council there. Yours, &c., Mountjoy.

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According to his lordship's direction, the companies at Ardee, Carlingford, Newry, Mountnorris, Armagh and Blackwater were presently mustered. These musters were no sooner performed than the Lord Deputy ordered most of them to rise and go at once into Munster. Thereupon your lordship and the rest of the Council, by your warrant, ordered us at once to go into Kildare with most of the companies before mustered.

A copy of the warrant is set out, dated 30 September, 1601, and signed by the Lord Chancellor, Cary and Fenton. It orders the Muster-Master and Controller to proceed at once to Naas and distribute to the companies which are to assemble there such clothing as the Council (in the absence of supplies from England) can provide for them. Details.

According to this warrant I, the Comptroller and the Muster-Master's deputy, went to Naas, where we awaited the passing of the companies with 1,500 suits of clothes. We took a new muster there and purported to have gone with them to Munster, as the foot of the following letter from the Treasurer to me, the Muster-Master, shows.

Sets out copy of letter dated 4 Oct., 1601, from Sir George Cary to the Comptroller, ending: "Linch is returned from the North with the books; so if you go to the camp I wish you return about a fortnight's time."

Having this warning, we could only go back [to Dublin], since we knew that the cheque for one whole year to 31 March, 1601, was left open by reason of the wants of those books from Loughfoyle and we knew that the cheques were expected by the Treasurer and Council in England, and that Mr. Treasurer's account for that time only staid for those cheques. Before we had completed them your lordships ordered us to Navan, where the rendezvous was appointed, to muster the companies there. The following extract from your warrant proves this.

Copy of warrant set out, dated Dublin, 23 Oct., 1601, signed by the Lord Chancellor, Cary and Fenton. Its substance is as above stated. It directs the Comptroller and Muster-Master to see all the men properly armed and furnished, and to stop any who are not so as unfit for her Majesty's service.

*Your lordships know how long we were compelled to attend this business. On returning we completed the accounts for the year with the books from Loughfoyle. This was not done till 26 November. We had then to take in hand the accounts up to 30 September last. This shows what were the reasons for our not going to Kinsale. Moreover, we gained much [for the Queen] by the muster on 30 September, increasing the cheque of 269*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* certified by the commissaries by 1,189*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*, by reason of false mustering in the last half-year. By mustering at the Naas or the Navan we prevented this abuse. Moreover, if we had gone to Kinsale, and had made our first muster of the companies from the*

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*North only when they arrived there, they might very easily have found means to be full at the time of such musters, owing to the large number of voluntaries then at Kinsale, where[as] now we shall be able to take a better account of how they were supplied. Moreover, to have mustered the army in camp would have been to discern its weakness on the very scene of action. We have, by our views at comptrolments of the musters taken by the commissaries, saved her Majesty in all near 11,000*l.*, of which we shall give details in a particular book which we intend to send by Mr. Wade and Mr. Maynerd. We could not have got this sum for the Queen if we had been present at the musters ourselves. If we had had to take each muster we must have been tied to our place, "and so, seeing one place discharged truly, we should have omitted the general service of all the rest."*

In answer to the charge against us we lay these facts before your lordships.

Pp. 2½. Signed by Lane and Birchensha. Add. to the Lord Chancellor and Privy Councillors in Dublin. Endd. with a petition that the officers who are accused may have favour according to the facts submitted in this answer. *S.P. Ireland* 210, 51c.

5 March.
Dublin. SIR RAFE LANE to SECRETARY CECIL.

I and the Controller have saved the State 6,000*l.* in money and 5,000*l.* in apparel in one year without doing wrong to anyone out of the commissaries' own musters. I am anxious to serve the Queen loyally at a time when Ireland may be rent from her for ever and England thrown into a general combustion. *Profuse loyal expressions. Proceeds*:—Spanish seconds are now confidently expected by the rebels of the North, who say that 10,000 men will come there in the spring [and are] assured by Tyrone and O'Donnell of three ports in those parts—"Olderfleet by Knockfergus, the same to be seized for them by the Redshanks and Knockfergus to be taken; the other to be Carlingford; and the third the Lough Coane by the river of Strangford, which lough lieth to Dublin, to Scotland, to the Isle of Man and Liverpool and the coast of Lancashire, within two tides to every of them, and is . . . not only of Ireland and England but also of all Christendom the only safe and stately harbour to make a perpetual standing arsenall and, as it were, a mother-garrison for galleys and ships of any burthen, full of fish within itself and upon that shore to victual an army perpetual, full of islands shore-deep to make magazines and storehouses, accoasted upon the edge of it with the greatest woods and fairest timber-trees of Ireland to build galleys or ships, and, environed hard aboard it, a country of nine miles in length and five in breadth of the best corn ground in Ireland, so fenced in the skirts of it with passes, as with 200 men to be guarded against all the forces of Spain though assisted with all Ireland, not to be entered into by land though the Spaniard should take Knockfergus, being seized upon

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Olderfleet with the Redshanks' gallies, so long as they be kept out of the River of Strangford."

When I first heard this "brute," seven days before I received their lordships' letters, and knowing the great value of this lough as well for us to hold as for the Spaniards to take, I conceived a project of a cheap and rapid means for its safety against all the forces of Spain if only it be adopted at once. I meant to reveal this project to your honour and to no one else. I have a firmer opinion of the coming of the Spaniard than others; and this by reason of the close way in which I look into these parts, where my possessions are. These I will defend against the strongest of the archtraitor's rebel followers, namely Brian McArte, nephew to Tyrone and his lieutenant-general of the Clandeboies. My castle of Ronnehaddye [Rinnahindha*] with my own ward in it and the Kerne from the Dufferin, "the followers of that my country . . . whose service I pay for," have done as much, by surprising loughs and magazines of Irish victuals, [to repress the Irish] as any of the Queen's garrisons east the Bann, as they know. I have had nobody to help me but 50 men from Sir Richard Moryson, Governor of Lecale. I send the project by a gentleman who has been seneschal of that my country and an actor [agent] there for me. He is a man of judgment and valour and will well inform you on any question relating to those parts which may arise. A storm is growing in Ulster.

P. 1½. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 52.
Enclosing :—

A Discovery of unavoidable ruin to England and Ireland which must happen if the River of Strangford and Lough Cone be left open to be entered if the Spanish fleet arrive at Calebeg [Killybegs], and a project of means to avert this evil if steps be taken at once.

The river of Strangford gives an entry into "the Loughcone," which in turn gives an entry into the Clandebois. By that river Sir John De Coursey, Earl of Ulster, one of the first English conquerors of Ireland, entered with 100 ships and an army and shortly subdued the Clandeboyees, and all Ulster east of the Bann, having first descended on the Duffrairie [Dufferin] from that lough. He planted "a pale for an English colony." I remind your lordship of this, as pertinent to this time and send a map† describing only that part of Ulster called the Clandebois and the sea-coasts of the island of Kentere [Cantire] in Scotland affronting the coast of Ulster.

This lough and the Dufferin separate the greater and less Ards, which lie to the eastward, from the great woods of Kilwarlin, Killertagh [or?] Killultagh, which lie to the west. It "is a harbour not only to contain all the galleys and argozeies that the Venetians have, but also in regard to those great woods before specified (growing hard aboard the

* Dr. Flood has kindly sent me this identification.

† Missing.

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said lough and in great forests, as it were, continent to the same) is to afford timber to build galleys in what number a prince (that hath purse to do it) will furnish himself withal." There are magnificent positions on the islands in the lough for an "arcenall" and laying up of all sorts of stores "as Royal in every respect as that of Venice."

The lough is within two days' rowing in calm weather in a Scottish galley from Howth Head. It is almost equidistant from the Isle of Man, Scotland and the coasts of Lancashire, which are all "within a light wrought either with oar or sail."

The lough and all the coast from Strangford to Howth is so plentiful all the year round with cod and ling that a whole army might be victualled from the fishings there. Dufferin, Lecale and the Ardes would yield fine harvests if tilled.

It is thus clear that if the lough were occupied by a force only half as large as that which Don John brought to Kinsale that force could remain there without the possibility of being disturbed "so long till they had built a fleet of galleys so great as with the same hable to transport so great an army as, divided into two fleets, might take Dublin and, at the same instant, plant garrisons and make combustions upon the coast of Lancashire in England."

It may be objected that the Spaniards will never trust their fleet to so narrow a channel as that between Ulster and Kenteere [Cantyre], which is full of flats and shoals; and that there is no harbour (save Olderfleet and Carrickfergus) between Calebeg [Killybegs] and Strangford in which they could shelter themselves. Even if this difficulty be granted, it could be got over by the Spaniards if they drew a supply of galleys from the Redshanks who, within 20 days' warning, could at all times transport 4,000 of them and their ordnance and munition from Calebeg to Strangford and "so into the Lough Cone without stop. Agreeable whereunto, report in Ulster amongst the rebels doth now give it out that O'Donnell hath procured the King to resolve to send (according to his first project) 1,000 Spaniards into Ulster and 1,000 horse by midsummer next, to come in two fleets." The one is to come by the southward along St. George's Channel to Carlingford, from whence they may readily send into the Pale and where they can be helped by the rebels this side the Blackwater, "as McGennis, Tirlagh McHenry, Arte McBarron, McMahon, O'Hanlon and the rest of that crue." The other force is to come to Calebeg, and then, by the Redshanks' gallies, to Lough Cone, and to occupy Olderfleet.

Strangford river is most favourably placed of any in Ireland for a landing, both because its natural strength renders it easily fortifiable and because it passes through the country of the rebels. Besides "there is an island of 40 passes [paces] square lying in the mouth of it within ten pikes length, on each side, of the channel, that (well fortified and ordnanced) taketh all possibility from any ship or galley to enter it" without shipwreck or destruction by the ordnance.

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If this is looked into by the State in time it may make many of the Spanish ships "crack their keels" before they get back to Spain, since there is no good harbour between Wexford bar and Strangford "that is capable of any tall shipping."

But if Strangford is left open, as it now is, it will afford them a "perpetual arcenall or nursery harborrow" which cannot be entered by sea, and where they may easily feed their men by fishing, and build ships. It should be promptly secured "as a platform (being possessed by the Spaniard) from the which he may with battery both ruin Ireland, and also, with fire bullets, make combustions in England at once."

But all these dangers may be averted if Strangford and the Lough Cone be seized and fortified at once. This may be done as follows:—

(1) *By fortifying and ordnancing the castle of Strangford, which is in Lecale, at once.*

(2) *By fortifying with demi-culverin and whole cannon the island before referred to at the mouth of the lough.*

(3) *By sending over three armed galleys into the lough. Two of these should remain at Strangford and one at Oldersfleet under the command of Sir Arthur Chichester. Oldersfleet should be fortified and well ordnanced.*

These galleys, the castle of Strangford, and island aforesaid will, if well ordnanced, protect the coast of Ireland from Calebeg [Killybegs] to Strangford, and from Strangford southwards to the entry into St. George's Channel, and likewise the flat coast of England south of Liverpool.

It is suggested that the Spaniards if they come to the North might take Knockfergus even though Strangford and Lough Cone were so fortified that they could not be entered; and that, after taking Knockfergus, they might, guided by the Irish, come overland through the passes of the Dufferin and reach the shores of Strangford Lough, where they could build galleys for themselves and so become gradually masters of it, as the rebels have been all these wars till I entered and built the castle of Ranahaddy on it. Consequently the Dufferin "as well in the passes of the great woods belonging to it as of Kilwarlin and Killerto [Killulta] accoasting the same, must in sundry places thereof be fortified and insconced and a plot of ground (spacious for an English colony town) drawn with trenches parapeted and flanked in place fit for it." This would prevent Spaniard, Scot or rebel from ever bringing cannon thither, without which they can never be masters of it.

If the Queen will commission me (this being my own country) as sole officer in the work, I will undertake upon my life to make the lough so that no one can enter to it by land at any point of its circumference and will also "make a plantation there for a colony of English, and that within the space of one year (God being pleased), as strong as that of Loughfoyle, but far more defensible for the whole kingdom than it or any other platform in the kingdom whatsoever"; and that

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with no greater charge to the Queen than 150 foot and 30 horse to be paid wholly out of the checks and continue only while the checks of the army will bear it. The Queen's charge will thus not be increased and she will gain a valuable plantation. The value of such a plantation may be estimated if you consider the benefit which has resulted from the building of my own castle of Ranahaddy. This castle lately enabled the Governor of Knockfergus and 300 men to enter the Dufferin and do service there, "an exploit which never governor of Knockfergus erst did nor any governor in Ulster (with all the garrisons under their charge) have attempted to do since the deputyship of Sir Henry Sidney, who once in his person passed with her Majesty's army through one pass of it that openeth into Lecale and in the same he was so set upon by the mere followers of the country (and only with darts and arrows according to the fashion of that time) as in the end he lost his carriage and with the same his plate also. And if the old Marshal, Sir Nicholas Bagenall, had not the better bestirred him it was likely to have gone worse."

All these points and the memory of Sir John Courcy's first invasion have moved me to make a plantation here, "the rather encouraged thereto by the experience that my small castle of Ranahaddy (being but a relic of the ancient colony and made up by me in the commodiousness only of the seat of it), which hath as much curbed the principal septs of the strongest and proudest rebels of all Ulster as any the garrisons that her Majesty hath in those parts." I still hold them in and make them pay me a rent, which has not been done for ten years.

I felt so confident that this suggestion of mine to "perform a colony upon so mean conditions of expense" would be accepted by the Queen that during the past winter "I contracted with divers men of trade of Manchester, Liverpool and of Lancashire to repair thither with their stocks and families some part of this summer," which they have promised to do if they may have land from me and be protected from the rebels; and further on the express condition that I go there first and remain resident there until they find themselves "in sufficient defence against all the natives of the country." I am quite ready to perform this last condition of residence, for it not only will help on the plantation but enable me to do a special duty pertaining to my office as an officer of the Musters—namely the more speedy drawing into our standing office here in Dublin of the muster-books of the remote garrisons in Ulster, whither the army is to go this summer. This will enable the accounts to be sent over to you more promptly. The Dufferin is in the "centre of the half diammiter" to all the garrisons in Ulster.

Recapitulates the advantages, from the military and colonial points of view, of the scheme, its costlessness, &c.

Pp. 5½. Signed by Sir Rafe Lane. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 52A.

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6 March.

[Dublin.]

ANSWERS by ROBERT NEWCOMEN to the Charges against him.

In these he answers the charge exhibited by Jolles and Cockin, purveyors [*see above*, p. 306 *seq.*] to the Privy Council, in so far as they concern him. He has been ordered to do so by the Lord Chancellor and Privy Council of Ireland.

He never meddled in brewing or engrossed commodities, or merchandized in victuals, or filled the store-house or houses of offices with his own provisions or intermixed them with the Queen's victuals.

For matters of brewing (except at Loughfoyle), nothing can be proved against him as to dealing therein or being a partner with brewers. No one can prove that he engrossed commodities, traded or did "pester the Queen's store" with his provisions.

He asks that Mr. Beverley, the Comptroller, and Christopher Pearsivall, the Commissary, with Thomas Richardson and Solomon Tetlow, the undertakers' agents here, who seem to be the informers, may be called and required to make proof of these informations, which are based on malice only. By order from the Lord Deputy he has provided small quantities of corn, beef, and fish and lodged them in her Majesty's store in empty rooms into which the purveyors had nothing to put. No honest man can prove that he made sale of any part of such victuals.

He prays that the persons who have charged him may be examined; and if on examination your lordships think that he is in any point rightly charged, he will submit to be punished.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *Signed. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 53.

7 March.

Dublin.

SIR OLIVER LAMBERT TO SECRETARY CECIL.

After we had finished with the Spaniards at Kinsale the Lord Deputy posted me away to Galway to take view of it and see how it could be prepared to stand a siege. At my return I delivered to my lord a plot of the town with my opinion on the question how it should be fortified; of which I am sure you have had notice. 600*l.* will defray the charge of this, and if I receive orders to do the work I will make Galway so that it can withstand the force of a great prince, if guarded by 300 soldiers or less with the inhabitants, till other succours come, or as long as their victuals shall last. The town is "strongly seated by nature and no approach to be made to it, but with great cost, long labour, and greater difficulty."

I left six English companies there to refresh themselves and guard the place till the Spaniards were shipped away. There are no munitions there; and these the Lord Deputy will not supply till his hands be quit of the Spaniards. These six companies, in list 1,050, are so weak that I shall not be able to draw out 300 for the service of Connaught. I have six companies of Irish soldiers (all Connaught men both officers and soldiers) assigned to me. Of these (except the Earl of Clanrickett's, of whose person and worth I am assured) I do not as yet know how securely I can make the war with them "against their dearest friends

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and nearest kindred " unless I be strengthened with more of my countrymen. I think I shall be able to persuade the Lord Deputy to give me this support when I see him, and to use my Connaught men elsewhere. If I can do this I will waste all Connaught or bring them to subjection. I will take Sligo, Ballyshannon, and, towards August, if I am helped by my neighbours, all Donegal, and will meet my Lord Deputy wherever he appoints in the North ; " so that the Lord Deputy coming one way, Sir Arthur Chichester another way, Sir Henry Docwray the third way, and I the fourth, and of all sides the war roundly undertaken there and now instantly followed, I see not how the war can last a year or Tyrone [be] able to keep 100 men to follow him ; but, like a wood kearne, to shift himself from bush to bush till God's vengeance happily lighteth upon him."

As the state stands now I think pardons and protections are not fit to be granted to any of the principal rebels ; " so will they cut one another's thrott, being out of hope of mercy but by doing some acceptable service to her Majesty!" If they are received to peace without killing, burning and wasting, then her Majesty may expect a fresh war every year.

The province of Connaught has so long been suffered to do what " they list " that they have got into a state in which there is no real difference between the reputed friends and the open enemies. " There hath neither been assizes or sessions kept these many years nor any civil course of law observed in the civilest places, her Majesty's writs not served, her compositions not collected nor any actions [?] of obedience performed." I hope to redress all these evils. I ask for letters from the Queen which will cause me to be respected by the good and feared by the ill, and encouraged to labour day and night " till I have forced these wild and ragged provinces to subject themselves to her Majesty's laws." *Polite messages.*

Pp. 3. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 54.

9 March.
Shandon.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

The bearer, Captain Thomas Bourke, has exhibited a petition before the Privy Council of England touching the seignory of the Co. Mayo. An abstract sent herewith* testified by Sir Richard Bingham and other commissioners, and shows that this seignory was passed by the late composition to Sir Richard Burke, then McWilliam Eaghter, and grandfather to the petitioner, and his heirs for ever, from whom it descended to the petitioner's father, who passed it to him as his eldest male heir and grandchild to Sir Richard. Your honour referred the matter to the Lord Deputy and Council here, who, by the bearer, return the effect of their proceedings therein. Bourke asks for my recommendation and I give it. He has served the Queen loyally and did good service at Kinsale, where I was an eye-witness of his bravery and "deservings." *Further recommendations.*

P. 3. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 55.

* Missing.

1602.

11 March. SIR HENRY DOCWRA to the PRIVY COUNCIL of ENGLAND.
Derry.

My planting of Ballyshannon has resulted in bringing practically all Tyrconnell to subjection. Only Owen Oge and the warders of Lough Esk and Ballyshannon still hold out. After this planting I intended my courses altogether for wasting of Tyrone; and for this purpose I had, when Mr. Marsden went away, assembled the forces together at Liffer [Lifford], but in such fierce weather that I was compelled to disband them again without attempting anything. A month later the weather seemed better, and we assembled again at the same place and for the same purpose, but were again prevented, "for there suddenly fell such extreme rain that by any means possible we were not able to put over the river at the very town, which, notwithstanding, is ordinarily wadeable not above middle-leg." Having got the companies together, I thought it well to have a muster. They mustered 730 strong, and, as I saw the men in the field with my own eyes, I think this muster was nearly correct. The weather being unpropitious for a movement against Tyrone, and being determined to plant a garrison at the Band [Bann] whenever time and weather should serve, I dissolved the forces again likewise for that time, and began to prepare myself wholly to the other journey.

My preparations could not be concealed from public notice, and O'Cane, probably to get better news by his messengers, moved a parley of his submission. He "seemed to labour it with great vehemence and an earnest desire indeed to be taken in." I know "the man's heart to have been long indurate in a rebellious resolution," and therefore proposed preliminary conditions to which he was to agree before I would enter into negotiations with him. They were that he should absolutely submit to the Queen and bring in his creates to such place as should be appointed by me; should sow the greatest part of his corn under our garrison at Aynogh; should give me the names of all the able men of his country and undertake to keep them from serving with any rebel, and put in six pledges such as I should nominate, whereof his son to be one. He did not refuse any one of these conditions, but asked for a truce for eight, and then for two, days, whilst he advised with himself and conferred with me about the matter. I granted him the latter on condition of his taking his oath on the Bible before my messenger that he went not about to abuse me for gaining of time or any other way to serve his turn, but only with a firm resolution to submit himself. He took his oath to these conditions, and promised them in a letter. Thereon, since I had determined to plant at the Bann whether we agreed or no, I consented to meet him for a conference the next day at Aynogh, and went over the water for that purpose. He did not come to me all the afternoon, and I sent a messenger at night to remind him. He sent no answer till past midday the next day, when a temporising answer came. I therefore drew forth and marched four miles into his country, having all the time spies both in his camp and in Tyrone to see what opposition was gathering.

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Having come to within two miles of his camp, I sent to him for a resolute answer. He returned one—which was that he would give me a bribe for three months' truce, at the end of which if the Queen were able to protect him he would declare himself further. I replied, repudiating with disdain his perfidy and treacherous manner of dealing, "for in this space I had learned the certainty by my spies, who all concurred in report—they from Tyrone that O'Neale had sent him forces and promised more, they from his own camp that those forces were come, that Randall McSurley's men were likewise joined with him" and that he had, in all, a force of 600 foot and 60 horse. With these he was strongly encamped in the mouth of a pace [pass], so that, on calling the captains together, it seemed best to return without doing anything. They have certified this under their hands, from which certificate (sent herewith) you will see "what true force we are for doing any other service of importance."

However, to be revenged for this trick I sent out Captain Badby and Captain Windsor in succession one on each of the two following nights, who went into his country and took preys. Badby went up 16 miles, took 160 cows and killed 30 people; and Windsor went up 20 miles, slew 100 of them, including three chief men of account, "many kearne, the rest churls, women and children (for he spared none), and brought away only some 20 cows." This is all that hath been done in these parts since my last despatch; but the country is brought to such famine by our raids that the misery of the poor is indescribable, and the rich are so reduced that, were they not buoyed up by hopes of Spanish succours already landed, and of further forces coming, they would soon submit, or, at the worst, could be compelled to do so by a couple of months' campaign against them. The wood kerne and other offenders are so numerous, however, and so favoured by the nature of the country, that it will hardly or never be freed in any competent measure.

As to Ballyshannon, I only received news two days ago that the cannon sent there by ship had arrived, though sent from here in the beginning of January. Ever since then she has been "beating and labouring at sea to recover that little cut," which for shortness of the way would seem a passage but of twenty hours, and were indeed no more if the winds had been good. They are now going to unload her; but this must be done at Donegal and not at Ballyshannon itself. The bar there is so shallow and the road so open that the unloading will take much time; and even when the cannon is planted, the battering of the castle will take longer than is thought by reason of the weakness of our forces; for of the 1,000 men in list there, scarce 200 can be drawn into the field. A small fort will be built within caliver shot of the castle, in which the cannon will be planted, and which will be secured against attack. The most serious want, however, is victuals and munition, the defect of which latter I have often signified both to your lordships and the Lord Deputy. The bad weather prevents us from receiving supplies which are sent to us, but by the middle of April I doubt not but in both kinds we shall

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be competently stored. The bearer can give you any other particulars which you may desire as to this place.

Pp. 4½. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 56. Enclosing :—

A. Memorandum by the Captains serving under Sir Henry Docwra on the campaign in O'Cane's Country.

Orders were given to the army to meet at Aynogh on 26 February with all the men who could endure the travel of two days' journey together. They accordingly came, leaving only their sick, and some able men to guard the quarter in each garrison (Captain Bingley's company alone excepted). The next day they drew forth and marched four miles into O'Cane's country, where O'Cane had promised to meet the governor and to make his absolute submission. A view was taken of them there, and they were found to be 400, wanting 20, English and about threescore Irish of Eneshowen, besides 40 English horse. The powder and match which could be spared to come with us was also examined, and was found to be not above 1 lb. of powder per man and 18 rolls of match in all ; which amounted to about "one fathaine" for each shot.

The provisions of necessaries for planting a garrison was put ashore and sent down the river with a fair gale of wind, and directed to meet us at the Bann's mouth. Spies were also sent forth two days before to get news in Tyrone, and specially to find out whether O'Neale were stirring or no, and others into O'Cane's camp to take view of his forces and proceedings. Some of these returned whilst we were yet at Aynogh. Others returned to the spot four miles into O'Cane's country. All agreed—and our Irish soldiers also affirmed—that O'Cane had had gathered together all his own men, 300 foot and 60 horse or thereabouts, and that 200 of McSurley's men had just joined him and also 80 men brought two days before by James McDonnell from O'Neale, and 60 banished men from Eneshowen ; and that Tyrone had promised to send him as many more as he could possibly make [i.e. raise] within two days after.

On these advertisements the captains were assembled and asked for their views. As the men, though nominally brought thither for the purpose of a parley with O'Cane, had really come together in order to go to the Band [Bann], it was held by some to be a blemish, and something dishonourable ; but when the true state of all things was laid open and the weakness of the forts at home (any one of which might have been forced by 100 men) considered, and the shortness of our supply of munition and the result which a disaster might have in losing for us all we had gained in any part of the North, and a new outbreak of the war, "it was concluded on and fully agreed by the whole consent of all men in general, and of every one in particular by himself, that although by all probability it was like we might have passed the Cammon without resistance (or, though we had been fought withal there, yet we were sufficiently able to have gained that passage in despite

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of any forces were yet assembled, howbeit not without wasting of all our munition), yet considering we must of necessity have left 100 men behind us at the Band besides what by the casualty of hurts and sickness gathered by wearisome travail would be decayed, and that while we should attend there for making up the fort to a defensible strength (as needs we must have done) the rebels would have gathered strong head and perhaps have taken away the forts, or at least without all doubt have laid the passage for us upon our return with four times the number we were able to come back with, it was, I say, concluded and resolved on without contradiction of anyone that in no case it could be attempted without manifest ruin to the whole ; and that therefore either some other service should be thought upon or the troops return to their garrisons and await a more convenient time."

"And in witness that all above rehearsed is true and that this was every man's free and voluntary opinion grounded upon apparent and infallible truths of their own knowledge they have hereunto subscribed their hands the day and year above written."

Pp. 2½. Signed [on 27 Feb., 160½] by Captains John Sydney, Humfrey Willis, Basill Brooke, William Windsor, Roger Atkinson, Roger Orme, Thomas Badby and Thomas Wood. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland.* 210, 56A.

11 March. CAPTAIN THOMAS PHILLIPS to SECRETARY CECIL.
Knockfergus.

I have been in remote places. The plantation at the end of the loathe [lough] in Tyrone continues. Sir Arthur Chichester is very anxious to bring it to pass, being a matter of great importance and the only way to banish the traitor. For this purpose I think he will send to the Lord Deputy to say what will be required for it. Our preparations must be made by the time the Lord Deputy draws near the Blackwater, by which time we shall be able to land—at the most—300 men from our boats. We have also to carry victuals, tools, boards, butts, &c., to lodge ourselves at the first.

Sir Arthur has chosen me for the first plantation, and I hope to be able to do what is expected of me. Sir Arthur is well affected to you ; pray recommend me in your letters to him as a follower of yours. I hope your honour shall hear that the traitor has forsaken Tyrone within two months after the plantation if all goes as I hope it will. We are weak in numbers, for many of our old men are sick. The new supplies which came hither are little use, and those we have do not do the duty of 50 men.

I think you have heard of Tyrone's devices to dispossess Sir James of Don Leus [Dunluce] and give it to Randell, who at this time seeks for another pardon. Seeing they are not to continue much longer against the Queen, the only way to overthrow them is to place a garrison at Coleraine, which will, moreover, keep Tyrone from many things with which he is now supplied. Sir James' father had 300 men ready to come over, but it is not known what

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he will do now, hearing his son has played the child. If they come now they will do little good, and I fear that Sir James will entice them to serve Tyrone, for he has promised to help him with 1,000 men; so perhaps it were better if they did not come at all. "He is now to marry Tyrone's daughter, he having a married wife in Scotland."

It is reported that O'Cane wants to come in to her Majesty. So would they all if they would be received. They only do it to save their goods; and to receive them would be to nurse a new war, for they are now all ready to starve. The banishing of Tyrone out of his dean [den] will bring confusion amongst the rest.

P. 1. *Hol. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 57.

12 March. SIR HENRY DOCWRA to SECRETARY CECIL.*

Derry.

I have, as my former letters showed, been doubtful about the expedient of bringing over Scots; and now write on that matter. Their coming would spare the ordinary subjects, who are ill qualified for the severities of the service, to which the others [the Scots] are hardened. The men of Cantire, particularly, being so near to us, are suited to this service. Recent experience and events, however, make me incline to the contrary part—to think them undesirable.

My chief reason is [my objection 'to] James McDonnell. He is heir by birth to the country from which they [the proposed Scots' force] would be levied. He tried to kill his own father, and is banished the kingdom for that and other crimes. Being left a prisoner in Dunluce when Randal McSurley was on the Munster journey with Tyrone, he got himself free, seized the castle, and reported its seizure to Sir Arthur Chichester, with "many a gloze of holding it for the Queen." But he only wanted to get what he could and give nothing, and, when Tyrone and Randall came back from Munster, was expelled. Being driven out, he is ostensibly fled to O'Cane, and alleges great hatred between O'Cane and Randal, and between himself and Tyrone, which can "palpably be discerned" [*i.e.* seen through]; at times pretends to mediate between O'Cane and me, and at times asks for a ship from me to take him to Knockfergus and for leave to come in to me with 100 men. But, when it comes to really putting himself in my power, "he finds starting holes and delays" which shew his real intent.

If any men come over from Cantire, this man, how odious soever he may appear in his own country, will undoubtedly be able to sway them to his will; so that they will be of little use for our service. So that, the Spanish danger being now overblown, and there being every prospect that "it is but this summer's work to make an end of all," I think the best course is to reinforce our force here with horse and foot from England. I hope this will be the last levy of men which the Queen will need to raise for

* In this letter Sir Henry Docwra surpasses even himself in longiloquence. The rendering of his letter as above is the result of severe compression.

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this place. The number of men which I shall suggest will seem irksome, but the army here is now much weakened. Newly arrived troops become quickly decayed, and Ballyshannon must be made a strong garrison. I have also to place a garrison at the Band [Bann], which will be very useful. I therefore ask for 1,200 foot and 40 horse, half of them to go to Ballyshannon and half to reinforce us here. We shall then be able to plant at the Band and to meet the Lord Deputy in any part of the North. This demand will raise the check above what it has ever been; but the check can I think be brought down very near to what it was, and the difference will be excused by the misery of this place and the difficulty which the officers have in maintaining themselves. The increase of the check will give an opportunity to the Controller, who is now restrained, to say he could now do the Queen the greatest service; but when it shall appear that the "buysines" has always been worst performed when he has taken it in hand, and the causes of his imprisonment are justly weighed, I am sure his objection will be fully answered. "For that a man of his quality should stand at defiance with me to my face, should favour and disfavour whom he list in the musters, should exact and take fees by the rule of his own appetite, should make allowances of dead-pays to his favourites, and give passports under his hand, beside many other vices and misdemeanours, . . . will not I think be judged by any man courses fit or expedient to let him run on in." He defies my authority, and says I have no jurisdiction over him.

You will probably hear that Neale Garve is discontented. Many of our nation flatter and extol him beyond all desert; and others exculpate him by speaking of my malice towards him and envy of his greatness. The points on which he and I disagree are:—I take and keep good pledges for his loyalty, and I give him no victual "because he hath creates of his own largely sufficient to feed his men upon," and promised me to demand none, but now asks for such victuals when they are scarce with us. I compel him to subject his people to discipline, and himself to abide judgment in matters of controversy between him and others. This he cannot abide. I ask for no other marks of subjection from him, and would treat him with all courtesy if he would agree to these. His demands are most extravagant, and his "carriage" not free from "taxation" [*i.e.* criticism] if I may believe certain informers.

Pp. 5½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd.* : "R. the 26th at Richmond," *S.P. Ireland* 210, 58.

12 March. The MAYOR OF GALWAY and others to the LORD DEPUTY.
Galway.

The Bishopric of Clonfert is vacant by the death of Stephen Kyrowan. The Bishopric of Kilvictuagh [Kilmacduagh], which is valued at only 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a year is now almost waste, and "scarce able to maintain a man of meaner calling." We pray that the Bishoprics, which are both contained in a part of the

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co. Galway, may be joined together and granted to Rowland Lynch, Bishop of Kilvictuagh [Kilmacduagh]. We have had good experience of his sound doctrine and behaviour this fifteen years. We have none in our province more fit to "instruct us in our usual language," or more loyal to the Queen.

Commendatory expressions.

P. 3. Signed by Christopher Lynch, Mayor; Edward, Dean of Tuam; Dominick Martin, Recorder of Galway; Francis Martin, James Darsey, Marcus Linch Fitznicholas, and Edmond French. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland, 210, 59.*

12 March. The LORD DEPUTY and the PRESIDENT of MUNSTER to
Youghal. SECRETARY CECIL.*

Don Juan and the Spaniards being all embarked and ready to sail on March 8th, we left Cork on the 9th, meaning to come to Waterford. As, however, the Spaniards are delayed by rough weather, we delay here, and await news of their actual departure. We shall write to the Privy Council from Waterford. Pledges from Don Juan arrived at Cork as agreed. Five more English companies landed at Waterford on the 8th.

P. 1. Signed by the Lord Deputy and Lord President. *Add. Endd. Ibid, 60.*

Same. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SAME.

I have received yours by Sir Oliver St. John, and am sorry that some people think so little of our performance in "avoiding" 5,000 Spaniards out of a country wholly addicted to them and malicious to our State; but we are comforted in that "the Lords of that honourable table" have accepted our services. I am very sorry that neither the Lord Deputy nor myself was admitted to come to England, as he or I could have given the Council satisfaction better than any other man. *Presses* the point further.

Proceeds :—My last letter told you of the departure of the Spaniards, and I sent the letters of the King of Spain and others promising succours of men and money, &c., to Don John. This is the month in which those succours should arrive; but I hope that, the composition being now known in Spain, the King will change his intentions. Don John is now at anchor in the haven of Kinsale ready to go with the first wind. We muster them now at 1,200 able men, besides boys and women. These, added to those already gone, and to those who have died by battle or sickness, make up the whole force originally in Kinsale to above 4,000. This confirms what Don Dermuchio stated, who put them at 4,300. The Irish who came to them were 200. I do not know how many Spaniards were at Baltimore and Castlehaven. They have departed also. Those at Berehaven were betrayed by Donell O'Sulevan Beare, lord of that castle, disarmed and sent

* This letter is abstracted by Moryson, *op. cit.* Vol. III, p. 133, *q.v.* I give a very short abstract here.

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overland to Baltimore, where they were embarked. That you may see how that traitor continues in his rebellion, I send you his letters, intercepted by my procurement, to the Conde de Caragena in Spain. The Spanish artillery (12 pieces, of which four are brass), 60 barrells of powder, and all the victuals and provisions brought by the barque of *Adviso*, are in his possession; and, to use his ordnance, he detained two Spanish gunners and one Irish. The country of Beare is all mountainous, and no horse can travel there; and what conveniency I shall have to land my ordnance there I do not know. My Lord of "Tomond" is, however, directed to go there with the forces under his command, and to view the ground; and I propose to be ready by the last of this month to go and besiege it, and shall proceed according to the information I obtain from Lord Thomond. The army is very weak. The list of Munster is now 4,300 foot, but if of these I could draw 1,600 into the field I should think myself very happy. There are many sick; and no doubt the checks may be diminished by reason of deficiencies; but this will not be so great a diminution as is expected, because sick men must be paid. "This infection I cannot believe to be a plague, but sure I am it is very near unto it, and few escape."

I am now going to Waterford with the Lord Deputy, and my Lord of "Tomond" has gone into "Carbrie, Beare and the edge of Desmond" with 2,500 men. Sir Charles Wilmot, with 1,700, rakes Kerry and Desmond, and between these two bodies I hope the rebels will have little ground to fight or subsist on except the castle of Bearehaven (called Donboy). "I would undertake to finish the war in those parts within two months, but the castle is strongly seated upon a rock, full of artillery, munitions and victuals; yet I doubt not but by God's grace to ruin it." It would be expensive to fortify all the places in Munster where the Spaniards might land; but the fortifications begun at Castle-ny-park for the defence of Kinsale should be allowed of; and two forts should be erected in the haven of Cork, one at the mouth of the haven and the other on an island 6 miles from Cork called Halebollen [Haulbowline]. The Lord Deputy thinks they should be fortified, for then no shipping or fleet could pass up the river, and the town would be made safe. Its loss might endanger a kingdom. A citadel should also be made to command the town, "which hath need of a bridle." At Limerick the castle is now being fortified; and this done the place will be secure for the Queen.

Captain Flower, who was sent to embark the Spaniards at Berehaven, has returned. He went there without knowing that the Spaniards had given up the fort, and found he could not get to land there for all his seamen's art, so contrary was the wind; but he had view of the castle. His misery was so great by sickness, "as his master and all his men but seven died." His two companies have lost 50 men by sickness since he set out. "God bless us from the mortality we now are in," for the army of late is very much weakened. I am grateful to the Lord Treasurer for his letter received by Sir Oliver St. John. When I return to Cork

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I hope to find an undertaker for the victualling of this province on the terms he desires. When the Lord Deputy is gone, who hastens this post, I will answer all my other friends' letters.

Pp. 4. (Hol.) *S.P. Ireland* 210, 61. *Enclosing* :—

Don. O'Sulevan Beare to [Count Caraçena].

Don Juan de L'Aquila's intention to hand over to the English all the forts and havens given him voluntarily for the King of Spain's service appeared clearly here. This [would have been] much to the destruction of many gentlemen and Catholics of this country, who entered into this action without compulsion.

"All which having considered, I have (of mere affection to my religion, his Highness' service and love to my people and country") recovered my castle and drawn into it some hundreds of my followers. Although the Spaniards tried to resist me, I killed none of them, though they killed three of my best gentlemen. I have allowed to the captain and five or six others rooms in my castle to look to the King's munitions and artillery. I will endeavour to keep this till I know his Highness' or your lordship's pleasure. I have, as proof of my loyalty, sent my son and heir thither, who I hope is by now with your lordship, and have cessed all the captain's company upon my own people and charges. Pray move his Majesty to relieve this place, "where many of his Royal ships in time of service may be kept in safety, or otherwise to send some small ship towards this coast for to receive me and the rest of my family and children" and take us to Spain "out of the hands of these merciless heretical enemies." I would rather leave my ancient seat and property and friends than trust to their pardon or promises. I hope you will do this for me, as I sacrifice everything for the Catholic faith and the King's service.

P. 2. (Hol.) From Berehaven Castle, 28 Feb., 160½. *Unaddressed*, but see the covering letter above, p. 329, l. 3. *Ibid*, 61A.

12 March. NOTES for a SPEECH [?] by THADY DOWLING, Chancellor of Leighlin, on the ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT of IRELAND, &c.

Leighlin
Bridge.

The writer begins :—

I have received these mostly by report. Please set them down in better or more decent form. There may be some errors in the names ; therefore search the Queen's rolls and search elsewhere.

Proceeds [in Latin] :—

The Archbishop of Armagh, primate of all Ireland and patriarch, has under him twelve bishops.

Gives the ten dioceses of Ulster, including Meath and Clonmacnoise.

The Archbishop of Dublin, primate of Ireland and metropolitan, has these bishops under him.

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Gives the dioceses of Ossory, Ferns, Leighlin—and Elphin,* Kildare and Glendalough. Says that Glendalough was united to Dublin by Innocent III. †

The Archbishop of Cashel, primate and metropolitan, has under him the Bishops of Lismore, Waterford, Cork, Cloyne, Ross, Emly, Ardagh, Limerick and Killaloe.

The Archbishop of Tuam [same] has under him the Bishops of Kilmacduagh, Elphin, "Aghediocen [Annaghdown or Enachdune], Clonfert, Ardfert [sic], "Maioonensis" [Killala?] and Aghenerensis [Achonry?].

Proceeds [in English]:—

Some of these are altered by means of unions.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of this realm was divided and constituted into four provinces (as you see here above) whose primacy was referred to St. Patrick's see for reverence, and because he was the converter of the heathen.

This was continued for many years until at length in the time of King Henry II orders were taken for reformation, and were confirmed by Pope Eugenius III, in 1148 or 1152 [sic]. He granted and sent *pallia* to these Archbishops.

The Archbishop of Armagh alleges that all these are subject to his see *tanquam eorum legato nato*. He alone is called "*Patriarcha Hiberniæ, Apostolicus*," and the others are (only) called "metropolitan primates." By law, properly speaking, all primates are patriarchs, as you may find by the following reference. *Refers to Distinctio*, 99, 1-2, of the Decretals.‡ *Other details* on the canon law on the matter.

Proceeds:—Here are some of the Bishops and Archbishops of Dublin since 893, so far as I could gather them.

[*For these see Cotton's Fasti*, Vol. II, pp. 8-20. This list tallies practically with Cotton's list from Cormac (890) to Adam Loftus (1602), but the dates differ slightly from those in Cotton.]

Mr. Doctor: Pray excuse me against fault-finders and let me remind you that it is thought there were other bishops and archbishops of this metropolitan see before Cormac and after, whose names came not into my hands; for I gathered the names of most of them by the *obitus eorum* which I found in *missali flavo*, which was burned. This reason may induce you to believe it true, that the same see of Christchurch, Dublin, is of the oldest churches in this land. It is called in "his" foundation "*Coruscans gema in medio Hiberniæ qui prior incepit in honore et posterior erit in auctoritate*." I have seen the foundation without date or seal, but some witnesses were therein named. I mean the "primeve" foundation, which was very simple. But they have obtained sufficient bulls and rescripts and charters for reform of their Corporations, as well from Rome as from the Kings of England, and especially from "the most devout Prince" King Henry VIII.

* A clear mistake. Elphin is given again below under Tuam.

† See Cotton's *Fasti* II, 215.

‡ See *Corpus Juris Canonici* (ed. Friedberg, 1879), Vol. I, p. 350.

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I give a list of the Bishops of Leighlin since the beginning of the English conquest. I cannot find their years.

List follows from Hugh [?] about 1170* to Thomas Filay [called by Cotton, Thomas Field] in 1567. The list begins as follows:—

A certain Hugo was bishop before the conquest [of Ireland by the English], as appears by the charter of Bishop William. He granted [?] certain liberties to the burgesses [of Leighlin ?]. He was succeeded by William, who lived in 1090, as Bishop Nicholas says in his collection. He was followed by Bishop John.

List follows of Bishops of Leighlin from Donat in 1175† to Nicholas Stafford, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin in 1602.‡

It is known that the blessed Lazaranus, patron of the see of Leighlin, flourished in 654 [?] and, before that, exercised the office of legate to govern a people of new acquisition [?] in Ireland, but I can find no memory of any bishop of that see after that for 340 years. I know, however, that there were many whose acts or books and rolls of their courts and calendars of their *obitus* were destroyed or embezzled by means of the great troubles and invasions and long civil frays, as most part of our records and books have been in this war.

List follows of the Bishops of Kildare from Lonig [Lony] to Thomas Dillon similar to the first 24 names in the list given by Cotton.§

Bridgid, daughter of Dubsac the well-born (*generosi*), died in 510. She was patron of the see of Kildare. No doubt there were more bishops in 1,100 years.

I have found very few of the Bishops of Ossory and Ferns, but you may find them in their own churches and old books and rules; for I know they could be saved very sure from time to time, for they were not subject to the devotion of disordered soldiers as this place hath been and is.

I must now mention to you, Mr. Doctor, the inclinations of the people of Ireland.

“They are religious, passing in hospitality, frank and great almsgivers. Abstinence and fasting is their familiar kind of chastisement. They are loving, amorous, full of compassion and pity of the poor’s calamities. They love their fosters and followers [?] more than their kinsfolks. The noble and gentleman doth favour, reverence and well use Churchmen and do them no harm; but will take and impart meals with them at need when they pass by. They make no conscience and deem it no offence to rob, spoil, and steal from their enemies, and will seek no remedies by law for the like, but to requite one wrong with the like turn. The lewder sort of the laity and clergy are sensual and over-loose in living. Some will keep two married women in one house or will marry for one year of probation, and, misliking, will return her home and so change as many as he will.

* Bishop Hugh’s appointment is not dated by Cotton. The list here given differs substantially from that in Cotton, Vol. II, p. 383–7, *q.v.*

† Cotton’s *Pasti* (Vol. II, p. 383) gives the date of his tenure of the bishopric as 1158–1185.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

§ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 222, note (a).

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"They observe gavelkind custom in succession or division of their inheritances, for the younger and base-born brother, shall have as the lawful elder. They will carroosh [carouse] wine [and] seek and weigh nothing else. They feed commonly upon beef, pork, muttons and butter. They eat herbs and care little for bread. They are ireful; soon angry, soon qualified. They are sufferable and of infinite pains, delighteth in wars, very excellent horsemen. They make much of their poets and reuthmers [rhythmers=rhymers]. They are fearful of dishonour, greedy of praise, very glorious and ambitious of great name."

"You say, Mr. Doctor, that you are going to inscribe my name among the writers of Ireland for perpetual memory. I am of the family of Dowling or Dowdall, also spelt Dowleys, Dowlyngs and Dowlyns; as "Dowdall and Doudaes be one upon occasion of a statute." Thus our chief city is now written 'Dublin,' but used sometimes to be written 'Dowleyn,' "as appeareth in print in that statute and before." They retain several surnames, as Dowlry [Dooary*] in Kilkenny and Ossory, Dowlyn [Dowlin] in Lease [Leix] "and norweast," and Dowlyng, co. Dublin, and the south-eastern parts [of Ireland]. In the time of that statute for mutation these were made into surnames.

"Besides this I have sprung of true husbandmen and of indifferent good report among their neighbours and acquaintances." These could "live well of their own, for they had in that days a store of cows and other catells, which were the riches that this country, made account of for their wealth; and so hath preferred me to a noursh [nurse] far in Old Loughlin and have sent some cows and garrauns [?] to my fosters."

I gathered "some croomes [crumbs] of learning in the country some wheres [?] in one school and some quarters in another." I then gave myself "to learn the institutions of both the laws, &c., [and] came lately to Mr. Patrick Cusack, free school-master in the City of Dublin, where I, remaining about 4 years' space, did every term and law days resort to the Consistory, Legate [Delegates' ?] and Admiral courts, and lay nightly in one bed with Mr. Byrne, a civilian of commendation, and had the use and revolving [?] of his books with his conferences and resolutions, and became in acquaintance and great amity with Mr. John Bale, Master of Arts and Bachelor of both the laws, Vicar-General, and now and then was sent by commission to visit and decide matters in the borders." So that I have had practice as well as my work in schools.

Being thought well of, the Bishop of Leighlin and Chapter have brought me home and bestowed on me the treasurership with an advowson of the chancellorship and of three prebends. On the chancellorship subsequently falling vacant, I resigned the treasurership and renounced the benefit of the advowsons and became chancellor, and had an annuity of 40s. a year from the Dean and chapter.

* Dooary is in Queen's County (Leix), and Dowlin in Kilkenny. Perhaps the writer made a mistake as to the names.

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I was associated in office with Fergall Cure, vicar-general here. Since his death I continued in his office as vicar-general and official; and I was twice *custos* [*sede vacante*]. Since the rebellion broke out I have had to fly from the fury of the rebels. I have lost my moveable goods, but I have made a collection of such statutes—or portions of statutes—of the realm as concern spiritual jurisdiction, interlacing it with commentaries and cases of the common law.

I have also in hand to translate into Irish characters and idioms, a pious calendar and an almanack of certain years, “the Irish A.B.C. with the vowels and consonants and other parts of introduction into the knowledge and reading of the language, with some prayers [and a] little treatise; with a short vocabulary beginning with the Irish words and with all an antydall [manual] containing the properties, operations and qualities of [*] herbs and beasts and make them as little [an] Incheridient† as I may.”

These three, vizt. the abstract of histories, the breviary of certain statutes and this manual or antidall, I will endeavour to commit to examination and print if time and “mine accustomed distillations of reume [?]” permit.

Pp. 4. (*Hol.*) *Badly written. S.P. Ireland* 210, 62.

13 March.
Dungarvan.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I recommend Captain Sheffield, who has borne a good place in the army, and was, as a servant of your father's, preferred to her Majesty. He is now out of all entertainment and going to her England. Pray help to get him paid arrears for past service, which he wants to sustain his old age.

P. ½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 63.

14 March.
Knockfergus.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER to SAME.

On 20 February I got yours, and yours and the Council's of 24 December telling me of the coming of 800 men to Loughfoyle, and ordering me to advance with them, and 200 of the garrison here, towards the Lord Deputy. These orders have since been countermanded; but I think I should have failed had I tried to carry them out “by reason my greatest enhabling was to come from another's furnishment, who could hardly spare such a number.” *Details.*

I have already told you of my endeavours with Sir James McConnell and his father Angus for the delivery of the castle of Dunluce. To proceed—During Tyrone's absence in Munster Sir James fed me with many hopes, desiring to gain by me and that I would draw over his father [from Scotland] with some men to help him, and “referring” [deferring] the conclusion of all his promises till his father should come over. Being anxious

* A word here is illegible. It is remotely like “seasons.”

† Encheiridion—a short treatise.

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to get possession of the castle, I sent over a boat to Kentyre [Cantire], where they found Angus and 500 men ready to come over. After treating, he promised me the castle and one of his sons as a pledge. Storms prevented their coming over till Tyrone returned from Munster and came to Castle Roue [?]. James at once resorted to him, and, on his order, made over the castle to Randall. Randall soon after sent his brother to me with many professions of submission, and excuses for his having gone into Munster with Tyrone. James' perfidy might have induced me to treat with Randall, but, as I did not know "how far my Lord Deputy distasts him for his late revolt," I have sent his letters, and the question, up to his lordship for consideration.

About the beginning of February my boat returned from Cantyre, bringing two of Angus' chiefest servants. He stayed for their return, being ignorant of his son's doing. There was then a report of the Spaniards' coming to Ulster and of some disaster at Loughfoyle; and, hearing it, they proffered performance of what their lord had promised, and desired the Queen's protection for his safe coming and returning. But his son had betrayed me in that which I desired, which made me to consider what use might be made of their presence, and I feared their chiefest activities might be on the sons of Sorley for regaining that land to which they pretend title, to effect which they would require our help, and so divert us from better services, and ask for victuals, of which we are short. If we did not supply them with these they would soon be craving, as they had only brought 7 or 8 days' supply with them, and "being denied will soon take occasion to combine with the enemy and fly to James, who (as I am informed) hath promised Tyrone 1,500 men for entertainment. Angus is a perpetual drunkard, therefore no stirrer; [and] his men of base and treacherous disposition, inclined to dissolute and licentious living." These considerations make me doubt them more than the present enemy, who are weary with long misery and only desire rest. I therefore returned his men and advised him to dissolve his forces, and said there were difficulties about his coming over by reason of his son's delivery of the castle and other hooltes [holds] and my mistrust of his son's treachery (who had twice compounded with Tyrone when he made greatest proffers of service to her Majesty); and used other persuasions, which, I think, will divert him from coming over until I receive advertisements of my Lord Deputy's pleasure, "whether he will accept of Randall, draw over Angus, whose son is (and himself may be) a worse traitor, or give me sufficient forces to displant them all and the rest of the traitorous lords of these countries; whom I desire not to enrich or that they should be advanced by any speech or action of mine. . . . I wish the reables [rebels] and their countries in all parts of Ireland like these, where they starve miserably and eat dogs, mares and garrons when they can get them."

Starvation, as I have often said, is the only thing which will cut the throat of the grand traitor; and this is well begun. "When they are down it must be good laws, severe punishment, abolishing

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their ceremonies and customs in religion and lordlike Irish government, keeping them without arms more than shall be necessary for the defence of the honest, and some port towns erected upon these northern harbours, that must bridle them and keep them in perpetual obedience."

While Tyrone was away all bordering rebels hid themselves in "bushes and strong fastnages," but now begin to look abroad again. I have lately killed some men and taken some small "prees"; and amongst them the Scot hath not gone free, notwithstanding his pretended honesty.

I have lately heard of Tyrone drawing his men together, and purpose to advance towards the Pale. On this I sent my boats into Killybegs with 140 men. They returned on March 3, having done good service by killing and spoiling. This makes Tyrone take care, and look behind him.

I have lately finished a vessel of 25 tons, which I hope to use for planting garrisons on the other side of the lough, which will be a great advance. I hope to be able to work the destruction of the rebel [Tyrone] if the Lord Deputy accepts my suggestions and furnishes me with the force I ask for. The right way of finishing these rebellions has, as you know, not been taken; "but continuance hath now opened the eyes of those whom misadvice and ill counsel would long have kept in blindness, and, her Majesty granting forces, much good will be wrought on a sudden."

I want 200 or 300 more men, and those better than the men lately sent us. These have greatly infected us and not done the service of 50 persons. If they are granted we will send a captain of the garrison to avoid the scandal for which we have good cause to condemn the conductors. I fight often and always in places of disadvantage, where we escape not knocks. A few, but not many, of our men are slain, and at present nearly half our men are sick, hurt or unserviceable. We desire the remains of the horse appointed for our last supply. Those we have are weak for want of provender, for which I have often written, but in vain. When our garrisons are settled in Tyrone most of the work must be done by horse, so I ask for those promised, and, if you please, for more.

As the country is waste, and victuals cannot be had for money, I ask that arrangements be made for larger supplies of these; and that every soldier may have seven groats weekly of his entertainment in meat, especially during the winter. I ask for provisions for at least 2,000 men to be sent here, from whence I will undertake to send them into Tyrone. "I understand of some pieces of artillery lately devised, easy to be carried, and of great bore." Mr. Sexfoorde of the Privy Chamber will help us to two or three of them if your lordship will give him the necessary order. "There is sometimes good store of salmon and other fish in the lough, which will be a good relief to the soldier if we had nets to take them." Pray order Mr. Jooles or Mr. Cockayne to supply one.

Sir Henry Docwra writes, as I forethought, that Sir James [McDonnell] has taken men in pay from Tyrone, and has promised

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the traitor greater numbers than he can any way draw to him. Sir Henry speaks also of the impossibility of his going to Munster owing to defects in that army. I think he has already spoken to you of these, and I have sent his letters to the Lord Deputy. I think his lordship will hardly be able to furnish me with all I want for my plantation in Tyrone, some workmen and all the tools being to come from England; but I rely wholly on his next directions, not knowing how things may alter.

I give particulars and speak my mind freely to you because the Lord Deputy often asks me to do so. When he looks hither I hope we shall soon make an end of "this filthy and heathenish rebellion," for God has hitherto blessed him with extraordinary fortune. Mr. Hill, the bearer of this, has long served the Queen here, and has his dwelling here. He can give your honour a plain and true declaration of this country, "having heretofore been Provost-Marshal and since sheriff of this county." If you have any message to send he will return here soon.

"I dare not move my old suit, but will await some fitter opportunity."

Pp. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Hol.*) *S.P. Ireland* 210, 64.

17 March.
Waterford.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Apologises for a hasty letter. *Proceeds* :—Since I last wrote Don John is gone. He came in again to Kinsale harbour, but did not disembark; and is, I feel sure, gone away again by now, as the wind is favourable. I have sent all news to my Lord Treasurer, so pray excuse my asking you to hear it from him. "This is the first time I ever referred you to other men's letters, and shall be the last. My Lord Deputy and I were importuned by the men of Cork to join in a letter to the Council; but neither of us wish the charter of the citizens to be enlarged unless their deserts were better. I know it is a wrong to the Lords "to leave sutors [suitors] unto their denial,"* but we satisfied their [the citizens'] desires in this one case in order to urge them on to greater loyalty. Pray forgive this.

After seeing the Lord Deputy to Kilkenny I shall return to my province and prosecute the rebels. For the two forts to be built at Kinsale and Cork I beseech your special assistance. They are necessary for the kingdom. That at Kinsale is being built by Paul Ivie, but at Cork nothing will be done without especial warrant.

I have the charter and the ensigna of magistracy belonging to Kinsale. Pray send instructions as to what I am to do with them; for they are importunate to have them returned, which I will not do without orders.

"In your next to my Lord Deputy I beseech you . . . to thank him for his kind dealing with me, which I cannot but thankfully acknowledge from him; and since I have no other means I am desirous that he should know that I am grateful.

* i.e. to cast on the Council the *onus* of rejecting their petitions.

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Unto the Queen he is pleased to write better of me than I can merit," and I am sure that malice has "in some proportion tasked me as well as him in these late actions." We are both able to justify the other, not by consent [*i.e.* conspiracy], but each knowing the other to be free from just imputation. We are both anxious to leave Ireland, and only stay here because it is our duty. Pray secure my return from hence. *Deferential messages.*

P.S.—I lately sent you a letter from Donell O'Sulevan Beare to the Conde de Caracena, governor of the Groyne [Corunna]. I now send three further Spanish letters* intercepted with the others, and written by Captain Francesco Saavedra [?], who commanded the Spaniards there [at Berehaven]. These letters tell the truth as to how that castle was taken from the Spaniards. By the manner of the writing, and the style, it seems that O'Sulevan and Archer were acquainted with it; but, howsoever Captain Saavedra and they did then accord, I am sure that at the last he and his men were sent disarmed to Baltimore and there embarked for Spain.

P. 1½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 65.

After
17 March.

MEMORANDUM entitled "The PROGRESS of my SERVICES since I arrived in Ireland on 17 March."†

I wrote to your lordship from Glasgow; and on that day took ship and landed within 24 hours at "Bondnorys" [?]. At my landing I was taken for some of Sir James Oge's servants, and was fired on by the guard with a few shots; but when I hallooed to them and said we were friends, and sent from Scotland to Sir James Maksoil [MacSorley], they came nigh us and seemed sorry for what was done. I made some hard speeches to them, and bade them carry me to their master, which they did. I found him somewhat sickly, and a Scottish surgeon whom I knew with him. I delivered him such letters as I had from Scotland for him, and also a rapier and dagger, &c. as sent by the Duke. He received these very gladly, and asked me what the King and the Duke thought of this his war [?] in Ireland. I told him I had it in part in commission from my master to ask him what he meant to do, since his brother Ronald was in Scotland travelling for peace, and that he had taken days with the deputies, and paid the Queen her rent. 'I confess,' said he, 'that my brother hath taken truce with the Englishmen, and so have I. But since I hear that you and your master love the Englishmen as much as I, by reason of old inanimity [enmity] twixt the two realms, I will be free with you. You may tell your master that I mean nothing less than to agree this [thus] only till May. Then my oath made to the King of Spain for the money he sent my father-in-law will no longer bind me. If that promised help come at

* Missing.

† The document is written by a Scotsman, and with the old-fashioned spelling—"landit" for "landed," "quhat" for "what," &c. I have not preserved this old spelling even in the *verbatim* parts of this abstract.

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that time, I am sure we shall be able to trouble the Queen's Deputies till some change come in England. If the help, either of men or money, come not, I will follow the King of Scotland's determination in all things as I have sent to him by my brother Ronald. "' Besides that,' said he, ' the Queen will not have me her subject . . . that hath made Sir Arthur [Chi]chester governor of Knockfergus to remember his brother's death upon me.'"

He told me also of the variance which was fallen betwixt him and his brother in law, Owen, and how careful his father-in-law O'Neile was to keep them in unity. Then he sent for that Jesuit O'Neil had sent to him to take truce betwixt them till the matter should be decided. This Jesuit, when he had communed with me a while in Latin, said, "I hear you are a traveller and have been to Rome; so of course you must be a Catholic." I answered nothing, but presently pulled out of my pocket my Latin primer. He said, "I know in the Lent you cannot let that book from about you." I answered, "No." He then spoke more freely with me, and told me he had great difficulty in keeping these two noblemen from going be[by] the eers [?], and that if there had not been another father of their society there . . . *, it were impossible to hold them asunder. He then asked me what I was going to do, and asked me to stay a while with him, since I would be an helper to keep them asunder. I said I would do all I could, but could not stay, for I had [to take] letters to O'Neile and somewhat to do with him. He said he would write to the Earl to treat me kindly, but (as I afterwards learned) wrote a letter to Tyrone saying, "There is a Scotchman lately come to Dunlipis † [Dunluce?], whom I take to be a Catholic, and who seems to have much to say to your lordship. If your lordship mistrust him, first try him ere he come to you."

Then, being about to depart from Dunluce, and finding Sir James so well prepared to be a dutiful subject, I thought how to serve your worship. I called the surgeon with him, who is called William Lin, who dwells at . . . After many recalling[s] of old friendship I bound him to secrecy, and said I should reveal something to him which no one but he and I would know, and which, if it were known, would be the death of both of us. He promised secrecy. [Details.] 'Then,' said I, 'you, having this man in your hands, may both profit yourself and do me credit if you will find some means to despatch him. I will give you my bond with seissing [sic] for 50*l.* after his death to be paid, and somewhat in hand.' He was silent for a time, and said then, 'But how shall I escape?' 'If you will undertake it,' said I, 'I will give you 5*l.* in hand and a letter to the Governor of Knockfergus (since nothing can be proven against you) to see you safe sent home.' 'No,' said he, 'I will have 8*l.* and your bill, and if he die not before Easter I shall crave no more and you shall have your money back again.' I then took his oath solemnly on a book to keep the secret and do what he had undertaken.

* The document is not clear here.

† The word may be "Dunlivis."

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Sir James gave me one convoy [?] to Otten [O'Cane ?], and asked me to come back the same way, and he would have a couple of hackneys ready for me, and some for my master also. On the 20th of March I went on to Ottain [O'Cane ?], who welcomed me when he heard I was going to O'Neile, and offered me all kindness. I gave him four [?] bows and a sheaf of arrows, which I had purposely brought with me to stop the "dyvelis' " mouth.

O'Cane, for that I came from Sir James, was not entire with me, but only his Jesuit willed me to speak the best, and that Sir James was well inclined towards him. I forgot to do this, since I told him I had no commission to meddle. After dinner he gave me eight or nine [men] to convoy me to Tyrone; but, or I came within two miles of Dungannon, there met us a troop of 100 "sogers," who asked who I was and whither I went. I told them I was a gentleman of Scotland sent from the Duke my master with letters to Tyrone. But they (by reason of the Jesuits' letters that had been written from Dunluce, which I learnt of a Scottish Jesuit, William Maxwel, afterwards) began to handle me roughly and felt my pockets. Finding no letters save to their master, they stript me stark naked and unripped the seams of my doublet to look for letters. When they found the letters they made me clothe myself and carried [?] me to a lodging all that night (God knows hard enough).

The next day there came to me, four Jesuits, countrymen of mine. As fortune would have it, they had known me at Rome [?]. When they saw me in that state they were very offended, and went to the Earl and complained, showing him I was none of these I was taken for. He was very angry at the way I had been treated, and caused some of those who had treated me so "to be put in the stocks, with their mouth towards the ground."

Details.

I then delivered to the Earl my letters and the two saddles I had brought as from the Earl of Huntly.

Having read the letters, he asked me if I had any direction to him by word of mouth. "'Yes,' said I, 'knowing in what hard state ye are, the Earls of Huntly and Arrel [Erroll] they willed me (since ye fight in a common cause) to make proffer of what they might do in your favour for maintenance of these wars, in which they fear lest ye fent [faint], and if ye will make them largely acquainted with your proceedings they will do much to draw the King to be your friend.'

"'I marvel,' said he, 'what your King has meant all this while that he's never almost sent any letter to me save one (and that was rather a letter of frowning nor favour), I having written so oft to him; but if at this time he would stir I durst protest to make him King of Ireland or it were long.'

"'Your [lordship],' said I, 'would not do that without some particular conditions.' Said he, 'I beholbit [behold, or am beholden ?] both to have help and honourable conditions.' 'But y[our lordship]' [said I] 'knows that our King has no money.' 'He aboundeth,' said he, 'in men, which is better.' 'Then would men content your lordship?' [said I]. 'Only this, I know,'

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said he, 'that the Earl of Huntly is my good friend and a good Christian; besides he's written to me many times.' 'And so is the other, too, my Lord,' said I, 'and no less affectionate to any good action [?] nor the other.'"

He then began to ask me when I should return, and pressed me not to go at once, saying he would provide me with such company as I would love. He then began a long harangue, saying he had kept up these wars for a long time with no help but 6,000*l.* and a little ammunition from the King of Spain, which was long sought and promised ere it came; but said that had he known that he could have obtained help from the King of Scotland he would not have sought for help that way. "'Besides' [he said] 'I have gotten one greater help nor all that money; which is: the most part of my people hither still were in doubt if this war were lawful or not; and now I have got a Declaration from the Pope that they are lawful, entreating all Christian princes to aid me, and that all that are killed in these wars shall have *Indulgentia plenaria*. But, to my purpose. Here are two of your countrymen, fathers of the Society, one of them of good birth and the Earl of Huntly's uncle, as also his fellow William Maxwell, who has solved all my doubts touching you, so that I rest fully content'" with you. These men, "'please God, with all possible haste I mean to send to Scotland, to the Earl of Huntly, who, since I hear, he is the King's heir, and by him I will make proffer of this kingdom if he will perform two things for me. One thereof is that he will by his ambassador now in England claim his right thereto, and not be longer deferred; but if they will not, that he threaten wars, whereby all the forces of England may be drawn out of this country or at least some; and if that he will do that in effect I will be content to leave Ireland to the venture and come in [to] Scotland with 6,000 foot and 500 horse without any pay save what they can gain. The second is that if he cannot be drawn from the deceitful promises of England, that he would only give those liberty of his country to come to me who would [do so] if he and his Council stayed them not. But if the King will not hear me at all, I will cause these two fathers deal in their Father General's name with the Earl of Huntly to procure oversight to some three or four thousand of their highland men upon my charges, and that they shall be led by any men of quality and judgment whom the Earl will. And, that the King may seem clear of this, the Earl of Huntly shall complain to the Council upon such as he means to employ thus, and that by act [?] of Council they shall be banished the country.' So England shall have no reason to complain against him.

I will desire further, since that many of your merchants live by me, that they will set forth two or three ships of war, well appointed, to lie upon the Irish coast, to save their own country men from English harm, and also to labour, if they can, to stop the mouth of Loughfoyle from Englishmen that furnisheth the camp; and if I can have any nobleman to deal with me, if their merchants don't, for the safety of their merchant ships, I will pane [pawn] as much jewels and plate as shall be found worth the ships.

1602.

With this help I would put no doubt this year to carry it away, since I mean this year to set my rest [?] and make no more this [?] war [?].’ ‘All that,’ said I, ‘[I] hope may be had, since it is so reasonable if you mean to ask no more.’ ‘Nothing’ [said he] ‘but you would declare my goodwill generally to all Catholics in Scotland, and make them acquainted with my honest cause and hard usage.’

‘But I hear say,’ said I, ‘that you are joined with the Spaniard?’ ‘And so I am till May,’ said he, ‘and I think it better, and mean to do it too, for the soul’s health of my people as also for my own, to submit my land to Christians than to heretics and worse nor Turks, who are joined in league with Turks; and if I see no other remedy I mean to repair myself to an religious life (since I have lived the third of my time) and deliver my children and people to the Spaniards, who already have one of them.’

Thus we were called to supper.”

Next morning he, and some Spanish leaders who were with him, began to train their “sogers,” but after a common sort only, to discharge their pikes and run up and down. Riding by him, I observed that, as he had had such long wars, I wondered the men were not better drilled to march in order, &c. “He answered that, by reason of the country, order could avail nothing.”

Then I directed my man, who was trained up in the Low Countries, “to put 150 [of them] in order of discipline of war, and I took as many; and we two did skirmish together, causing his sogers with much ado march to the right hand and left hand, close then their files and ranks and open their files and ranks, march the counter-march to the right and left hand, close their ranks and open their ranks.” We also showed them how soldiers used their pikes.* They are in much delight at this, and I was made to drill them for two or three days against my will.

“Now all this while the two Jesuits, my man and I lay in one chamber within the loch [?] where his house is, which is but made of timber and all covered over with rushes, very easy to be fired. I made my man steal me one of the sogers’ pokes [?] with powder, and after supper I went behind our chamber, which was next to the kitchen, and laid the powder with six inch of an kindlet bent [?] amongst [?] it, fine [?] covered it all with rushes that no man could see it; which, in a while after that we were all abed, an alarm rises that the cook had not looked well to the fire, and that the whole ammunition was in danger. His match with his whole houses [were] burnt while every one was labouring to hurl [?] the powder barrels in the water.”

“When all things was well pacified, said Captain Tyrrell to the Earl, ‘I pray God your Scottish man had no hand in this.’ The Earl told the Jesuits, who *bona fide* pleaded for me and my man, saying we were safe abed. The next day the Earl made very much of me, saying, ‘I know that you most . . .’”

Pp. 8. *A fragment. S.P. Ireland* 210, 66.

* The document, always difficult to read, is almost illegible here.

1602.

18 March.
Waterford.THE LORD DEPUTY and LORD PRESIDENT to the ENGLISH
PRIVY COUNCIL.[For this letter see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), Vol. III,
p. 134 seq.]Pp. 53. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 67.
Enclosing :—*Estimate of the Victuals remaining in Store in Munster on
6 March, 160½, and of how long these will last for 4,000 men.**At Cork there is biscuit for 117 days, and other provisions
[details] for 76 days.**At Limerick, or embarked thither, is biscuit for 28 days, and
other provisions [details] for 28.**At Kerry, or on the way thither, the same.**At Kinsale, biscuit for 15 days, and other provisions for six days.**At Berehaven, biscuit for three days, and less than one day's
other provisions.**Detailed figures for Baltimore and Castlehaven also given.**The total is : biscuit for 125 days, and other provisions [details]
for 136 days.**A note is added on what is to be taken out of the store at Cork
and sent to the other places.*Pp. 2. Signed by Allen Apsley. Endd. *Ibid*, 67A.

18 March, SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER to SECRETARY CECIL.

Since my last I have received fresh letters from Sir Henry Docwra telling of the treachery of Sir James McConnell, the Scot. By others, from Randall, I hear he is passed over into Cantyre, with intent to bring over as many as he can to assist Tyrone. "Some letters to the King will be the cause of their stay, for Angus nor that country dare not send any without licence, being bridled by the Earl of Arguile."

"The Traitor is at plunge for his fortune, and endeavours by all means to retain his associates, of whom he is doubtful, and to draw others under him, and is in practice with Neale Garvine" [Garrow], whom Sir H. Docwra suspects. Messages have passed between him and Tyrone, and they are all treacherous, and it would be easier to reconquer the country "than to bring these to truth and honest obedience, who are beasts in the shapes of men."

Ever since we returned from Tyrone the Traitor has lain upon Lough Foyle, and fortifies there. He begins to make a sconce on the spot where I meant to make my plantation, had I been enabled when I first motioned the matter. I devastated that country, and he now wants only to prevent my approaches, which will cost us more blows; but they are necessary. He desires to cut off my boats, which I think to keep from him; and to that end I am going to Massereene, where I will be resident and "fear* him often whatsoever harm else I do him."

P. 3. (*Hol.*) Add. Endd. *Ibid*, 68.

* i.e. frighten him.

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19 March. SIR FRANCIS STAFFORD to SECRETARY CECIL.
Newry.

I am glad you have received my recent letters on the state of the country.

In my last of 26 February I told you how, owing to the smallness of my force, I had to be tolerant to some of those of the country about Armagh and Blackwater. This has resulted in those lower forts being safe; and, at this time, no companies could be spared out of Munster to defend them. Since the Lord Deputy went my force has had to do the work of convoys and revictualling. This has been laborious, but the forts have held out. Had my force been larger, I could have done the Queen good service.

I hope the Lord Deputy will soon commence his campaign in the North, and think that "this summer well followed will wholly put the North into her Majesty's hands," if the Irish are not helped from abroad. Their stores are now very low, and their confederacies near distraction. "The great traitor lieth still, and favoureth his country all he may against the time he must use their help, but so general a discouragement and scarcity there is amongst them as hath already much abated their pride, and will force them to break and serve one upon another."

One of the Blunts, a captain, and one Owen, an Irish fugitive, have lately been down to Tyrone from the Pale, and Tyrone spread abroad that they had come to treat for peace. I do not know if this be true, "yet it hath stirred new stomach in them all, and altered much their behaviour." Captain Tyrrell's messenger has also been to him, but was kept very close, and I cannot yet learn what they have done.

The bearer, Mr. Henry Fenton, brother to Sir Geoffrey, has for some time served the Queen in her musters in these parts. I recommend him, and he will give you details of our news here. Pray favour the suit for which he goes over, that he may return here quickly.

Pp. 2. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 69.*

19 March. SIR RALPH BIRCHENSHA to SAME.

Details. Pray do not believe the charges which the letter from the Council of January 12 to me and Sir Ralph Lane shews to have been made against me there—that I am slack in the performance of my duty. I send now a book to Mr. Wade and Mr. Maynard to be presented to your honour, which will clear me of such imputations, and prove to you how industrious I have been. Pray hear Wade and Maynard in defence of Lane and myself. I have strenuously sought to serve the Queen without thought of self, and have to work hard every day to prevent her Majesty from being deceived in the musters. I hope for her favour.

P. 3. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid, 70. Enclosing:—*

A book of such entertainments as have grown due to the officers general and provincial, warders in several forts and castles, bands of horsemen and footmen, pensioners, "almosemen,"

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and officers of musters in the army in Ireland, according to an establishment made to begin from 31 March, 160 $\frac{1}{2}$; together with such other entertainments as have likewise grown due to other officers of foot and horse which have entered into the Queen's ordinary pay, and to certain Irish horsemen and footmen entertained at half-pay and allowed for over and above the sum set down in the said entertainment, by virtue of warrants from the Lord Deputy, grounded on letters from the Queen and Council of England, remaining in the office of Cheques and musters within the year, that is to say, between 1 April, 1601, and 31 March, 1602.

This is a book of 140 pages (some blank), giving a detailed account of the expenditure on the Irish army during the year 1601–2, as above stated. The figures in each item are given in detail, but are not given in the following abstract.

Payment is set out to:—

(1) General officers as follows:—

To the Lord Deputy, for diet, entertainment, and a guard of 50 horse and 50 foot; also 1,000*l.* a year in lieu of cess.

To the Earl of Ormond, as Lieutenant of the Army.

To Sir George Cary, Treasurer at Wars.

To Sir Richard Wingfield, Marshal.

To Sir Oliver Lambert, Sergeant-Major of the Army, and to his successor, Sir John Barklay.

To Sir George Bouchier, as Master of the Ordnance, and to the following staff of the ordnance:—

(a) In attendance at all times on the Master of the Ordnance: A clerk, three gunners, a bowyer, five artificers.

(b) Gunners at Athlone, Maryborough, and Carrickfergus, and clerks of the munition at Newry, Carrickfergus, and Athlone.

(c) William Bell, chief engineer; Nicholas Ward, gunner at Philipstown; Richard Grauntt, clerk of the munition at Waterford and Clonmel; Thomas Shortt, clerk of the munition at Limerick; and Michael Hews, ditto at Cork.

To Sir Ralph Lane, Muster-Master-General, for himself and ten horse.

To George Beverley, Comptroller-General of the Victuals, for 145 days from 1 April, 1601.

To Allen Apsley, Thomas Smith, and Anthony Skinner, Commissaries of the same respectively in Munster, Connaught, and at Loughfoyle.

(2) Colonels of the Army:—

The Earls of Thomond and Clanricarde, Lord Audley, Sir Henry Power, Sir Arthur Savage, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Sir Richard Moryson, Sir Henry Docwra, Sir Charles Wilmot, Sir John Bolles,

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Sir Oliver St. John, Sir Arthur Chichester ; each for a whole year.

Sir Matthew Morgan for 193 days to 10 October, 1601, when he was discharged ; Sir Henry Foliott, who succeeded him, for the rest of the year.

Lord Dunsany for 237 days to 24 November, and his successor, Sir Richard Percy, for the rest of the year.

The Scoutmaster's office was vacant during the year. Owen Ap Hugh, Provost-Marshal.

- (3) *Officers erected by the Lord Deputy's warrant [details] :—*
Christopher Payton, Auditor at Wars, succeeding James Ware.

- (4) *Governors and their retinue in the provinces :—*

Munster :—

Sir George Carew, President : his own pay and for a retinue of 30 horse and 20 foot.

Sir George Thornton, Provost-Marshal : himself and ten horsemen.

Connaught :—

Sir John Barkeley, to September 11, 1601, and his successor, Sir Oliver Lambert, after that.

Captain Edmund Wenman, Provost-Marshal.

Loughfoyle :—

Sir Henry Docwra.

John Man, Provost-Marshal, till 13 August (when he died), and his successor, George Nugent. A Provost-Marshal at Ballyshannon.

Sir Henry Power, as lieutenant in the Queen's County ; and Robert Bowen, Provost-Marshal of Leinster.

- (5) *Officers by patent :—*

The Earl of Kildare, Governor of Ophaley.

- (6) *Warders in the different castles :—*

Leinster :—

Dublin—Tristram Eccleston (c) and 10 warders. Maryborough—Philip Harvy (c) and 16 footmen ; Francis Hyson (p).*

Philipstown—Sir Edward Moore (c) and 12 footmen ; and Sir Garrott Moore (c), his son and successor from Oct. 1, 1601.

Laughlinbridge—Sir G. Carew (c) and 20 footmen.

Wexford and Ferns—Sir Richard Masterson (c) and 10 men at each of the castles.

Catherlaugh [Carlow]—William Hartpoole (c) and 10 footmen.

* (c) in this sub-head stands for "constable," and (p) for "porter."

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Duncannon—*Sir John Brockett* (c), with a lieutenant, a canonier, and 30 footmen.

Ulster :—

Sir John Talbot for certain castles in the co. *Louth*, with 22 footmen.

Kathrine Butler, for *Cloughoughter* and *Ballincargy* with six men.

Carrickfergus—*Charles Egerton* (c) and 20 men ; *John Dalway*, constable of the palace or storehouse of *Carrickfergus* and 20 footmen and warders. *Nicholas Symons*, for *Kilcleefe Castle*, with ten men.

Munster :—

Dungarvan—*Sir G. Cary* (c), a porter, and 20 footmen.

Castlemaine—*Sir Charles Wilmot* (c), 4 horsemen and 13 footmen.

Limerick—*Sir Francis Barkeley* (c) and a porter.

Connaught :—

Athlone—*George Finch* (c), for first half a year and 20 footmen-warders ; afterwards *Sir Oliver Lambert* for same.

(7) *Bands* (of horse) either on the establishment or payable under the Lord Deputy's warrant :—

To the Lord Deputy for his pay as a captain and for pay of a lieutenant, cornet, and 100 horse.*

Sir George Carew, &c., pay as a captain, and for a cornet and 50 horse, afterwards increased to 100 horse [details].

Sir Henry Davers, captain, for himself, a lieutenant, cornet, and 100 horse [details].

Sir Henry Docwra, captain, for himself, a lieutenant, cornet, and 25 horse, later increased to 50, and later to 100 [details].

Sir Arthur Chichester,† captain, for himself, a lieutenant, cornet, and 25 horse.

Sir Richard Wingfield, captain, for himself, a lieutenant, cornet, and 20 horse, and later for 50 horse.

Captain John Jephson, for himself, a lieutenant, cornet, and 30 horse, and later for 47 horse.

Similar details of pay, and of the number of horse or foot at different times under their command, are given for the following officers :—

Sir John Bolles, *Sir Anthony Cooke*, *Captain Nicholas Dawtry* and his successor *Sir Francis Stafford*, the *Earl of Kildare*, *Lord Dunsany*, *Sir Samuel Bagnall*, *Sir Richard Graeme*,

* In this sub-head the total paid to each officer is stated, and also the amount deducted from each for checks.

† It should be stated that the rates of pay to different captains, as such, differ. Thus *Sir A. Chichester* is paid 2s. a day, *Sir Richard Wingfield* 4s., *Sir Henry Davers* 8s.

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Captain William Taafe, the Earl of Clanricarde and his son Lord Dunkellin, Sir Garret Moore, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Sir Henry Harington, Sir Oliver Lambert, Sir William Warren, Sir Charles Wilmot, Captain Garrot Fleming, Captain George Darcy, Sir Edward Herbert, Captain Edmund Wenman, Sir John Barkeley (discharged), Captain Pygott (discharged), Sir Oliver St. John, the Earl of Thomond, Sir William Godolphin, Sir Francis Ruishee, Captain George Greame.

(8) *Captains of foot on the establishment :—*

The Lord Deputy—Payment for a captain [himself], a lieutenant, ensign bearer, three sergeants, two drums, a surgeon, and 150 footmen, afterwards increased to 200, when the pay of the officers and non-commissioned officers was increased. Other details as to increase of pay under her Majesty's letters of 2 May, 1601. He is also paid for the apparel of three sergeants, two drums, the surgeon and the footmen, and afterwards for that of additional men. Defalcations for checks are deducted, and full details of figures and numbers of men provided given.

Similar details given of pay to Sir Francis Stafford for his company, which was for part of the year a company of 200, and for part of 188.

Payments given with less details, but shewing total payments and checks, in the case of Sir John Barkeley, Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Oliver St. John, Sir George Carew [full details], the Earl of Thomond, Lord Audelay [full details], Sir Charles Wilmot, Sir Richard Percy, Captain Roger Harvey, Sir John Bolles, Captains Thomas Badby, Ralph Bingley, Ellice Lloyd, Lewis Orrell, Paul Gore, Sir Fulke Conway, the Earl of Clanricarde, Sir Arthur Savage, Captain Henry Clare, Sir Thomas Bourke, the Earl of Ormond, the Earl of Kildare, Lord Delvin, Lord Dunsany, Sir Richard Wingfield, Sir Oliver Lambert, Sir Henry Davers, Sir Samuel Bagnall, Captains Edward Blayney, Henry Atherton, and Josias Bodley, Sir Richard Morison, Captains Tobias Caulfield, Lawrence Esmond, and Thomas Williams, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Sir Henry Folliott, Sir F. Ruishee, Sir James Fitzpiers, Sir Henry Power, Captains Lionel Ghest, Thomas Roper, and John Vaughan [full details], Edward Bassett, Roger Orme, Launcelot Alford, Nicholas Pynner, Roger Atkinson, Basill Brooke, Edmund Leigh, John Sydney, Gregory Norton, Edward Trevor, and Ferdinando Freclتون, Sir Garrett Moore, Sir H. Warren, Sir Francis Shaen, Sir George

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Bourchier, Captain Mulroney O'Carroll, Sir Thomas Loftus, Sir Henry Harington, Sir Edward Harbert, Captain R. Constable, Sir T. Dillon, and Captains Theobald-ne-Longe alias Bourke, and Thomas Bourke, Sir George Cary, Sir Edward Fitzgerald, Captains John Bostock, William Saxey, and George Kingsmill, Sir John Dowdall, Lord Barry, Captain William Power; also Captains William Yelverton, Raphe Bentlaye, Richard Hansard, Edward Diggs, and Abry Yorke, who are discharged.

Sir Henry Docwra, for his company of 150, and 50 of Captain Yorke's company added to him [details].

Captain H. Willis, for his 100 and 50 of Captain Yorke's added [details].

Captain Thomas Spenser till deceased, and Captain Francis Kingsmill succeeding him.*

Sir Mathew Morgan till discharged, and Captain Thomas Wood succeeding him.

Sir Henry Malbye succeeding Sir Charles Percy in his 250 foot. Sir Thomas M. Wingfield deceased, Sir Garrett Harvy discharged, and Sir B. Berry succeeding him. Captains Thomas Rotherham and John Maisteron discharged, and Sir William Fortescue and Sir Francis Roe succeeding them [details]. Captain Charles Egerton discharged, and Captain Henry Seckford succeeding him in his 100 foot. Captain Henry Sheffield discharged, and Captain William Nuce succeeding him in his 100 foot and afterwards discharged, and Captain Francis Slingsby succeeding Nuce. Captain Thomas Rotherham, for 150 foot newly erected. Sir Thomas Phillips (increased up to 150 men), Captain Roger Billings (increased by the like sum). The [late] Earl of Clanricarde, deceased (May 20, 1601); and Captain Richard Hensloe succeeding him in his 100 foot.

Sir William Warren, deceased, and Captain George Blount and Sir Francis Berkeley for themselves and as successors each to 50 of Warren's men.

Captain Garrott Dillon, deceased,† and Captain James Blountt succeeding him.

Captain George Flower, 100, increased afterwards to 150.

Captain R. Sedley, discharged, and Captain Henry Hart succeeding him.

Captain William Stafford, discharged, and Captain Abry Yorke succeeding him.

* Killed in action at Kinsale, 2-3 December, 1601.

† Killed in action at Kinsale, 2-3 December, 1601.

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Captains Anthony Errington and Adam Dutton, deceased, Captain Rande as successor to Captain Errington.

Captain Thomas Cooche, increased afterwards to 150. Captain William Winsor, same.

Captain Hugh O'Rely till his revolt (December 28, 1601).

Captain Terlaugh McHenry, for 100 foot newly erected by him till his discharge, and then Captain Edmund Fitzgibbon succeeding him.

Captain John Maisteron, for 150 foot newly erected. The late Earl of Desmond and others for the lendings of 100 foot allowed them, besides officers, according to the rates herein given.

The other persons mentioned as receiving these allowances are the Bishop of Cashel, Lady Elinor Fitzgerald, and John Power. Details given of the sums allowed them.

*The sum due for entertainment of the companies of footmen contained in list is for lendings 135,258*l.*E. 19*s.* 1*d.*, and for apparel 59,170*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.* Total, 194,829*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.***

- (9) *Footbands entered into her Majesty's pay as an additional force over and above the establishment, by sundry warrants of the Lord Deputy remaining in the office of the musters, which are allowed to the Lord Deputy by the Council's letters [from England] of 31 July,† 1602.*

Details follow of payments made to the following officers, and of the authority by particular Queen's letters in each case, for such payment :—

Captains Henry Skipwith, Edward Morris, Edward Fisher, John Owsely, and Richard Hansard.

Captain Francis Lisle till his discharge, and Captain Richard Smith succeeding him.

Captain Edward North till his discharge, and Sir Edward Povey succeeding him. The date of the Queen's letters in this case is not given.

Captain Henry Hart till his discharge, and Captain Raphe Sedley succeeding him.

Captain Abry Yorke discharged, and Captain William Stafford succeeding him.

Sir George Thornton, Captains Gawyn Harvy, Robert Collam, Charles Coote, and Francis Hobby.

Captains William Yelverton, Huntley Ravenscroft, Thomas Panton, and Antony Kemish, discharged. Captain Thomas Incent succeeding

Captain Kemish and afterwards discharged. Captain George Greame discharged.

* Fractions of pence omitted.

† If this word is "July" (which is almost certain), the document must have been drawn up as late as that date; but I keep it in this place as the accounts to which it relates close on Lady Day, 1602.

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(10) *Companies of foot arrived in Munster in Nov., 1601.*

Details follow of the payments made to the following officers. The date at which their companies enter into pay is in each case 7 October, 1601* :—

Captains Edward Doddington, William May, George Blundell, Henry Fortescue till his discharge, and Anthony Eivfield succeeding him, Sir Anthony Cooke, Sir Alexander Clifford; and the following discharged captains :—Thomas Brett, Roger Gilbert, Thomas Butler, William Chaderton, Henry Lane, Hugh Kenrick, Samuel Norton, Walter Crompton, Richard Waade, Nicholas Lower, Thomas Wynn, John Wadnell, and Henry Sheffield.

(11) *Captains erected by the Lord Deputy on 9 November, 1601 :—*

Similar details follow with regard to Captains Richard Hensloe, Thomas Boyce, and Henry Barkley, Sir Jarrett Harvy, Captain John Roberts, Sir Richard Graeme discharged, Captains Davy Burke, Thomas Butler, Dennis Dale, Cormack McDermot, and John Bary.

(12) *Captains arrived in Munster in March, 1601[-2] :—*

Similar details for Antony Crompton, Alexander Crofts, Edward Capell, Roger Tirwhitt, Henry Asheley, Jeffery Holcrofte, James Barker, Jonas Bradbury, Edward Davis, Francis Barkley, and Sir Henry Wallop.

The sum payable to these forces, which are over and above the establishment is for lendings 20,791*l.*E. 0*s.* 2*d.*, and for apparel 8,652*l.*E. 17*s.* 4*d.* Total, 29,443*l.*E. 17*s.* 6*d.*†

Pp. 140, bound in parchment. Endd. "Received by the hands of Edward Brookes, a Commissary of the Musters, 22 January, 1602[-3]." *S.P. Ireland* 210, 70*A.*

24 March. The LORD DEPUTY and [some of the] COUNCIL to the ENGLISH
Kilkenny. PRIVY COUNCIL.

For this see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), Vol. III, pp. 141-2.

P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. Signed by the Lord Deputy, and by Carew, Ormond, Walsh, and Bouchier. Add. Endd. *Ibid*, 71.

24 March. SIR RAFE LANE to SECRETARY CECIL.
Dublin.

I and the Comptroller of the Musters are convinced that, as we know ourselves innocent of the faults imputed to us, so we

* This looks as if they had entered into pay when, or before, they embarked in England for service in Ireland.

† Fractions of pence not given.

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are sure that we will be vindicated at the Council Board. When our records are presented there by Mr. Wade and Mr. Maynard, Surveyors of the Musters, it will be found that we have gained a large sum for the Queen by imposing checks. We claim no reward, as what we have done was our duty, &c. &c.

This country is "perniciously and tyrannously invaded" by this young King [of Spain], and his father long sought to undermine it. Out of zeal for the Queen I send a large number of paper memorials and descriptions by map. If these oppress you, attribute them only to my zeal. . . .

As to the particularities contained in these papers, Mr. Edward Brookes will give you further information, if you need it. He has been living on the plot for a year, and has the principal charge of the country under me. He has worked hard and bravely in the Queen's service, . . . and without charge to her Majesty, but is paid only by what he receives from me, and is "snatched from my rebel tenants and rebel neighbours of Kilwarlin, not without danger of his head at sundry times." I must mention specially one performance of his, "which was a Lough lately surprised by him only with mine own retinue, and that upon Brian McArt, Tyrone's nephew, and his lieutenant-general of the Clandeboyas." "Unto him upon a bruted fame blown out in Ulster of Tyrone's raising of the Deputy's seige from Kinsale and forcing his lordship only with 16 horse to flee to Cork, my country (as all the rest in those parts under protection) wholly made revolt. Whereupon the said Edward Brookes by his lieutenant, upon a draft beforehand plotted with certain of the Kerne that were appointed to have taken my castle (the eyes of all the country bent upon the same), suddenly surprised the Lough." He "entered into the fort and held the same till (being beleaguered by Brian McArtt with 600 men) the Governor of Knockfergus sent his lieutenant-governor with 300 men to fetch my people off, and the goods of the country out of the same." They conveyed these to my castle of Ranahady,* and made a camp there, and preyed the surrounding country, put their cows into my islands, and forced all those who were tenants of my country upon their knees to take her Majesty's protection.

If it is decided to carry out any of the works suggested in my "project of discovery,"† I beg that I may be appointed principal commissioner and commander in the same. The country is mine, and my castle of Ranahady dominates it; and, as the "project" points out, I shall, if commissioned, be able to do her Majesty service in my office of the musters.

P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 72.

24 March. SIR FRANCIS STAFFORD to SECRETARY CECIL.
Newry.

Captain Thomas Bourke, the bearer, has got the opinion and judgment of the Lord Deputy and Council here on his claim to

* Dr. Grattan Flood identifies this as "Rinn-Cuinceadha" (*pron. Rinnahindha*) in *Island Magee*.

† See above, p. 316 *seq.*

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the seignory of co. Mayo in Connaught. This opinion was given consequent to an order of reference given by the Privy Council of England, and Captain Bourke is going over now to take further proceedings in the matter. As I am asked to do it, I cannot but recommend him for long and faithful service in these wars, and beg you to favour him by laying his suits before the Queen. He relies very much on your support; and, if favoured, will be a stay to the whole province of Connaught.

P. ¾. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 73.

25 March. LIST of the LORDS LIEUTENANTS, LORDS DEPUTIES, and LORDS
Leighlin. JUSTICES of IRELAND.

From Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, and Raymond Le Gros (1174) to Charles, Lord Mountjoy (1602).

The list corresponds practically with that in Haydn's *Book of Dignities*.* It is drawn up by T. D. [Thady Dowling], Chancellor of the Diocese of Leighlin, who adds the following notes:—

I might, had I time, search more bishops of this province.

I hoped to have some verses to welcome my Lord Deputy in honour of his victory, but now the time is past.

P. 2. *Ibid*, 74.

[About PEDIGREE of the EARL OF ESSEX.
same.]

Shewing the descent of Walter, Earl of Essex, Earl Marshal of Ireland, who died in Dublin on 21 September, 1576, *æt.* 36, and was buried 26 November at Carmarthen, from Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke and Eve, daughter of Dermot MacMorrough, King of Leinster.

The pedigree is set down on one side of the pages in tabular form, and on the other in poetical form in Latin hexameters.

Pp. 7. *Endd.* with notes (in Latin), concerning William, Earl of Essex' character and death, his desire to be buried at Carmarthen, &c. *Ibid*, 75.

[About NOTES on the descent of "the old" WILLIAM MARSHAL [Earl of
same.] Pembroke], and on ecclesiastical and other matters relating to IRELAND.

Earl William's property was divided amongst his five daughters, Matilda, Isabella, Eva, Johanna, and Sibella.

Details of their marriages.

Proceeds:—I find that Richard, Archbishop of Cashel was accused by John, Bishop of Lismore and Waterford of thirty articles, but I find nothing written more than that he would not advance any Englishman to any ecclesiastical benefice, and that he advised his suffragans and fellow-bishops to do the same. He also challenged to himself and to the see of Cashel all the regalities of Munster. Any more notes I have made on this matter were conveyed [taken] by the soldiers or rebels. *Details.*

* Ed. 1894. p. 550 *sq.*

1602.

Thomas Waterfield was archdeacon of Leinster and parson of Urghe [Urglin]. He was born near Drogheda, and was a commendable student in both the laws. He professed divinity, and was a very good notary and scribe, both for penning ecclesiastical matters as also temporal precedents, charters, bills, leases, &c., and was commonly chosen by the State and magistrates in any remittal for country matters "and had inclined much to read and use antiquities, and have [*sic*] given himself more to collect notes of former times than to write any history of his own time, as far as I gathered out of his notes and scrowes [scrolls], and never was known to have committed any carnal act with women." He was appointed overseer of the King's work here in the house of Laughlin Bridge upon the suppression in King Henry's time.

On behalf of the honourable P. Butler, Earl of Ossory, certain articles were to this effect laid down or rather spoke by Walsh [*sic*], Lord Chancellor, against Kildare, as the writer hath noted upon report of others, as follows :—

- (1) That Desmond sent to the French King and the Pope [?], promising them the help of Munster and Connaught to win Ireland, if they would send forces to him.
- (2) That Kildare would not watch for Desmond, in spite of precepts and threats directed to his apprehension, but shut his ears and eyes "and winked wilfully."
- (3) That when Kildare took upon him to hunt him out, he sent privy warning. Then was Desmond most sure to be out of Kildare's walk.
- (4) If Kildare had lost but one cow or garron of his own, then 200 men of Kildare's own retainers would rescue the prey from the uttermost edge of the land.
- (5) When Kildare is disposed he reigns like a king. When he is malicious the truest subjects are but rank traitors.

Here I have set out a kind of description of Ireland :—

A geographical description of Ireland follows, dealing with :—

Division into provinces and cantreds, and number of the same.
Number of towns and cattle.

Number of cantreds, towns, &c. in each county. Says that :—Every vill (which is said to contain eight ploughlands*) is called in Irish a Ballibiata, [or], in English, the head borough of the barony, [or], in Latin, *burgus* or *oppidum* if incorporate, or *municipium* if garrisoned.

Deals further with the revenue of the old Irish kings, with common pasture-land attached to towns or vills, size of Ireland, fertility of the western parts, cold climate and floods of Ulster, fertility of Leinster, general fertility of the country and mildness [outside Ulster] of the climate, fisheries, mines (including gold and silver), great rivers, and herbs for medicine.

The climate is so damp, however, that foreigners who reside there get cold, dysentery, and diarrhoea.

Quotations from Bede and [Giraldus] Cambrensis follow.

Pp. 4. *Partly in Latin. Endd. S.P. Ireland 210, 76.*

* The Latin word is *carucas*, "ploughs," but the author obviously means a ploughland.

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26 March. THOMAS, LORD BOURKE to SECRETARY CECIL.
Dublin.

I shall be for ever grateful for your letter and favour. My Lord Deputy has now arrived here, where I have long tarried for him, to settle differences between my Lord of Clanricarde and myself. When these are settled, I hope I shall have leave to come to England. *Professions of gratitude.*

P. 3. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd.*: "Lord Bourke," &c. *S.P. Ireland* 210, 77.

27 March. SIR OLIVER ST. JOHN to SAME.
Dublin.

The Lord Deputy arrived here on the 20th, and the Council and citizens came out to meet him, in testimony of their gratitude for his public services. "But we that accompanied him had but a small part of their joy, because we brought him along in his litter from Kilkenny here, by reason of a cold and distemperature which had soon make him have a weak body, and yet he continueth making very ill rest, and hath no appetite at all, which comforts he never missed before now since he came into this kingdom." He takes physic, and would fain attend his health so much as the multitude of his business will allow, "but I fear me he will grow worse and worse and be in danger of some shrewd fit of sickness."

The Spaniards did not finally leave the haven [Cork] till 16 March, when they had a good wind, and I expect they are landed by now. If Don John can persuade them, they will certainly never return. No one could have more contempt for a war in this country [than he]; and I think the Irish will never again "cast their hopes upon the Spaniard." The new coin has ruined trade with England, "by reason that the exchange is not current in England, for almost they utterly refuse now to traffic at all but for silver, and that which was sold for 10s. standard two months since will not now be sold for 30s." If some contentment is not soon given in this matter, the owing [debtors?] will be undone, and it will be necessary to issue victuals out of the store—which should be kept for service in the field—to troops in garrisons. Great misery is like to follow.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 78.

27 March. CAPTAIN CHARLES EGERTON to CAPTAIN ROGER LANGFORD.
Newburro.

I have received yours by Moses Hill. I will pass the place to you with the custom and mill for 350*l.**E.*; and agree to occupation by you on 1 April next, on condition of payment to me by May 31 in sterling here in England. I will not agree to payment in Ireland. If you agree to this, send me your surety or order for the same at once, so that I may apply to the Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary for orders to the Lord Deputy to pass the same to you. I will send over order to my cousin William Whittington to deal with you for such of my things as you will like of; and my meaning is that he should continue his charge until you

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make payment, and to be accountable to you if payment is made, but otherwise to me. Pray tell my cousin Whittington of this letter. I will shortly write to him. Mr. Hill is so hurried that I could not write further now. Remember me to the "most worthy Governor."

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add.* to Langford at Carrickfergus. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 210, 79.

30 March. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.
Youghal.

Sir John Dowdall, Kt., has heretofore been a suitor at Court for certain matters. I do not know what his demands are; but I am sure that they are just, for I have long known and loved him. He served the Queen well here in earlier years, and is still zealous in her service. He has lost much by the late rebellion, and in reliance on your consideration of his merits I have licensed him to go to Court, "as being apter to give way to his absence than to younger men, who from their employments may be worse spared."

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid*, 80.

31 March. The LORD DEPUTY to SAME.
Dublin.

Refers to his and the Council's letters to the Privy Council of England, which were sent from Waterford and Kilkenny [see above, pp. 343, 351]. *Proceeds* :—The Spaniards have gone, and I am back here; but both here and at Kilkenny I have been "not well at ease," and have been unable to discuss State affairs, so that Sir Oliver St. John and Sir Robert Gardner might be sent away according to my instructions. Pray forgive this. I shall make all the haste I can with business, and if I have health, and no further forces come from Spain, I hope to give her Majesty a very good account of her service here during the summer and autumn. I can soon settle matters here, and "proceed roundly with the prosecution northward, and prevail therein to her Majesty's good contentment." I am at this moment unfit for anything.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid*, 81.

31 March. Brief ESTIMATE of the QUEEN'S CHARGE in LENDINGS in IRELAND between 1 April, 1601 and 31 March, 1602.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
In lendings in the said realm for this year, and in extraordinaries (prests upon accounts included), besides victuals and apparel, the Queen's charge will amount to very near 180,000 <i>l.</i> in mixed money and 20,000 <i>l.</i> in mere copper, or	200,000	0	0
There is delivered in silver to make the 180,000 <i>l.</i> of mixed money	45,000	0	0
The charge in coining of 200,000 <i>l.</i> is	8,000	0	0

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There may be returned into the bank to be paid in England in the said year 60,000 <i>l</i> .	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
On this the Queen gains in the exchange 3,000 <i>l</i> ., so	57,000	0	0
These three sums come to	110,000	0	0
So in this year the Queen gains by this estimate	90,000	0	0
There must be deducted for the pay of the Master of the Exchange and his ministers and for the portage of 200,000 <i>l</i>	6,000	0	0
Which reduces her Majesty's profits to ..	84,000	0	0

It must be added that no doubt some sterling money will be brought into the Mint to help to ease the same. Moreover, the new moneys which are brought into the Exchange must be re-uttered, by which her Majesty saves the silver and coinage and half the portage.

It needs not to be doubted that the Master of the Exchange will trouble the Exchange for his salary; for if he exchange 500*l*. a year it is as much as he expects, considering that the substance of his entertainment is paid to his subordinates. He will only exchange [Irish for English money] to defray his charge in England.

P. 1½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 210, 82.

31 March. ESTIMATE of the CHARGE of the ARMY in IRELAND for the year 1 April, 1601—31 March, 1602.

At this time the new money was current, and the army paid therewith.

The total charge is 322,502*l*. *E.* 0*s.* 1*d.** which is made up of:—

The establishment, 250,271*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

Increase above the establishment, 72,284*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*

Under the heading of establishment charges, details are given of expenditure on the Lord Deputy and the *personnel* of the army, and on extraordinary charges by concordatums.

Under the heading of increased payments above the establishment, details are given of pay to horsemen and footmen sent from England and raised in Ireland, to officers erected by warrants and patents out of England, additional extraordinaries besides those allowed in the establishment, prests upon accounts, and portage of treasure.

There has been paid in checks and sterling money out of the Exchequer, 238,315*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.*

Details are given shewing how this sum is made up of checks on lendings and apparel, payments for victuals sent from England, money delivered to the merchants for apparel, to Sir Thomas Knyvett for making new moneys, and to the Treasurer for maintaining the Exchange.

So that there seems to have been saved this year a sum of 84,186*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*

* In these sums fractions of pence are omitted.

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Other details as to the sums paid to the contractors for victuals which have not yet been delivered, but are to be delivered in the next year, losses of money at sea or by capture, &c.

Pp. 2. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 210, 83.

- 31 March. MEMORANDUM on the CHARGES of the ARMY [in IRELAND] for one whole year to March 31, 1602, paid in moneys of the new standard.

The contents of the document are indicated by the title. Two copies. Pp. 1½ and 2¼. *Details* given. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 84 and 85.

- 31 March. MEMORANDUM on the CHECKS raised on the Captains and Loughfoyle. Companies at LOUGHFOYLE and BALLYSHANNON.

Gives the checks for lendings and apparel deducted from the officers mentioned above* in the "check" of 1–28 October, 1601. This list differs from that for October, 1601, as follows:—

It states that Captain Harrison succeeded Captain Raude or Rande, that Captain Dutton is deceased.

It mentions Captain Thomas Wood with Sir M. Morgan.

It mentions Captain Harte with Captain R. Sidley, Captain Yorke with Captain Stafford.

It mentions also Sir Neale O'Donnell's† horseband and footband.

The total check for the whole year begun October 1 [*sic*] and ending 31 March, 1602, is 10,534*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*

Pp. 2. *Certified* by Anthony Reynolds. *Endd.* as in title. *Ibid*, 86.

S.P. Ireland 211.

1602, APRIL—JULY.

- 1 April. SIR FRANCIS STAFFORD to SECRETARY CECIL.
Newry.

In the Deputy's absence I have sent you our news from the North several times this winter, and told you of our weakness. Had we been reinforced, we should, I believe, have done good service against O'Neale. The bearer, Mr. Henry Fenton, will tell you our news of to-day; so I need not do so. He has done excellent work, and at great hazard, as muster-master of all the garrisons in my government. *Strong recommendations* of Fenton.

Proceeds:—He has been given leave to go to England on urgent private business. Pray favour his petition and enable him to return here before the Lord Deputy starts his Northern campaign, which he purposes to do before Whitsuntide. Mr. Fenton should be here then. He is Sir Geoffrey Fenton's brother, an old servant and follower of the late Earl of Warwick, and your devoted servant.

P. ¾. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 211, 1.

* Pp. 178–9, *q.v.*

† Neile Garrowe or Garve, of whom we hear so much. He was knighted by the Lord Deputy on May 13, 1602, according to Shaw's *Knights of England* (Vol. II, p. 100).

1602.

4 April.
Rathonyne.
[Rathonyne.
co. Kerry.]

JOHN CROSBIE, BISHOP OF ARDFERT to SECRETARY CECIL.

Professions of gratitude. I am engaged here in a poor and distressed country, where I am trying to serve the Queen. I attempted a service with 20 men which no one else here would have attempted with 100; but gained the victory, and I recovered from the enemy their two "strongest holts," and maintained wards in them since the Spaniards' arrival till now. I pray for your assistance, having spent all I had in the Queen's service.

Begging expressions. I would have written to you somewhat of the government of this country, but leave it to my brother, Patrick Crosbie, whom I have largely informed on it.

P. 3. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland, 211, 2.

8 April.
Kells.

CAPTAIN LAURENCE ESMOND to the EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

I write as Mr. Brandon is going to England, who will bear this letter. About six weeks ago I wrote about some factions which I discovered in my imprisonment to be discontented with Tyrone. I wrought with them so far as to make them undertake the killing of him, or at least the banishing of him out of his country, if they might have good conditions for themselves and their fellows from her Majesty. After thanking me, the Lord Deputy employed me in the matter; and I rode off to the North; but, by the time I had got there, Captain George "Blontt" was sent to the North to treat of peace. Hearing this, they refused to proceed further, and were sorry that they had ever made any promise, for they knew that if Tyrone ever heard of it he would be sure to take revenge upon them. I returned and told the Lord Deputy of this, who said that the first overtures had come from Tyrone, and that Captain George "Blontt" had been sent by him to know the certainty of all things; but that Tyrone had refused to give in, and "presently gev it out that the State desired peace at his hands." Thereby he drew to him all the poor people who were anxious to submit to the Queen, in the belief that he [Tyrone] could have peace whenever he wished it. This rumour has done her Majesty's cause much harm. "Now all the State know not which way to help it only to proclaim Tyrone's head [?] again." *Details.*

Soon after his coming here the Lord Deputy employed me to deal with the Leinster rebels, which I did with such effect that I persuaded Donell Spaynough [Kavenagh] and all them of Low Leinster to submit themselves on their knees. These were often able to make 500 foot and 50 horse. They have since continued loyal, and done the Queen good service. The Lord Deputy and Council know that I never undertook any matter without bringing it to pass, but his lordship rewards me only with words, and I see others preferred to places who are of no greater merit than I. When Lord Dunsany died I asked for his place, since I commanded at Nefones [Navan?] under him, and, in his absence, commanded there by the Deputy's warrant; moreover, I had lost much by that country, and was a partaker in the disaster

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which overtook the deceased Lord Dunsany. His lordship, however, has so many men near him who ask for preferment that he cannot help us all at one time. No man deserves better of the State than I do, but yet they still let me pay my own ransom ; and, if I had not paid it, I might be here till this day. *Professions of gratitude.*

If you are writing to the Lord Deputy please thank him for me, although he has done me no good since his coming here. I should like much to go into England, but know I shall not get leave until the Northern war be done unless your lordship works it. I pray God to bless your lordship, my honourable lady, and the young ladies.

P.S.—Pray let none know I have written so much to you about this country, as it would make me enemies. I shall only write what I can justify as true.

Pp. 2½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 3.

10 April. CAPT. LAURENCE ESMOND to the EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

I hear from the North that Cormock McBaron, Tyrone's brother, has collected some forces "and stands for himself, and swears he will not be commanded by Tyrone. His other brother, Art, is in upon protection, and all his sons only Breyn Mc[Art?] stand for Tyrone; yet McGuyer,* Patrick McArt Moyle, and Henry Oge O'Neill are those that I would have work the matter against Tyrone." I am sure I shall be able to bring it to pass, for they are now able to make more horse and foot than Tyrone himself, "and I know they hate him to the death."

The Reyleys are very anxious to be received to mercy, and I have begged my lord to receive them only because O'Reily has ten barrels of our powder with lead and match in proportion, which is more than all the traitors in the North have.

I cannot learn that these Northern rebels are able to make above 1,600 foot and 300 horse, and those horses so weak as they are not able to travel. They want victuals so badly that they cannot keep any more men. I think there will be an end of wars in Ireland this summer if things be well managed. . . . The beginning of next winter her Majesty may take a course that those counties which have from time to time born bonaught[s] in the rebellion to the traitors may keep her 4,000 foot and 300 horse without putting her Highness to any charge; and I am confident that most of the Irish countries will willingly receive them so there be good order taken that all soldiers be contented with her pay and do no extortion. I can give good reasons for saying this. I will, if you approve of it, "satisfy you at large of the state of this land, which I know hath been divers times mistaken by those that have [?] advertised the state there."

P.S.—Ballyshannon Castle has lately been taken by our force in Tyrconnell. O'Connor Sligo is dead in prison, as I hear, with O'Donnell's men.

P. 1½. (*Hol.*) *Add. to the Earl of Shrewsbury at Court. Endd. Ibid,* 4.

* "McMahon" is here erased.

1602.
13 April.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW TO SECRETARY CECIL.

I thank you for your caution not to receive relapsed rebels, but suppose it not to apply to such as are ready to redeem their offence by active service. I prescribed this rule to myself before I got your letter. "The rest which have nothing to lose, and by whose attainders no land can excheat to the Queen, I think it good policy, upon good sureties, to receive"; otherwise the province will be long distempered, for those people "cause more trouble than their heads or banishing is worth."

"The buonies [bonnaughts] in Munster do begin to shake." Knowing I will now have time to hunt them, they are beginning to ask for my leave to depart this province, "which courtesy I will not deny a divell that is weary of my company; and, when they return to their dwellings, let every particular governor look to his charge." I will spare no means to rid my government of strangers, and, when they are gone, will make short work of the rest. My pass gives them safety in the province, but outside they must look to themselves.

As Crosbie can tell you, O'Sulevan was "the inwardest with Florence [McCarthy] of any man in Ireland." His wife will confess no less unto you, and she hath said . . . that he was the worst counsellor that her husband had to incite him to treasons; but I must confess I did not then believe her, nor hitherto I was never deceived by any man of Ireland birth but himself, for I took him to be one of the honestest men in this realm. Such another I never saw, nor "a more smooth, perfidious, dissembling knave. . . . I will plague him soundly and for composition (with caution for his ordnance) he shall have none; but if I find difficulties to arise upon me, rather than to lose time, not knowing whether in the meantime Spaniards may arrive, composition of life to the defendants may happily be granted; but of his personal being in the castle I have no opinion."

If the examinations which I send you, and which I have received from the Mayors of Limerick and Waterford, speak the truth, the Spaniards will undoubtedly invade us again. I am chiefly induced to believe this by the report given by one of them [the examines] of O'Donnell's coming to the Groyne [Coruña] to stop the soldiers coming from Ireland. If he were employed thus, we may presume the Spaniards mean to second their enterprise [i.e. repeat the invasion]. The English ships which took Don Juan home, when they return, may inform us whether they [the Spaniards] are coming or not.

Even as I was writing this letter, Dermond Moyle McCartye, Florence's brother, sent to the Bishop of Cork, begging to be received into the Queen's mercy by me. The Queen can get nothing by him, for I think he has no inheritance. To take or kill him will be difficult. I am sure he will not remain long in Munster, "which is but an ease for a time, for on every occasion banish't men return and make new fires. The best way to root out such rebels is large rewards; for a good bag [of money] will perform more service than the sword upon

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such fugitive traitors; but of the Queen's purse I dare not be too bold."

On the arrival of the Spaniards Donell "McCartie," bastard son to the Earl of Clancare, assumed to himself the title of "McArtie More." His hopes having failed, he now begs to be received to mercy. He promises that if the Queen will bestow on him the lands which she once assigned to him (and willed by her letters to be assured to him), he will quiet all Desmond. This would be a good service, for the country would be hard to "appease by force," being all mountains; and when he is banished, and the country in subjection, it will be little use to the Queen, for no Englishman will dwell in it. The letters he had were taken from him in a house which he had by Florence McCartie; so, if his proposal is approved, please have search made for them in the Council books or with the Clerks of the Signet. He has no land to lose, and to prosecute him would be chargeable. I cannot, however, receive him until I am authorised to do so out of England.

Details concerning the bearer.

P.S.—I must recommend "the Bishop of Kerry [Ardfert], Crosbie's brother, who in this late rebellion hath not only defended himself, but hath done good service in killing of rebels and taking their cows."

Pp. 2½. (*Hol.*) *Add.* *Endd.* *S.P.* *Ireland* 211, 5. *Enclosing* :—

A. Robert Walsh, Mayor of Waterford to Sir George Carew.

A Waterford merchant arrived here this evening. He left Bilbo [Bilbao] ten days before. Being examined by me, he says that the first fleet of the Spaniards that were at Kinsale has reached the Groyne [Coruña], "and that O'Donnell was come thither from the Court of Spain and order given that the said companies should be kept together and not dispersed in any wise. He also says that there is at Lisbon a great fleet in areadyness, and whether [whither] to go he could not learn. They expect the landing of Don John with the Spanish companies and general report given out that so soon as he come[s] he shall be executed."

He says that the General of the army at Lisbon was come thither, and that posts had been sent for the captains and other commanders forthwith to repair thither to look to their charge. He judges they are by this time in full readiness to come to sea.

P. ½. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid.* 5A.

B. Examination of George Striche taken before me Stephen Roche, Mayor of Limerick, 5 April, 1602.

Striche says :—He left Rochell this day fortnight. A fortnight previously there came an ambassador out of Spain into Rochell. Does not know whether this ambassador was a Spaniard or a Frenchman. The ambassador delivered for news that there were 6,000 horse and foot at Lisbon to come

1602.

from thence to the Groyne [Coruña] and thence directly into Ireland, but to what certain port or place he does not know.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed by Mayor Roche. *Ibid*, 5B.

Also copy of same. P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Endd.* S.P. Ireland 211, 5BB.

c. Robert Walsh, Mayor of Waterford, to [Sir G. Carew].

The Anne Synnot (Walter Synnot, master) of this town, which went over with the Spaniards in Don John's company, has returned here. The master, examined by me, says as follows :—

He left the Groyne [Coruña] on March 30. On March 21, 1,000 soldiers returned from Ireland arrived there. Don John was entertained by the Governor, an Earl, and left for Saint James [Santiago]. Before Don John returned to Coruña deponent had left it. O'Donnell had then arrived at Coruña from the Spanish Court. In his train were Redmond Bourke, Hugh Mostyan, and a score of other Irish gentlemen. Six thousand Spanish troops have come from Castile to Coruña and are to wait there for further orders. Every Archbishop is to furnish forty horse, every Bishop twenty, and every Earl thirty, and soldiers are daily pressed. All the condemned people in the galleys in Spain are sent to Coruña to attend the coming of the galleys from Andalusia, in which they will be employed. Seven hulks have come from Lisbon to Coruña with wine for the army, and Seriago or Sobeor is rigging out his squadron of ten ships.

Don Juan saw O'Donnell on landing and bid him be of good comfort "for they would have one turn more at Ireland," and asked for his letters of favour to the King of Spain.

O'Sulevan wrote to the King that he would keep his castle "for six months against all Ireland," and sent his son to Spain, who is now with the Governor at "Groyne" [Coruña]. Seven of the King's galleys have come from Seville to Lisbon, and about 100 ships are staid there to be employed in the King's service. The preparations at Coruña are 15,000 foot and 5,000 horse, all, as they say, bound for Ireland. O'Donnell's friends told deponent that their intention was, if they fell to the east of Cape Clear, to go for Cork, Waterford, or Dublin; but if to the west, then for Dingle, Limerick, or Galway.*

All the ships which went with Don John have returned; and some are gone for Rochelle and some for England.

P. $1\frac{1}{2}$. Copy, with copy of Mayor Walsh's signature. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 5c.

About
13 April.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to [SECRETARY CECIL].

Pray favour me in the matter of which I send a note. My uncle will solicit your writ. It is hard that I should lose any part of my living. I have also sent a brief note of the matter to the

* In this document "Groyne" and not "the Groyne" is sometimes used for Coruña.

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Lord Treasurer, and hope that a fair composition, at least, may be made between us. If I lose, it will be a loss of 1,000*l*.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Following a memorandum that :—*

In 4 Edward VI a good lease was made between the incumbent, patron and ordinary of the tithes and part of the glebe lands of the rectory of Stoke Fleming in Devonshire to Mrs. Anne Carew for 70 years. She and her assigns have quietly enjoyed this lease for 50 years ; but now, the interest in the same being in Sir George Carew, his undertenants (Richard Drew, Thomas Plemley, and others) have been evicted, in his absence in Ireland *vizt.* in Trinity term last), by an injunction out of the Exchequer, at the suit of one Newcomen, now incumbent and chaplain to the Lord Treasurer.

Prays for dissolution of the injunction, and for a trial at common law before he is evicted.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *S.P. Ireland* 211, 6.

13 April.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to [SECRETARY CECIL].

I have received yours of 25 March, and with it an abstract of another letter in perusing whereof* I find two things very difficult, as things stand at present here, to be done. I refer to the suggestions for disarming those who have been pardoned and for giving the Irish companies less pay than the English. I confess both these counsels are good, but not yet to be carried out, and that for the following reasons :—

“The manner which is used when offenders (I mean principal lords and chiefs of countries) are received to the Queen’s mercy, is to book all their followers that naturally depend on them, for whom the chief stands bound and is answerable. If it shall be demanded that all those shall be disarmed he will produce a small list, protesting that he is not able to bridle the rest but will do his uttermost endeavour to serve upon them, and that is all that can be required at his hands. Whereby the looser sort which have least to lose, and [are] most apt to do mischief, will be left like masterless men to a loose liberty ; and those which the lord of the country will be contented to have disarmed will underhand within a few days procure more arms and, to plead against the disarming of those whom he is willing to undertake for, he will pretend that, by the taking of their arms from them, . . . he shall be unable to do service upon those who are left out of his list, as otherwise he would do, and banish them his country.

But the strongest reason which he will allege—and that which, in truth, is unanswerable—is [that] if his men and he be disarmed then is he utterly undone, and better [to] be dead than to be pardoned upon any such condition, being then an open prey to his enemies and neighbours that are armed, all men knowing that every particular lord (according to the manner of Scotland)

* The text does not make clear if Carew refers to either or both the documents received.

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is in food [feud] with some or other; and also he is sure to be spoiled of his cattle and goods by thieves, who spare nobody that they may spoil; and the greater part (I may well say all the weaponed men of this country) are thieves." How difficult then will it be to get submissions and disarmament from men who would rather lose their lives in rebellion than subject them to the malice of their enemies who seek their lives, or the cattle which are their only means of life. But "put case they did submit" and gave up their arms, and a true list were made of them; yet within a few weeks they would get more. I therefore think it unwise to make such a proposal to them at this unsettled time. Later, when Ireland is pacified, it may be done; "but then the order must be universal and all men disarmed, as in the kingdom of Naples was practised."

As to decreasing the pay of the Irish companies, it would be better to discharge them altogether than to do this. The employment of Irish bands was the worst service ever done for the realm. To diminish their pay would be to give them a reason for disturbing the state in the hope of being offered better pay to re-enter the service. It would be better to cashier them gradually and carefully; and this may be done in such a way that no rancour will arise by it. This should be left to the temper and discretion of the magistrate. The idea of cashiering is excellent, but whoever shall be the minister to effect it (and suddenly) will have "a wolf by the ear," and may raise a fire in the kingdom which may be dangerous and costly to England.

Dermond McOwen and other gentlemen of this province are under restraint and I will prolong their restraint as long as I can by devices, but I cannot restrain them permanently without breaking faith with them and breeding in them a belief that no promise made to them is intended to be kept. I hope I shall not be directed to do this. I have no offence to object against them since their restraint. The Lord Deputy, whom they petitioned for release before his departure, thought it reasonable and left the matter of release, subject to good sureties, in my hands and those of the Council here. They daily tender these—as good as they could give. I shall protract till my return from O'Sulevan's castle. By that time we shall know if we are to expect a further invasion from Spain; and if we know that there is no such invasion, I purpose to "hold promise with them."

I do not think that the allowance of half a pound of beef per day to each soldier should be reduced. It is a matter, however, on which the Lord Deputy rather than I should speak. I leave it to his lordship; yet pray you to be kind to the soldiers, for, even if they get the full allowance, they can barely live on it.* Fifteen shillings a quarter is an enormous price for oats, and I fear the oats in store will perish before it is received at that rate. *Details.*

* A postscript inserted here adds:—As I am sealing this letter I hear of mutinies in some of my garrisons about beef and herrings. The captains have suppressed it till I take the field, and the men are satisfied for the moment. You may judge how hard it will be to keep them so. I shall do my best, but "no medicine but the halter upon some will give remedy to it."

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As to what I have written the Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral and yourself about the new standard—I am afraid I may have said more than what will be liked; but what I said can be proved true. If you disapprove of it, pray suppress it. I leave it to you to do so or not. But pray bestow some pains for relieving us in the matter, or the army will mutiny and the people be starved.

Paul Ive, to whom I have spoken about the work at Kinsale, says that 100*l.* has already been spent on it, and that it can be finished for 500*l.* more. Before the Lord Deputy left neither Ive nor I were given any warrant for further payments; but, to prevent the work from standing still, I have commanded the paymaster here to imprest another 100*l.* to him for the work. Meantime I have written to the Lord Deputy for warrants to pay the remainder as it is required. I think that the burgesses of Kinsale, though they are poor, might well pay half or all the cost of this fortification as the price of re-grant of their charter, which is in my hands, and which they desire to have returned. Pray let me have your directions on this point.

In my intended journey I am and shall be much troubled lest the Spanish fleet should come into [Berehaven] whilst I am there, which would deprive me of my munition, victuals and shipping; or into Cork or some harbour at my back which would immediately surrender. I am, however, resolved to act, hoping the Queen's fleet will stay the Spaniards for this summer. If I made no attempt [on Dunboy] this summer, I should certainly be charged with much negligence.

Pp. 4. (*Hol.*) *S.P. Ireland* 211, 7.

16 April. DRAFT of the QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL of IRELAND concerning the pay of the Irish Army.

The Irish army has of late been paid partly in money by certain weekly lendings and partly in apparel. This mode was devised to prevent frauds which had been discovered in the conduct of certain captains; but, as we hear from you, it has not succeeded (as was hoped) in causing the companies to be kept fuller, and is more chargeable to us than payment in ready money, by reason of the late change in the standard of Irish money, would be. We therefore direct that the old method of payment in money shall be revived at the rate of 8*d.* a day of the new standard. The change shall take place as from 1 April, 1602, and shall be continued by your warrants directed to our Treasurer, and shall be made from time to time by way of imprests to each captain for himself and his company at your discretion, according to the state of their companies or the necessity of the service, until the days of full pay. These shall be made ^{once}_{twice} every year at the feasts of [blank]. On these days the whole army shall be paid in full, after deduction of all defalcations; and we will provide that our Treasurer have money in his hands sufficient to pay them.

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Since receiving our letters ordering a return to this method of payment, you have written requesting that the Treasurer in Ireland may have sufficient money in his hands to make this payment from time to time, and that the Exchange be duly maintained on this side, without which you say that great inconveniences will arise to the army there. We will take steps to meet your views on both these points, although in the matter of keeping up the Exchange "we see no cause of such vehement complaints as your letters do import of default in the Exchange," for of the 54,000*l.* returned in the last year only 6,000*l.* remains at present unpaid, which, at a time of such great charges ought not to give any cause of offence.

Whilst meeting your wishes in these two points, we are to admonish you of two others which it is your part and theirs [the army's] to see observed. In the first place the frauds which were committed by captains (during the time when the system of payment by cash, to which we now return, was in force) in not keeping up the proper numbers allowed and in detaining soldiers' pay must not recur, and must be put down by "notorious and exemplary punishment" if it does, and punished not only with cashiering but with "imprisonment, banishing, degrading, and other notes of ignominy."* Secondly, we recommend to you the execution of our former proclamations touching the matter of the Exchange, and the assistance of the Master of the Exchange and his assistants therein, for remedying of all frauds detected in merchants "who abuse our princely intention therein for our private gain. The decried sterling money must be utterly taken away from the people of that country, and brought into our Exchange upon such conditions as our proclamations do contain. The only way for "erection of this new coin" is completely to take away the old "whereby the rebels may exercise traffic with foreign nations and by them be relieved." You may by proclamation in our name, prescribe any further steps which you think will assist this purpose, or submit your views in the matter and obtain our warrant to do what we think right.

Pp. 7. *Endd.* with date. *S. P. Ireland* 211, 8.

17 April. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.
Cork.

I have, as ordered by the lords, taken surety from Mr. Pine to appear before their lordships, and feel sure that he will acquit himself of any charges made against him. He only wants truth and justice to prevail, and despises the malice of his enemies. I know your affection for him, and recommend him knowing that you would not support him in an ill cause.

P. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 9.

* An interlineation in another hand here adds:—the suggestion of paying soldiers in money for their apparel came from you, the Lord Deputy, and principal officers, and as it is you who now note perils to attend it if the exchange be not maintained, we, who will maintain the exchange, look to you to prevent officers from taking money for their soldiers' apparel and not bestowing it.

1602.
About
17 April.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

When the Lord Deputy was here Sir Richard Percy brought to his lordship an ensign and a soldier of Captain Hobie's, "who accused Hobie's lieutenant of "scandalous speeches uttered of her Majesty." The Lord Deputy referred the examination of them to me and Sir George Bouchier. As Sir Richard Percy was formerly acquainted with the matter, we allowed him to be present. After examination by us they were re-examined by the Lord Deputy, as you will see by the enclosed examinations. The lieutenant accused has ever since been sick, but is a prisoner here.

"How to deal with these slanderous causes I know not, for the quality of them hath an ill tale." Pray let me know from the Lords Treasurer and Admiral how to proceed and how to punish this officer if he is found guilty.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Hol.*) S.P. Ireland 211, 10, Enclosing :—

A. *Examination of William Galo, born at Lantregnett in Brytayne [Brittany], aged 21, sworn before me, the President of Munster, in the presence of Sir Richard Percy, 22 February, 1602.*

About three weeks ago deponent and his lieutenant (Thomas Wyseham, who was lieutenant to Captain Hobbye) and two other soldiers of his company (one named Edward Catrell and the other a Frenchman named Pierre, whose surname he forgets) were in their captain's chamber during the captain's absence in Cork. Deponent is ancient [ensign] to Captain Wyseham. They sat by the fire and talked of the wars in the North when the Earl of Essex was there. Deponent observed that the parley which Essex had had with Tyrone was the cause of his undoing and overthrow. The lieutenant said this was not true, "'for I myself,' said he, 'was then present and did make a guard at that time for Tyrone's pledges.'" Deponent asked that Wyseham should say no more on that matter as it was past and gone. "'Nay,' said the lieutenant, 'no man knows it better than I; for I followed the Court of England when the Earl of Essex and the Lord Mountjoy went discontented from the Court to Portsmouth; and then the Queen sent twice or thrice to the lords aforesaid to return before they would stir. . . . And then a kinsman of mine,' said he, 'waiting at the presence door after their coming to the Court, told me that as soon as the Queen heard of their coming [she] sent for the Earl of Essex and two hours after midnight in the summer she and the Earl of Essex walked in the garden and from hence they both went to the Bedchamber.'"

[Explicit allegation of immorality between the Queen and the Earl of Essex follows.]

"Whereunto this deponent answered: 'Lieutenant' (clapping him on the back with his hand), 'if you were not my officer I would bring you to be hanged for these speeches,'"

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The lieutenant asked for pardon, and said he would speak no more of it. They spoke no more of it, but when Captain Hobbye was returned deponent informed him. Captain Edward Catrell and Pierre, the Frenchman aforesaid, heard the conversation, and Edward Catrell told Rowland, the surgeon of the garrison, of them.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. Dated 22 Feb., 160 $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed (copy) by William Galo with his mark and by Sir George Carew and Sir Richard Percy.

A note adds :—On 23 February, 160 $\frac{1}{2}$, Galo was re-examined before the Lord Deputy, Sir George Carew, Sir George Bouchier and Sir Richard Percy and repeated the above evidence in all material particulars.

P. $\frac{1}{4}$. with signatures (copies) of Mountjoy, Carew, Bouchier, and Percy. In all p. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 10A.

B. *Examination of Edward Catrell, soldier under the leading of Captain Francis Hobbye, taken by the Lord Deputy's order before Sir George Carew and Sir George Bouchier, in the presence of Sir Richard Percy.*

Corroborates the last deposition as to the statements made by Wyseham. They were made in Rincurran Castle. Wyseham said, when talking of the death of the Earl of Essex, that he would not have died if he "might have come to the speech of her Majesty." The ancient [Galo] answered that if this were so it was more than ever he heard of it. "'Yes,' said the lieutenant, 'I think it to be true, for I have heard it out of twenty men's mouths that the Earl of Essex hath,' " &c. Repeats the allegations made by Lieutenant Wyseham. Pierre Gallwen, a Frenchman and a soldier under Captain Hobbie, came in at the end of these speeches; to whom the ancient [Galo] repeated them.

P. $\frac{2}{5}$. Dated 26 Feb., 1602. With copy of signatures of Catrell (by his mark), and of Carew and Bouchier, and with copy of note of re-examination by Lord Mountjoy, dated 27 February, 160 $\frac{1}{2}$. In all p. 1. Endd. Ibid, 10B.

c. *Examination of Pierre Gallwen, taken before Sir George Carew and Sir George Bouchier.*

Adds nothing to the foregoing two. Galo called on deponent to be a witness, but deponent was never told then or later, to what he should be a witness.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. Dated 26 Feb., 160 $\frac{1}{2}$. With signatures (copies) of Carew and Bouchier, and with note of re-examination by Lord Mountjoy, dated 27 February, 160 $\frac{1}{2}$. P. $\frac{3}{4}$. Endd. Ibid, 10c.

D. *Examination of Nicholas Rowland, surgeon to the garrison in Rynrone [Ringrone] and Ryncorran, taken before Carew and Bouchier, as above.*

Confirms the above evidence against Lieutenant Wyseham by hearsay. Deponent heard Galo reporting to Captain Hobbye the statements that had been made by Wyseham. The deponent "being mightily grieved to hear such scandalous speeches

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turned away and would hear no more speech." Captain Hobbye promised deponent to report the matter to his Colonel, Sir Richard Percy. The tall, lean soldier aforesaid [Gallwen ?] witnessed the speeches [alleged against Wyseham] to be true, and he would [deponent thought] testify to this if he were called.

P. 1½. Dated 24 Feb., 160½. Signed (copies) by Rowland, and by Carew and Bourchier. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 10D.

19 April.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Nothing has happened since my long letter of the 14th sent by Crosbie. I intend, if my carriage garrons be brought in, to begin my journey towards O'Sulevan's castle on the 21st, and the rebels are gathering to impeach me on my march. Tyrrell and his buonies were resolved to have left Munster the last of this month ; but, on a strong opinion of Spanish supplies, and at the instance of O'Sulevan, they have changed their minds and are "wadged" for two months longer.

If I can take the castle of Dunboy, I will, I hope, soon send them packing and end the rebellion in Munster.

I am urged by sundry persons to write to you on behalf of the lands of 124. When my letters come to you put them in your pocket, and I beg you, for the country's good, that care may be taken to whom they are passed ; for if an honest man does not have them all the poor Englishmen harbouring there will be banished. Pray send me some supplies. A thousand will not be seen in the companies of Munster. When my task is ended they may be sent to the Lord Deputy, so the Queen will receive no loss by it. I know the suit is sore, but I am compelled to urge it by my weakness.

"If the Queen would be pleased to mitigate her just indignation towards 100, and proceed with that counsel which once she entertained and signified unto 2,047 and 2,049 by 2,027 and 2,030, in my opinion it were the readiest and most assured way to quiet and establish this miserable realm," and cut off foreign attempts. I have shot my bolt, and write from zeal for my Sovereign and country, &c., &c. "All that can be objected to the contrary is but honour ; against which the rule of the French King* serveth, which, as you know, is that *Qui a le profit a l'honneur*, which, as a wise maxim in cases of this quality, is principally to be observed."

If the Queen will erect a fort at Halboling, an island in the river of Cork, the town and river will be assured. A citadel will not be necessary, but I wish a fort were made there. Pray strengthen the banks of Exchange. "All men but the merchants are undone by the stays there made, but the merchant, though he whines, makes profit by it, selling his commodities at his own will, whereby he is an excessive gainer." Very high prices are demanded for all things which beggars the army ; and the supplying of the banks will give a great ease.

* Henri IV.

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If you send me a man I will send you hawks ; but not otherwise, for there is none that is skilful to keep them. *Details.*

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 11.

20 April.

Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I am asked by Lord Barry to recommend him, and I owe him for many kindnesses. He is a loyal nobleman, ready to serve the State. Pray favour his suit if you think meet.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 12.

Same.

SAME to SAME.

Recommends Sir John Fitzedmonds, who, for certain suits, is sending over the bearer to England. Does not know what these suits are, but hopes they are such as to deserve favour.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *A subservient letter. Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 13.

22 April.

Shandon.

SAME to SAME.

I recommend Allen Apsley, Commissary of the victuals for Munster, who is going over by licence from the Lord Deputy. His departure has been delayed by official duties in connexion with the expedition to Berehaven, which is now in forwardness. Indeed, I would not have spared him now were it not that his estate depends on his being able to pass his accounts in due time, for which he depends on your favour. I highly recommend him and beg your favour for all he asks. If favoured in the passing of his accounts he will do further good service. He will, I presume, ask you for full enjoyment of the wardship of Henry Cooper's son. Apsley married my relative, the widow [of the ward's father], and was to the children, both before and after their mother's death, "a father rather in nature than in law."

P. $\frac{1}{2}$; *with a postscript* containing further recommendation. The letter and postscript *signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 14.

25 April.

Tymelag

[Timoleague].

SAME to SAME.

I recommend the bearer, Arthur Hyde, whose father is one of the undertakers of this province. The son has attended me as a voluntary ever since my first coming here, and been with me in all services and journeys, and has carried himself valiantly and dutifully. His father left him a seignory of but small value, but he has always strained his ability to follow the wars.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 15.

Latest date,

INFORMATIONS AGAINST NEALE GARVE.

25 April.

1. Information of Donell Grome, given at the Derry, on 10 February, 160 $\frac{1}{2}$.

One parson O'Colgan, who lives at Donnaght in Eneshowen, and is a priest and married deponent's niece, revealed to him [deponent]

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not long since by way of kindness that to his knowledge Neale Garve had agreed with O'Neale and O'Donnell to betray this place or the Liffer, or both if he could. He proposed to put some men into our storehouse of powder who should set fire to it; and therefore he exhorted him [deponent] to leave the place in time if he valued his own life. Hugh boy M'Davyd was also privy to the said plot.

Questioned, he said that the agreement between Hugh Boy and Neale Garve was made when O'Donnell lay before Donegal, a little before the coming of the Spaniards. When it was known that the Spaniards had come, it was agreed further that a dozen of their ships should be brought to Lough Swilly, and a few also to Loughfoyle, and that the munition should be blown up as soon as they arrived.

O'Neale and O'Donnell granted to Neale Garve that in consideration of this service he should be Tanist of Tyrconnell and have the present lordship of the country between Barrestmore and Eneshowen; "and where Neale Garve's wife, being sister to O'Donnell, had of late before been promised by him to O'Rorke in marriage, that upon this agreement the match was broken and she was still reserved for Neale to have again when this plot should be performed, and that O'Dogherty also was to have O'Cane's daughter in marriage, and Rory O'Donnell the said O'Dogherty's sister."

Turlogh McGylliwee, foster father to Hugh boy's wife, was often a messenger in this matter between Neale Garve and Hugh boy, also between O'Donnell and them both.

Neale Garve has much secret and underhand dealing with the rebels, and has drawn many people with their creaghts into Tyrconnell, assuring them that the Governor shall not make any cutting upon them; but that in truth he has neither power nor intent to stay them whensoever they shall themselves think good to depart, whatever he may pretend to the contrary.

The only cause why Hugh boy made up the castle of Boncerannagh [Buncrana] and fortified it was that it might be a receptacle for the Spaniards when they came. The reason for their landing in Lough Swilly was that the isle of Inch was a piece of ground tenable of itself and which they meant to fortify. This information was given in the presence of Captain Yard and George Nugent, the Provost Marshal of the army, the said Nugent being interpreter.

*Note in margin.**—The truth of this information will appear when the said parson O'Colgan and Tirlogh McGillywee shall be examined. They may be had at any time; but [are] not to be touched, in my opinion, till both Neale and Hugh boy be publicly charged with all things together.

Gilliegroome O'Dornyne, a follower of the O'Donnells, was received in by Hugh boy with the Governor's consent on

* This and the other marginal notes in this document are all in Sir Henry Docwra's hand.

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17 February, 160 $\frac{1}{2}$. He promises to bring our men to a prey in Sleught Art on those men that Neale Garve has given his word unto.

William McGromine, of the country of Sleught Art and of the sept of the Clan Torleys, has undertaken the like and was received on the same condition the same day.

Both these men confidently report that all Sleught Art is upon a word with Neale and that a good while since some of those people made a stealth of cows out of Eneshowen which happened to be part of Neale's aunt's and part of Shane McManus Oge's mother's; but, at Neale's direction they restored his aunt's [cows] and Neale gave them the rest for their labour. Another time the same people stole two horses from Phellim Keogh lying near Swyllybeg, whereof they gave one to Neale Garve.

Gillygroome O'Dornyne also informs that "being with Neale Garve he asked this informer where he would sow his corn; who said he would gladly sow it about Colmackatreene [Kilmacrenan?]." "Nay," said Neale, "that shall you not nor any man else that I have aught to do withal; for it may be that I myself will do as others do and fall from the English before the time of reaping it come." Whereunto this man replied that that would be contrary to the common expectation. "That skills not," said he again. "They have used me ill of late, and killed one of my men and refused me victuals out of the store, so as of all people of the world I cannot abide them nor their fashion of usage." He said he would never bring cow or anything where it might be in the Governor's power to seize it.

Note in margin.—All this was justified to Neale's face and he admitted part, but denied part.

On 15 February, 160 $\frac{1}{2}$, Donnell Groome was sent out on purpose to discover Neale Garve's dealings by going to him and saying that he had run away from the Governor in discontent. Two days after he went out he sent back his boy to say that for certain Neale Garve was plotting to go away; for that going towards Fannaught where Neale Garve was, he met with a churl of his; and that when he asked the churl what news was stirring the man answered that there was not much, that Neale was at his camp in McSwyne Fannaught's country. Donnell Groome asked when he [Neale Garve] would come to the Derry, whereupon the churl answered, "I perceive no such matter in him at all, for he gives out publicly that the Governor hath not kept word nor promise with him in that he refused to give him victuals for his men; but seeing he could get none of him he would feed upon his own cows as long as any one [of] them lasted;" and that he had called on all the idle men in the country to join him and that he would entertain them. This the boy told to Nugent the provost marshal.

Gillygroome O'Dornyne on March 15 informs that as he was coming into the country with 48 cows and 12 garrons he was by the way intercepted by Farrell McDonnell, one of Neale's chief men at Rapho. Farrell seized on his cows and

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garrons, and thereupon deponent pleaded the Governor's protection. Farrell thereupon made offer to lay hands upon him and he escaped. Farrell followed him, but finding he could not overtake him, cried out, "I have the cows and will keep them. Let the Governor now come by them as he can, for I neither care for him nor his warrant."

Note in margin.—All this information was justified before Neale's face, and Farrell O'Donnell is one of the nearest men about him, yet he will not bring him to justice without a word that he shall have no harm.

On the same day Hugh McDavid informed that Roze, Neale Garve's sister, went into Ballyshannon about three or four days before, and there met Rory O'Donnell [*details*], and had much speech with him; but what it was no man knows. Roze went by licence of the Governor.

Note in margin.—This information tallies exactly with one I had from Captain Digges, lying at Asheroe. Immediately after this Roze went her way and is now out in rebellion, though Neale did ever undertake for her, and would not by any means suffer any pledges to be taken of her.

2. Information of Donnell Groome given on March 20 :—

Deponent was sent a month before by the Governor to live with Neale Garve as a discontented man and so discover his doings. He says that all that while he went up and down among the people and learnt that all their hopes were confident upon a succour of Spaniards in far greater numbers than any had yet come. None of them would sow any of their corn but in the skirts of woods and within bogs, where strangers could not get at it. They sowed in the most remote places, and that by Neale's direction.

Deponent saw O'Neale's messenger have speech with him [Neale Garve]; and the common report was that Neale Garve and O'Neale should meet at night not far from the Lyffer [Lifford]. He does not know what passed between Neale and O'Neale, but believes Neale only waits an opportunity to do mischief.

Note in margin.—This conference is admitted even by himself. It was held utterly without my privity or consent.

He says also that divers of the rebels would steal out of Connaught and come unto Neale, sometimes one or two together, sometimes 20 or 40 in a company, and lie making good cheer with O'Neale and go their ways again, and that for certain he was "upon a word" with Maguire, and would not hurt him nor his country. Thinks he is the like with divers others, and protests that Neale's whole carriage, and that of his people, shows that they did not intend to remain under the Queen if any Spaniards once come near any part of Ireland. He reported this in the presence of Captain Yarde, with many a vehement exhortation to the Governor to lay hands on him in time.

On the 21st of the same [February] the Governor heard, through a messenger sent [*details*] to Walter Tallent from Shane McManus Oge, that Shane suspected Neale's courses, since Neale might

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long since have preyed Owen Oge if he would ; and that Shane had often undertaken to do it if Neale would spare him forty men ; but Neale would not do this, and even compelled Shane to return a prey which he had taken from Owen Oge's country. Tallent also said that Donnell Gorme, who has been taken in, daily sends out his men to his brothers that are in rebellion, and helps them as much as he can. Neale's men have complained in some cases of Neale's courses.

On the 22nd Hugh boy informs that Neale Garve was exceedingly angry at the killing of Rory O'Cahane, calling it murder, and with great and vehement detestation of the fact. Neale dealt earnestly, he says, both with him and O'Dogherty to let some of his men serve with him [Neale]. He promised good pay ; and this was at the time when he was pressing the Governor for victual out of the store, and was pretended to be discontented solely because he could not have it ; although he had bargained before under his hand not to demand any.

Note in margin.—This was justified to his face by O'Dogherty and Hugh boy, but he denies it.

Hugh boy informed on March 24 that one Dermont O'Henry, chaplain to Randall McSorley, acquainted Phelim O'Flattery, who was some time a mere servant of O'Donnell, and now dwells in Eneshowen . . . that for certain O'Donnell and Neale Garve were in agreement. Dermont told Phelim that the agreement was that O'Donnell should procure all the gentlemen and clergy of the north to be sureties for the performance of such covenant as should be between them ; that Toole McO'Degan, O'Galchors' sons and others should be delivered as pledges into Neale's hands. Hugh boy said further that this agreement was made when O'Donnell was before Donegal, and would have been carried out but that O'Donnell heard from O'Neale of the arrival of the Spaniards. O'Neale desired O'Donnell to make no further concessions to Neale Garve, "for he knew they might have him much better cheap." Neale Garve said to O'Donnell at this conference that if he was with O'Donnell once more "the English churls would not be able to victual so much as Aynogh, which was but two mile from them by land." He further assured O'Donnell that at any time, upon a week's warning, he would deliver him the Liffier.

Note in margin.—For all this conference with O'Donnell he had my licence ; but he never told me half the speeches which, as I can prove, passed between them, and only himself knows if he meant to be true to me or O'Donnell.

Hugh boy says further that Toel McO'Degan is gone to O'Neale, who is as sure to Neale Garve as any man in this kingdom, and that within two or three days O'Neale is to be at Lough Muck and Neale is to come to Lough Fynn at the same time, from whence he can communicate with O'Neale, and may, perhaps, even go and meet him at night for a conference and agreement on all matters.

Note in margin.—Lady O'Neale gave exactly this information out of Tyrone, and Sir Geoffrey Fenton sent it to me.

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He says also that Neale Garve and Phelim Reagh discussed, in O'Dogherty's presence, how Neale might defend his creates against O'Donnell or all Ireland, if need should be, lying in Swyllogh More. O'Neale said he could do this for he had 18 companies in pay. Phelim said that was too many, and asked what would he do with them. O'Neale said he kept them to be sure of his independence. [*Details.*] This last article was justified to Neale's face.

Information of Shane McManus Oge O'Donnell on 21 April, 1602.
He says :—

Many of Neale Garve's people have of late stolen away from him with their creates. Amongst them is one Hugh oge McHugh Boy of the Galchors, Neale's gossip, and on very familiar terms with him, who could never have gone without Neale's permission.

Note in margin.—This information is confirmed by spies sent out from the Liffer by Captain Willis, who say further that many more have slipped away, who could not have done so without Neale's consent.

He says furthermore that Caffer Oge McCaffery O'Donnell is lately stolen into Tyrconnell, and lies lurking in the woods in O'Boyle's country. Neale pretends that he does not know of this, but he does consent to it, and daily sends messengers to Caffer Oge, insomuch as he and some 100 that are with him live and are maintained by Neale's creates. Deponent offered lately to catch Caffer Oge or some of his followers, but Neale would not allow it.

Toel McO'Degan, who is as sure to Neale as any man in Ireland, has been with O'Neale this month trying to make conditions of peace between Neale Garve and him. One suggestion was that O'Neale should give him full recompense for all such things as he should leave amongst us. Roze, Neale's sister and McO'Degan's wife, has constantly been the intermediary between the parties; and for certain an agreement was made between Neale and O'Donnell when O'Donnell went the Munster journey.

Deponent warns the Governor against riding abroad at any time without a good guard, as they have often talked of taking the Governor, or some other person, by returning whom they could redeem their pledges. If Neale could get these he would undoubtedly be gone, as he has often protested already.

Deponent took divers preys from Owen Oge when he was in rebellion, but Neale compelled him to restore these to Owen Oge, and was angry that any injury should be done to Owen.

Neale is very crafty and wants only "to get the country upon his own hand and then to manage and use it at his own pleasure as an absolute Prince without owing subjection to any other." Deponent will justify this with his life if he is confronted with Neale.

Deponent speaks not from malice against Neale, but from loyalty to the Queen and love for the Governor. Walter Tallent is his interpreter.

Pp. 74. *Endd.*, and with notes (as aforesaid) in the margin, in Sir Henry Docwra's hand. *S.P. Ireland* 211, 16.

1602.

27 April.
Cork.

SIR JOHN FITZEDMUND GERALD to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have lately preferred a suit to her Highness by my son in England, and had your directions which I could not follow owing to the recent troubles. I now send my man to follow the matter, and trust in your usual goodness.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 211, 17.

28 April.
Dublin.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Having at length passed the worst of my cold which I brought from Kinsale, I, the Deputy, have consulted with the Council as to prosecuting the war against Tyrone, to repress the rebellion in other parts of Ireland and to gather a force to oppose the Spaniards if they should renew their attempt on Ireland. The President of Munster sends us many advertisements shewing that such an attempt is probable. We have also to answer your lordships' letters of the 25th of last month.

We think it not right to let Tyrone walk at ease in his own country after his defeat in Munster, and that we should "haunt him at his own home." I, the Deputy, shall go to the North with a sufficient force for this purpose as soon as the spring provides us with forage and other necessary provision, leaving the remainder of the army to be disposed in the other provinces as occasion requires. I have sent up some companies to the North already to curb Tyrone and "keep him short till the main prosecution may follow." We have, in our distribution of the army, considered the possibility of having to concentrate them in case we should have to oppose a foreign invasion as soon as possible after a landing. I, the Deputy, send a list of the whole forces and of those allocated to the campaign against Tyrone. We cannot further reduce the main list till we know the result of the preparations in Spain, which hang like a cloud over us, and till Ireland is better settled.

With a view to meeting the designs, present or future, of Spain we have considered the placing of forts in positions to countenance some great towns and secure some of the harbours. Unless the places mentioned are fortified and well garrisoned, we think there will be danger of invasion, and that the Spaniards will be encouraged to make another attempt; but if they hear of our fortification works they may desist, and turn their malice another way.

1. Cork.—There should be a large fort to serve as a magazine for storage of victuals and a smaller fort to protect the harbour, which they hope to secure.

2. Waterford.—Duncannon fort to be repaired and improved; and other measures to be taken to secure the harbour and impeach the passage of ships to the city.

3. Limerick.—The fort to be made capable of bridling the town and beating the harbour so far as it can reach.

4. Galway.—A fort to be made to secure the town against foreign invaders and "to curb the seditious and factious youths that abound in that town."

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5. Carlingford.—A fort to be cast up in the bay in the island there. This will secure the harbour against the enemy though he come with a strong fleet. It may be thought that the enemy will not venture his fleet so far between two hostile lands but if he does, and gets in past the island, he can capture Carlingford and Newry and so all the North east of the Bann.

6. Kinsale.—The fortification begins to be completed ; otherwise the place is open to the assault of any foreign fleet.

We cannot, until these works have commenced, offer any estimate of their ultimate cost ; but ask that an imprest of 20,000*l.* or 30,000*l.* may be made and converted to these works “ by the ministry of some well chosen person to be employed therein ” by your lordships’ or our appointment. We think these forts should be finished before the building of citadels to curb the towns is taken in hand. Special provision of treasure should be made for the work of fortification, and also of artillery ; and both should come from England for we cannot supply either here.

Your lordships in your letter to the Council in Dublin of 17 January last directed that, after next May, the soldiers should be paid their full 8*d.* a day [in cash], and not paid partly in money and partly in apparel. If this change is to take place we request a formal warrant to the Treasurer to pay the soldiers in full in cash accordingly, and that some imprest be made to the officers to provide their men with apparel as was given to the provant merchants in England when they were employed to clothe the army. Also, as the soldiers cannot get apparel in Ireland but “ must be holpen for his ready money out of England,” we ask “ that your lordships will take order that the bank may be thoroughly maintained whereby they may have a ready exchange of their money employed in these necessities.” Otherwise there will be distress amongst companies, soldiers and subjects, in so much as there will be danger of destroying the army “ if it break not altogether, through the weakness of the Exchange. Hitherto we have been grieved to hear the murmurs and complaints of all sorts which, if it should pass on from one discontentment to another, there might be doubt of some more dangerous alteration, the remedy and prevention whereof ” we leave to your consideration.

Yours of the 25th of April gives us directions as to the present state of Ireland, and says that the designs of the Spanish government have been modified by receipt of the news of the surrender at Kinsale, and may be abandoned altogether when the Spaniards hear of the preparation of her Majesty’s fleet for the coast of Ireland. This may be so ; but judging by our former experience we think there should be no delay in sending the fleet to these coasts. We will do our best to resist the Spaniards, if they come, with our poor army.

Your lordships seem to doubt the expediency of admitting Irishmen to pardon and receiving their submission, thinking that they only remain loyal so long as the sword is heavy on them ; and say that you have had word from Waterford that Donell Spaniogh increased in insolency when the Spaniards

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arrived in the parts about him. We cannot deny that this is the case, and that rebellious persons pretend loyalty not from zeal but from "an impious dissimulation to shift off their present danger." But it would, as we now stand, cost the Queen too much "to pull down rebellions by force only; wherein, nevertheless, for the time of me, the Deputy, I do assure your lordships that none of the capital Irish rebels have been taken into her Majesty's mercy before they had thoroughly felt her justice and were well scourged by her sword." If we receive instructions to cease giving of pardons and protections, and to end this rebellion by force only, we shall do so; but we must tell you that such a policy is calculated to prolong the war to a great length, and will involve great expense. As to your suggestion that persons who are received to mercy should be disarmed, we must say that "a nation so poisoned with treason and rebellion as this is, and not formed to obey any civil course of life further than they are compelled, deserveth no better manner of dealing than to be unarmed and kept under hard yokes, a course which many Princes use to people of like stubbornness. But, as things stand now in this kingdom, which is as an overgrown garden that must first be purged of the weeds before it can be planted with the good herbs . . . this course of disarming them . . . would be more dangerous than sure, especially for that in no former commotions and general defections the like hath not been so much as tendered to them, and to offer it now would beat them back utterly from all love of English government; and therefore . . . we are of mind that the time is altogether unseasonable" to disarm them till they are further broken. When it is done it should be done gradually; "for they, being a warlike nature and professing the sword," if they be not thoroughly reduced (as by conquest) "must be tenderly used in separating them from their weapons, lest more perilous inconveniences grow thereby."

The Irish companies in the army should also be kept with their wonted pay and apparel till they are discharged or otherwise dealt with. I, the Deputy, have already cast some Irish companies, and hope, as time goes on, to lessen the Irish list further; and such Irish companies which are now standing are those which have been erected not by me but by your lordships' orders, and I have discharged 3,092 men who were in list when I entered upon the government. The charge against Donnell Spaniogh, which came from Waterford to your lordships, is false, and must have been made from interested motives; for if the complainant had informed the government here, instead of sending his complaint to your lordships, we could have made such an order as would have satisfied him. We of the Council that had the government in the absence of the Lord Deputy can say that Donell Spaniogh was not seduced from his loyalty either by the threats or the enticements of Tyrone during the time of the Spanish invasion when circumstances would have favoured him if he had rebelled. He has now come here to solicit his causes in the course of a subject. It is a very bad thing for the State when "underhand informers shall take the liberty

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to advertise untruths to the taxing of the government and discouraging of those wild and unstaid people whom the State laboureth to recover to civility, but are crossed therein by unknown whisperers whose course is, for private ends, to impugn all public proceedings how well soever they may be meant."

Neale Garrogh O'Donnell presses us urgently to settle him in Tyrconnell by grant from the Queen on the ground of his own deserts and our promise to apply for such a grant for him. To pacify him we gave him some time ago a *custodiam* of Donegal under the chequer [Exchequer] seal, reserving to the Queen Ballyshannon and a large quantity of lands round it to sustain it, with other restrictions of his immoderate demands. "This man is of an haughty and wavering spirit, apt to take all occasions of discontentment" when he sees that he is not yet possessed of Donegal by grant. We pray for her Majesty's warrant that we may satisfy him or prevent him from breaking out further. As to reservations which should be inserted in his grant "to restrain his over great power and tyranny," we beseech you either to consider them or to leave this to our discretion. We will take the best course we can for her Majesty's advantage consistently with keeping him loyal; and it would be unwise to cause him to alter his duty at present.

Your lordships tell us that the levy of men is felt a grievance in England, and that their transportation is expensive, and ask us to save the expense by reinforcing the weak garrisons in the North with men taken from the rest of the army. We realise this; but so long as there is an army so long must supplies be raised to supply it "especially in such a hard war as this where the soldier is still itinerant and going, and subject to lie in the field in all weathers with little to cover him but his own bare garments." This means many deaths from exposure. We therefore ask for 2,000 supplies to be sent at once. 1,000 must be sent for Ballyshannon, Knockfergus and Loughfoyle. Ballyshannon, now that there is a garrison there, should be strengthened. The other 1,000 should be sent to Carlingford and distributed in the garrisons about these quarters. Please send no captains with these supplies, as we are to distribute the men among companies already in service. We specially ask for prompt supplies for Ballyshannon. If these do not arrive speedily no good service can be done in those parts, and the garrison at Loughfoyle [if it has to detach men to hold Ballyshannon] will be unable to give me "correspondence" [support] in the main prosecution against Tyrone.

We hope that the companies in Munster (as to the weakness of which your lordships have no doubt been informed by Sir George Carew) will be strengthened by supplies from England, to keep the country quiet and resist possible invasion.

As to the victualling point raised in your lordships' last letter of the 25th of March, we may answer that the practice is to allow to every soldier in Ireland for each day either 2*lb.* of salt beef or 2½*lbs.* of fresh beef; when fresh beef is delivered 12*lb.* extra are thrown in with every 100*lb.*, as beef loses in weight by being

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cut up into small pieces. The present contractors only allow $1\frac{1}{2}lb.$ of salt beef to each man per day ; which is contrary to the usual custom here. As you have asked for Mr. Newcomen to go over we shall send him at once, fully instructed on all matters appertaining to victualling, and especially to solicit contracts for such provisioning of the garrison of the North as will enable them "to hunt the rebel from place to place." This we think must be the only way to eat him out.

P.S.—Since his submission Phelim McFeogh Byrne has behaved loyally, "applying himself to tillage and purging his country of loose men, of whom he hath of late sent many to the jail of Dublin to receive their trial by law." Tyrone pressed him urgently to rebel when the Spaniards were here, but he refused, and sent a message to Tyrone through one of his own priests that "since the Queen's Majesty had made him a subject he would not again sell the Queen of England for the King of Spain." Phelim desires to have his country from the Queen at such reasonable rents and conditions as we think fit, and "his country lying upon the marches of Dublin it is a good tie to preserve those parts." Pray procure a warrant from the Queen for this purpose. We have instructed Sir Oliver St. John to solicit your lordships for it and to bring it over with him.

Pp. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. (*large*). Signed by the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop of Dublin (and Lord Chancellor), the Bishop of Meath and Cary, Wingfield, Gardener, St. Leger, Bouchier, Walshe, Fenton, and Stafford. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 18. *Enclosing* :—

Army List entitled "the new list in April, 1602."

Horse :—

The Lord Deputy and Lord President ; the Earl of Thomond, Sir Henry Davers, Sir William Godolphin, Sir Henry Docwra, Sir Arthur Chichester, Mr. Marshal, Captains Jepson, Sir J. Bolls, Sir Anthony Cooke, Sir Francis Stafford, the Earls of Ormond, Kildare, and Clanricarde, Sir Garrett Moore, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Sir Henry Harrington, Sir Edward Herbert, Sir Oliver Lambert, Captain Wayneman, Sir Charles Wilmot, Sir Richard Gream, Captain Fleming, Sir Samuel Bagnall, Captain Taaffe, Sir Oliver St. John, Sir Francis Rushe, Sir George Gream.

The number of horse under each officer is given.

The total of horse is 1,350.

Foot :—

(1) *At Loughfoyle* :—*Sir Henry Docwra, Sir John Bolls, and Captains Wood, Badby, Vaughan, Bingley, Coach, Bassett, Harrison, Flower, Oram, Aldford, Pinner, Windsor, Hart, Atkinson, Digges, Brooke, Yorke, Orrell, Leigh, Sidney, Gowre and Willis.*

Numbers of each company given. Total—3,000.

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- (2) *At Carrickfergus* :—*Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Fulke Conway, and Captains Sackfield, Norton, Billings and Phillips ; in Lecale, Sir Richard Morrison.*

Numbers, &c., as before. Total—1,000.

- (3) *In Munster* :—*The Lord President ; the Earl of Thomond, Lords Barry and Audley, Sir Charles Wilmot, Sir George Cary, Captains R. Harvey, Flower, Saxey, and Slingsby, Sir George Thornton, Captains Skipwith and Hobby, Sir Garrett Harvey, Sir Richard Piercie, Sir Francis Berkeley, Sir John Dowdall, Captains Francis Kingsmill, George Kingsmill, Power, Cullom and Bostock ; the White Knight, Captain G. Harvey, Sir S. Bagnall, Sir A. Cooke, Sir Alex. Clifford, Captains Coote, Stafford, Ousellie, Blundell, Dorington, Sidley, and Boise, Sir Arthur Savage, Sir Henry Harrington, and Captain Holcroft.*

Numbers, &c., as before. Total—4,400.

A note adds that the White Knight had his company by direction out of England.

- (4) *Leinster and Northwards* :—*The Lord Deputy, the Marshal, Sir John Barkely, Sir William Fortescue, Sir B. Berry, Sir James Fitzpiers, Sir T. Loftus, Sir Henry Folliott, Captains Blaney, Bodley, and Constable, Sir Francis Rushe, Sir Garrett Moore, Sir George Bourchier, Sir Edward Herbert, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Sir Tibbot Dillon, Sir Edward Fitzgarrett, Sir Henry Davers, Sir Francis Stafford, Lord Delvin, Sir H. Warren, the Earl of Kildare, Sir H. Power, Sir Francis Shane, the Earl of Ormond, and Captains Hansard, Easemond, Masterson, Fisher, Barkeley, Roberts, Morris, Enfield, Blunt, Trever, Williams, Adderton, Freckleton, Roe, Caulfield, O'Carroll and (for pioneers) Henslo.*

Numbers, &c., as before. Total—5,900.

The following notes are added to this list in respect of the names below :—

Fitzpiers and Loftus. These are Irish companies, but I [Lord Mountjoy ?] found them here.

St. Lawrence's. I found him here.

Dillon. Commended for increase.

Fitzgarrett. I found him here.

Masterson. Maimed in her Majesty's service yet twice cast.

Delvin. Before my time.

O'Carroll. Thought fit by the State.

Shane. Recommended for increase.

Ormond. He had 200 before my time.

- (5) *Connaught* :—*Sir Oliver Lambert, Earl of Clanricarde, Sir Thomas Bourke, Sir Oliver St. John, and Captains*

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Clare, Ghest, Malby, Roper, Rotheram, May and Judges.

Numbers, &c., as before. Total—1,800.

Complete total—16,100 foot.

Pp. 4½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 18A.*

Latest
date,
28 April.

NOTES on points in the letters of the LORD DEPUTY which require answers.

21 April.—He gives reason for the allowance by *concordatum* in lieu of 235 beeves out of co. Cavan and converted to the use of the Lord Deputy's table.

28 April.—*Mentions* the chief points in the letter of that date, for which see above, p. 377sq.

P. 1. *Ibid*, 19.

[April.]

MEMORANDUM on the IRISH COINAGE.*

To consider first the ends and hopes of the "authorists" of the base moneys, then how far these have been sacrificed; and lastly whether disadvantages will not follow from it as great as the alleged advantages.

The desired objects were two—to ease the Queen's charge and to withdraw sterling from Ireland, and so weaken the rebels.

The Queen's charge has certainly been eased, as a year's computation shows, by 180,000*l.*; and this will probably continue, or may increase, if the merchant is kept under compulsion to deliver in one-fourth sterling [when exchanging Irish for sterling money].

If it be thought fit further to ease her Majesty's charge by such a course as this it can certainly be done by her Majesty's answering the exchange with such moneys (if it may so hold without notorious discommodity to ensue thereby to the realm), and yet not so much as perhaps at first there is conceived; for if this base money be instituted in England there will be no reason to compel the merchant to bring a fourth part of sterling; and then so much is the gain diminished; besides, the cost of carriage and portage must be account[ed] in defalcation of the same [?].

So as her Majesty's gain must not be account[ed ?] as though she saved three parts in four as the value of the standard is, that is in every 10,000*l.* 7,500*l.*; but only as if she saved half in half; for that those moneys must have a fourth part of fine [?] there besides the charge of coinage and portage, and the Queen must [?] want the fourth part which now the merchant turns [?] to the exchange and is , both which one half to be deducted out of the gain, and after the rate of half in half the Queen hath saved the last year; and at first sight [?] it seemeth to me that by this new device she shall not save more.

But this is chiefly to be considered, whether, supposing the gain to be as great as the devisers would have it, the discommodities

* The handwriting of the document is exceedingly difficult to make out. The readings with queries are only offered as the best solution of doubtful problems.

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ensuing by the device be not greater than the commodity of ease of her Majesty's charge for the present [?], of which commodities in the protest they have uttered some by way of objection, but nothing insufficiently answered them.

The first is the difference and enhances of prices which will ensue thereby. The answer made to this [objection] is but conceit in the air, but experience hath shewed in proof, against which there is no reasoning, both heretofore in England and now certainly [?] in Ireland as [it] appears by letters from thence, that prices have already risen in Ireland and will rise further. "And in reason it must be so for it is absurd to think that men, especially merchants, will ever buy or sell or esteem of any moneys but according to the value of the silver or gold that is in them; and by any sovereign's authority [?] to compel men to sell commodities at prices limited upon these moneys will be accompanied with too much violence [?] in the execution."

Another objection made by them is the danger of counterfeits, their conceits for preventing whereof are, to my sense [?], weak. For we see it hath been attempted in Ireland where there is so great want of instruments and means to do it; and we [know that counterfeiting has been attempted] here before in England, as appears by the proclamations for suppression of these base moneys, and by experience in all countries where base moneys are current. To compel all men to keep a continual register of what they receive and pay of these moneys is of great labour and never to be executed, or of no use if it be. "For who can view the books of all men in England?"

But a greater objection than these and of more consequence is to be made, at least as I conceive the device. "That is, if the money be made current here in England it must be current as well in payments to the Queen as from her, for it were too great an injustice for the Queen to enjoin a money to her subjects which herself will not receive. And if it be allowed to be good in payment to the Queen for debts, subsidies or rents then will it be plain that all men that have of this money will rather pay her in it than in other money and then she loseth as much in receipt as she saveth in payment."

As for the argument that the introduction of base moneys in Ireland will withdraw the sterling from thence, the new device will have a contrary effect [?] for no man will bring sterling money to the Exchange in Ireland to be paid in base moneys there. Consequently sterling money will remain in the country. Trade will not be taken away from the rebels.

Pp. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$, the last few lines erased and corrected. Very badly written. Endd. with date and title. S.P. Ireland 211, 20.

MAY, 1602.

2 May.
Kilkenny.

THOMAS, EARL OF ORMOND AND OSSORY, to SECRETARY CECIL.

I thank you for your kind letters regarding my nephew, Theobald Butler. I had intended to speak with him before he

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left to tell him "how to demean himself, he having never been there before." I now hear that he is to leave Dublin before I can see him, so I beg your favour for him.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 21.

2 May.
Dublin.

FLORENCE, EARL OF UPPER OSSORY to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have lately taken prisoners two notable traitors who did much disturb Leinster, "one named Dermott McShane, a nephew of mine whom I could never rule, the other William McHuberte, the chief leader of late times of all the rebels of Upper Leinster. After I sent them to the Lord Deputy they were deservedly executed." I have cut off many other rebels; but my real protection is your favour. Many wrongs have been done me by "my potent adversary"; nor can I obtain remedy by law or conscience against him. Pray write to the Knight Marshal and your other friends here to befriend me on my just causes.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 22.

2 May.
Tossectar,
Towcester.

CAPTAIN CHARLES EGERTON to CAPTAIN ROGER LANGFORD.

In my former letters to you by Mr. Moyses Hill I "lemitated" a time to you for the payment of your money. Owing to Mr. Hill's long stay in London, I now give you further to the midst of June.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. (Hol.) Add. Ibid, 23.

5 May.
Dublin.

THE LORD DEPUTY to the PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

For this see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), Vol. III, pp. 151-162.

Pp. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 24.

Same.

SAME to SAME.

The last 500 foot sent from England arrived at Waterford when I was there. I was going to have distributed them amongst other companies in order to reduce the list; but I thought it better in view of the rumour of a fresh invasion from Spain to keep them together till I knew whether it was best for me to "put them over" or keep them standing. I therefore directed them to go by easy marches to Tredagh [Drogheda] because there they could be best provided for and kept in heart as new soldiers at the first had need to be, and also because, when they were there it would be easy to distribute them amongst other companies if I should decide to do so. I lately resolved to do this and sent down the serjeant-major with a Commissary to see them mustered that I might let you know how I found them. I send the muster by Sir Oliver St. John, and I am sure you will think it strange, as I do, especially seeing that the parts through which they marched were simply the best parts of all this kingdom, so that they had neither hardship nor service. *A fortiori* you may

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guess what [little] use we could make of the new companies which arrived at Kinsale and had to face the miseries and extremities of a winter's siege.

I leave the matter to you, and you will hear the captains on their own behalf, as they will now be discharged here. If they excuse themselves on the ground that "their soldiers ran away upon a brute of their casting," I think it is a very weak excuse, for it should have made them more careful of their men, and the men more patiently await their discharge. The serjeant-major writes of Captain Tirett that he delivered over a much better company than the others and that his men were well armed.

P. 1½. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 25.
Enclosing :—

A. Abstract of the Accounts of the several Captains discharged out of pay on 1 May, 1602.

This account was delivered to Sir John Berkeley, Kt., Serjeant-Major-General of the Army, and John Walrond, one of her Majesty's Commissaries for Musters by the captains (mentioned below) of the foot companies which they received lately in England, and [which were] cast by virtue of a warrant directed to the said Barkley and Walrond, dated 30 April (1 May), and the present men delivered over to the several captains whose names are set down under the foot of the abstract, with their proportion.

1. Captain Antony Crompton was in list 100 besides 7 officers. [At the muster] he was found to be as follows :—

Present, 5 officers and 36 men. Of these 36, 20 were armed only with picks and swords, 4 with brown bills and 12 with shot.

Absent, 60 men. Of these the following details are given :—

<i>Sick in garrison</i>	<i>.. .. .</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Alleged to have run away the day they were cast</i>	<i>.. .. .</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>Alleged to have run away at their first landing at Waterford</i>	<i>.. .. .</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Alleged to be sent for England by the Lord Deputy's pass</i>	<i>.. .. .</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>In Captain Terwith's [?] company</i>	<i>.. .. .</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>The captain at Dublin and four of his men alleged to be with him</i>	<i>.. .. .</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Preacher, surgeon-general and canonier</i>	<i>.. .. .</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Dead-pays</i>	<i>.. .. .</i>	<i>6</i>

Total—60

Of these 60 absent men only one pike and one caliver have been delivered in.

2. Similar details follow in respect to the companies of Captains Roger Terwith [Tirett or Terett], Alexander Crofts, Edward Capell, and Henry Asheley.

The total number of men belonging to these companies and found present was 29 officers and 169 men.

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These were delivered to the following captains :—

<i>Sir Arthur Chichester</i>	81
<i>Sir Richard Morison</i>	20
<i>Sir Francis Ruishe</i>	6
<i>Sir Oliver St. John</i>	6
<i>Sir Francis Stafford</i>	6
<i>Captain Williams</i>	30

*There were seven unserviceable.*Pp. 3. *Signed by John Walrond. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 25A.*5 May.
Dublin.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We have received your lordships' letters of 22 March, 1600, in behalf of Captain Thomas Boorke, grandchild to the late deceased Sir Richard Boorke, who surrendered the title of McWilliam "Eeghter" to the Queen. He claims a patent from the Crown for the lands of which his grandfather was seized at his death, according to a composition made between her Majesty and Sir Richard Boorke, dated September, 1595. You have asked us to consider his claim, [and report] that you may do him justice. We have obtained opinions of it from Sir John Barkley, then Governor of Connaught, from the Chief Justice of Connaught and from her Majesty's counsel here. We send* these. We think that having surrendered the title of McWilliam Eeghter, which is an Irish appellation, he should be given a title of honour.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *Copy. Signed (copies) by the Lord Deputy and eight Privy Councillors, verified by Ra[?] Foxe. Add. Endd. Ibid, 26.*

6 May.
Dublin Castle.

The LORD LIEUTENANT to SECRETARY CECIL.

Captain Thomas Bourke is going over for his private affairs, and asks for my recommendation. I cannot but say that he "has always carried himself like a gallant gentleman," and has constantly furthered the service. I recommend him.

P. $\frac{1}{4}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 27.*

6 May.

LIST of the ARMY in IRELAND as it stood 6 May, 1602.

Gives the names of all the officers in command of troops and companies in Ireland at this date. The names are those which have already appeared in previous lists in this volume and the list is practically identical with that enclosed in the Lord Deputy and Council's letter of 28 April, 1602 (q.v. above, p. 381 sq.).

The total is 1,375 horse and 16,100 foot.

Pp. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$. Endd. Ibid, 28.

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Latest date, LIST OF GRANTS by Letters Patents in IRELAND in QUEEN
May 8. ELIZABETH'S time.

This list gives the names of patentees, the dates of their grants, and the nature of the offices granted.* It also states whether the grant was made by direction out of England or otherwise.

Pp. 7½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 29.*

13 May.
At Court.
at Greenwich.

ABSTRACT of a CONTRACT made with JOHN JOLLES and WILLIAM COCKAINE of London, merchants, for supply of Victuals to the Irish forces.

1. Victuals for 2,800 men for three months to be sent to Carrickfergus

These include :—

Biscuit at 1*lb.* per man for the 84 days,† or meal in the proportion of 12*cwt.* to every 10*cwt.* of biscuit ; or corn after the rate of 8 bushels for 7 bushels and one peck.

Butter at the rate of ½*lb.* per man per day on two days in the week.

Cheese at the rate of 1*lb.* per man per day on two days in the week.

Pork or bacon. 1*lb.* per day per man for one day per week.

Pease, oatmeal or rice with butter for one day in the week, vizt., ¼*lb.* of butter with 1½ pints of white peas or oatmeal, or ½*lb.* of butter with ½*lb.* of rice to a man *per diem.*

Holland's ling or "Newland" fish, vizt., one Newland fish of the larger sort, or one and a half of the lesser sort to each man per day ; or one whole Holland's made ling of the larger sort for five men's allowance for two days in the week.

The total amount of each kind of food given in each case.

Similar details follow regarding the supply of victuals for :—

2,700 men for three months to be sent to Carlingford.

2,000 men for three months to be sent to Loughfoyle.

1,500 men for two months to be sent to Galway.

From the latter store supplies must be sent to Ballyshannon sufficient to serve 1,000 men for two months.

Half of the victuals specified herein to be sent to Ireland before 1 June, and the other half before 1 July.

Pp. 2¾. *Examined by W. Waad. Endd. Ibid, 30.*

15 May.
Carew Castle.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

John Gillett, who bears this, is a "gentleman that hath long followed the State," first in Dublin and then, since before my government in Ireland, as sergeant at arms in Munster. Since James Fitzthomas' rebellion he has never had anything from

* As the grants, if passed, must be on the Irish Patent Roll, and therefore already calendared, I have forborne to give the substance of this document, which at best is secondary evidence of the facts stated in it.

† Apparently the month is taken in this contract at 28 days.

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his office but his bare fee of 20*l. per annum*, but he has willingly and faithfully followed me on all journeys; as much so as when the perquisites of his place afforded him maintenance. He is now going to England by my leave for his private affairs. I recommend him.

P. 3. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 31.

21 May.
Dublin.

THE LORD DEPUTY AND COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We had letters from her Majesty of 31 August and 12 November last for strengthening the new standard and for a proclamation to be issued for that purpose, and for preventing certain disadvantages felt by us here and your lordships in England, namely, "the defrauding of her Majesty's Royal purpose in the alteration of her coin in this realm." We have delayed formal action until the Deputy's return, but, in the meantime, taken such remedial measures as we could "to meet the oppositions and murmurs which might arise in so great a matter, being new to the people, and therefore apt to breed variety of opinions amongst them."

We have now a proclamation ready to "go to the printe," and send it, to shew the reason for our action, by Sir Robert Gardener. He will give further explanations. Pray alter or add to it as you think fit.

We may say that in the preparation of this proclamation and in our other action in the matter, we have kept in view "her Majesty's main purpose, being (as we take it) to withdraw out of this realm the sterling money formerly current here," or at least to do our best that her Majesty's meaning should not be altogether frustrate. Our great difficulty is the unwillingness of the country to embrace this alteration of the coin, "which they interpret to be an innovation, and therefore of harder digestion to them."

By one clause of her Majesty's letters of 12 November last, she prescribed a course that no merchant trading here should bring new moneys into the Exchange here for the purpose of receiving sterling instead, unless at least one-fourth of the total sum delivered in by him for exchange consisted of sterling, "and to be reckoned by the officers of the Exchange but as new moneys for which the parties shall have the officers' bill directed into England to receive their sterling," with a prohibition to the Exchange officers to give them sterling unless they comply with this requirement. We feel sure that her Majesty in making this provision had some good reason (*details*), but after trial we find that it is not well received by her people, and we doubt that "if this course should be eftsoons urged upon them by force of her Majesty's direction by this second proclamation it would stir up greater impugnancies and consequently prepare a way to more inconveniencies than as yet the condition of her Majesty's affairs here can bear." Accordingly, acting on the discretionary power given us by words at the end of her Majesty's letters, we have altered the figure of one-fourth to one-fifth.

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We submit our action and all the other portions of the second proclamation to your countenance, and Sir Robert Gardener will give explanations upon them. He will speak of "the murmurs and backwardness of this people against the settling of the new coin, which they interpret strongly to be done to their prejudice, for that the benefit of the Exchange is not performed to them according to promise in the first proclamation, wherein, albeit there has not wanted on our parts our best endeavours to encourage them and from time to time to use all fit insinuations, yet they finding the course of the Exchange to fail, in which lay the chief hope of their commodity, their distaste of the new coin is the more increased not without tokens of apparent heart-burning and stomach against it. In which respects it may please your lordships to consider how requisite it is to have the Exchange kept in state and maintained as well for staying the grudge of the people as to strengthen her Majesty's purpose to draw from this land the sterling English money, in which point Sir Robert Gardener is further instructed to solicit your lordships, he knowing as well as ourselves that without better countenancing of the Exchange and [providing] that it may be made current according to promise to answer the bills of the subjects, the whole knot of this great business cannot but be in danger to dissolve.

For preventing whereof, and to stop the hard consequences which we foresee are like to break out, we most humbly and earnestly appeal to your lordships for remedy, which, we see, consisteth only in the thorough maintaining of the bank, whereby the Exchange may have full passage; and, by maintaining of the Exchange we doubt not but the alteration of the coin will give great furtherance to the suppression of the rebellion, and be an occasion to make the people more industrious in the commodities which the land yieldeth."

All other matters relating to this government we leave to Sir Robert, who has long been a Privy Councillor here, and can, out of his experience, set forth good courses for reformation. He has proved himself here to be an efficient minister.

In her letters of 4 October last the Queen (when informing me [the Deputy] that 5,000 foot and 250 horse would be sent) left it to my discretion to use them as supplies [reinforcements] or to keep them, or some of them, in companies. Her Majesty also authorised me to pay a number of soldiers above the number allowed by the establishment, provided I received authority for that purpose from six of the Council, of whom the Treasurer and principal Secretary were always to be two. We [the Council] authorised the Deputy, after filling up the weak companies, to retain certain other men as additional forces, and also to keep some Irish horse and foot in pay. Without this the service at Kinsale would hardly have been performed so speedily. We pray for authority to pay these men, so that our proceedings may be warranted.

Pp. 3½. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy and the Archbishop of Dublin, and by Cary, Wingfield, St. Leger and Fenton. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 32. *Enclosing* :—

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A. *Draft of Proclamation regarding the New Coinage in Ireland.**This proclamation was issued 10 June, 1602, and is calendared below at that date.*Pp. 6. *Undated. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 32A.*21 May.
Dublin.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We have sent over Mr. Newcomen, Surveyor of the Victuals, to acquaint you with the state of the store, &c., and to answer any doubts you may have, but chiefly to solicit the making of contracts with victuallers for sending supplies to Ulster, a matter which, we hope, has already been opened by Sir Oliver St. John, with a view to the war against Tyrone this winter. Newcomen is well able to show what our wants are, both generally and in particular cases, and we have given him special instructions as to the amounts of supply wanted and the places at which we wish them to be delivered. We have communicated with him regarding the sending of provisions in such time that they may be stapled and laid up before winter arrives. We beg you to use your "woonted countenance" in this matter, "for therein will rest the chief fruit of the whole service."

Newcomen is, no doubt, well known to your lordships. He has long served here, and is chief of the victualling officers, and has always been "a sufficient, diligent and faithful officer." He has now cleared all his accounts to 31 March last, and we hope he may be soon returned to his task here.

The "general hoasting northward," begins on the 1st of next month, when I, the Deputy, hope to go to the North, having previously allotted the troops to the various places in which they are to be placed for the campaign. Sir Arthur Chichester went hence from Knockfergus three days hence to prepare for the war, and I am sending a messenger to Sir Henry Docwra to be ready at Loughfoyle, but "I doubt he will be able to give me but weak correspondence" unless he is reinforced from England; and I beg that reinforcements may be sent to him. If Loughfoyle garrison is not sufficiently strong, the object of the whole campaign may be lost.

Pp. 1½. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop of Dublin, and Wingfield, St. Leger and Fenton. *Add. Endd. Ibid, 33.*

About
21 May.
Dublin.

The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

I am better, but not yet really strong, and unable to write much by reason of some pain that yet remains in my head. I have sent up the forces to the North, and Sir Oliver Lambert has gone to Court, and on all sides action will now shortly be taken. Sir Henry Docwra has taken Ballyshannon. Banigher [?]* O'Cane made some inroads into Tyrone, and the rest daily take some

* The Lord Deputy during his illness writes very badly.

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preys and have some killing of the enemy. "Nothing grieveth me and confoundeth me more than [the facts that] if I frame the war as it is fit against these rebels, I shall be unprovided if the Spaniards come [and that] if I stand in expectation of the Spaniards I shall lose this year against the rebels." The only news which we have here is from Irishmen that come out of Spain, and they receive whatsoever they do not see from Irish fugitives there, and both are "extreme liars"; so I beg that if you have any news from Spain you will let us hear it soon. *Details.* I recommend the bearer for what he is worth. I do not commend for everything those whom I do commend; for a man may be *bonus vir* and not *bonus civis*.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 34.

About
21 May.
Dublin.

THE LORD DEPUTY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

I have refused the Earl of Kildare's application for leave to go over, though he has urgent affairs to bring him to England. But as he is "a great and worthy Earl in this kingdom," and his alliance to me challenges more than ordinary favour, I recommend his suits to your favour, and hope that he may not lose by his absence here which is occasioned for the advancement of the service.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid,* 35.

28 May.
Dublin.

GERALD, EARL OF KILDARE TO SAME.

I must be troublesome to you in the matter of my suit to the Queen for reversion of the lands of my predecessors, which are to revert to her Highness by the decease of the old Countess of Kildare, my aunt. I know you will favour me in this matter; and your favour will cause me to prevail. I have spent my life in the Queen's service, and, to discharge debts incurred therein, have sold the best part of my patrimony there. The lands I now sue for were formerly granted to my uncle in lieu of other lands granted to others of the ancient inheritance of my house. Pray remember this. I rely on your favour next after that of her Majesty. My estate will be very miserable unless she grants my request.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid,* 36.

29 May.
Carew's Castle,
near Bantry
Abbey.

SIR GEORGE CAREW TO SAME.

I have not written since I left Cork on 23 April. I arrived here on the 30th of April, at a castle of which only the ruins remain, and have been here ever since. The castle was built by my ancestors, and is now called by the Irish "Dunne Marcke." Till the 14th I had to wait for the victuals and provisions which left Cork before I rose with the army; but had been detained at sea by contrary winds. I have not dared to cross the Bay of Bantry, and we have had such storms of rain and wind that

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our ships have been in danger even riding in the harbour. These have, however, now abated, and I hope in five days to be at my work before Dunboy. It is distant but 24 miles by land; but through such mountainous and boggy land and with so many straights that 100 men would hold it against 5,000. No horse can be led in it, and "for the best of it three men cannot march in front and in most places but in file."

When I heard of the impossibility of getting to the place by land, I resolved to cross the Bay of Bantry by sea and land the army as near Dunboy as conveniently I might. Accordingly, on the 15th, I sent all my garrons and horses back to Cork, and eased the army of any impediments I might, hoping that we should not be windbound; for in fact the weather here has not been different from the weather usual in January except for the shortness of the nights. If we had gone by land, as I wished to do, we would have "run a hard fortune" for the soldiers could not take more than six days' provision with them, and in less than six days we could not have got to Dunboy; for four miles a day is a great march in these parts; and, the wind standing as it hath done, we had starved.

Tyrrell and William Burke, the two principal captains of buonies, keep in the fastness of Glengarve to impeach my passage by land. Their own force consists of 1,200 by poll and all the Munster rebels, not exceeding 400; for since I came into the field most of them have run from their leaders, "and themselves do sue to be received, but, being men of land, I do refuse them. Of the old traitors, there is McMaurence, the Knight of [the] Valley, and John Fitzthomas; of new revolts the Knight of Kerry, O'Sulevan Beare, O'Connor Kerry, and Sir Fynin O'Driscoll's son and heir." All the rest of Munster are reduced, including Kerry and Desmond; "which happened by a good blow that Sir Charles Wilmot gave to O'Sulevan More, whose son and heir, Florence's nephew, was then in action. This service, was performed by the help of one of O'Sulevan More's brothers called Dermond O'Sulevan, and Donald McCartie, bastard son to the Earl of Clancare. He took out of his country 5,000 cows which hath made O'Sulevan More's son unable any more to give any bon-naught as he did, and utterly wasted that country. The reason that moved Dermond O'Sulevan to draw this draught and Donell McCartie to join in it, was the fear that one had that I would hang his son which was his pledge in Castle Mayne, and the hope the other hath that her Majesty will be pleased to give him the 28 ploughlands which she gave him at his being in England, and [which were] afterwards taken from him by Florence McCarty." I think the Queen would do well to "bestow that rough and mountainous land upon him, unfit for an honest man to dwell upon." He is honestly inclined to live a subject, and when he rebels he is at all times able to carry 1,000 men with him to do mischief. He may be kept loyal by giving to him that small portion of land which was his father's, whereby all Desmond will be contained in obedience. I hope he will succeed in his suit in England for the land.

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On the 13th of this month Dermond Moyle McCartie was slain by some of O'Donevan's men commanded by Fynin McCartie, his cousin german. McCartie Reoghe came in also at the end of the fight. The cause of the dispute was that some cows were taken away from McCartie Reoghe's tenants. They were followed by Fynin, one of Sir Owen McCartie's sons. In the first encounter Dermond Moyle was shot, whereupon his men fled, not above twelve men were killed and hurt on both sides. Now that he is dead everyone strives to have thanks for it, which I distribute plentifully to all. But really they were sorry; for they hid his body and swear they do not know where he is buried, "fearing, as indeed I had pretended, that I would send his head to Cork." Florence will pretend, and swear, that he is glad his brother is gone; but let me impress on you that his chief hope was that Dermond, by doing mischief in Ireland, would work his enlargement. "He had a far better wit, more valiant, and of loose men better beloved and followed, than Florence" and Florence hoped to establish his fortune by him when he was a rebel and after his arrest. All the rest of Munster, as Carbery, Desmond, Kerry, Muskerry and Dowalla are left waste, for in them the rebels dare not stay, and I have commanded the subjects to carry their cattle to the east part of the counties of Cork and Limerick, whereby the buonies, after they have eaten O'Sulevan Beare's cattle, will have no means of remaining in the province. They have of their own and O'Sulevan's about 7,000 head, of which they consume each night 50. The country is weary of the charge having no hope from other parts of the province; "but O'Sulevan, seeing his case desperate, gives over his followers to the spoil of the buonies, who keep these poor men and their cattle in the streights and fastnesses of the country of Beare." The buonies are weary of Munster and wish to depart, and some overtures in that sense have been made to me, and when we are almost agreed Archer the Jesuit confirms new leagues between them, each fearing that he will be betrayed to me. I have done my best to encourage that idea. Every week that "traiterly" priest administers the Sacrament to them; yet I hope to sow such sedition among them that they will break.

Since my coming hither they never showed themselves but once when we had a slight skirmish. The next day Tyrrell desired to speak with me; but I refused. He obtained leave to speak with the Earl of Tomond, but, when the hour came, Archer O'Sulevan and McMaurice found means to prevent his coming to the parley. The buonies and the Munster men now are jealous of each other, and I think they will break apart. To encourage the buonies the enclosed letters were sent out of Dunboy Castle. I am told by one who brought them out that the letter in Spanish was counterfeited [forged] by Archer to make the buonies believe that help from Spain would come soon. The censure of the Spanish doctors was also, I think, forged by him, for so far as I know, no shipping came out of Spain in March which could have brought it. The censure is spread abroad in Munster and "poisons with terror" the loyal subjects both in town and country. "Every day where he is he preaches his divellish doctrine of

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rebellion, calling the Queen King Pharoah, the rebels the afflicted Israelites, and himself arrogates the name of Moses," and promising help from Spain. I hear he means to abide the siege of Dunboy, which has been fortified "by the advice of the Spaniards, and other Low Country soldiers of this country birth that are in it, with a strong rampart of earth twenty feet thick, and in height a pike's length and more and well flanked." The top of the castle is taken down almost to the level of the rampart and strongly vaulted; and on this and the rampart they have placed their ordnance.

This was a toilsome task for the ground about the castle is all rocky and the earth was fetched from far off. By the next I hope to tell you that I have won it; and then you shall have an exact plot of it and of all the havens of Baltimore and Berehaven with Bantry Bay. Of late they have also begun to work in the island of the Durseys, seven miles to the westward of Dunboy. To this they have taken three pieces of artillery. This shows that they think they may lose Dunboy, and they cannot hope to sustain a long war in the inland when they thus seek out a barren rocky island to hide themselves in. If they had not of late taken a Galway ship laden with corn and wine, the buonies would have been gone already, for before that they had no drink nor bread, but have lived for two months on beef and water. They must do so again when the contents of the Galway ship are consumed, which must be soon. The Munster men make great store of the ship, purposing when the buonies have gone, and Dunboy is lost, to use her to carry themselves to Spain. I have not yet written to the Lords [of the Council] and, if I had done so, could only have repeated what I have said here; but I intend to send them a full journal from Dunboy.

When the Earl of Thomond came back from England he brought letters from the Queen authorising the Lord Deputy, if he thought well, to make Thomond part of Munster, as it anciently was. It remained so for four or five hundred years, until Sir Edward Fitton was Governor of Connaught, when he got leave to attach it to that province. It was afterwards re-annexed to Munster when Sir William Drury was President here. Sir Nicholas Malby had it re-joined again to Connaught, and it remained so until the government of the country was committed to my lord of Thomond.* Personally, I care not to which it is joined, and have enough and too much to do to govern the territory committed to me; but I hope that, in the interests of her Majesty's service, it will not be joined to Connaught without careful consideration, for there are many inconveniences in keeping it part of that province, and the only reason which is alleged for doing so is the fact that it lies west of the river Shannon. The Shannon, however, is not in fact so good a boundary as appears from the map; for there are upon it above twenty fords over which horse and man may pass. "The inclination of Thomond men will never agree with Connaught, and let me prophesy that which will

* Carew spells the name both "Tomond" and "Thomond."

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prove true—if it be annexed to Connaught, the State will repent it, for it will be a continual cause of disturbance in that province.”

I could say more if I were with you ; but now only ask that it may remain as it is until my Lord of Thomond goes again to England, when, I think, reason will prevail. His lordship intends to go to England purposely on this point. When the Lord Deputy came to Munster, he said that he would make Thomond part of it, but I hear now that this is not to be done, and that Sir Oliver Lambert is to be governor of it. I hope you will favour the Earl of Thomond, not because I love him or he loves you, “but because he is the first and last of Ireland birth that ever I found wholly addicted to the Queen as he is. For her sake he is hated of all his nation, and if he be not respected in some extraordinary sort above others of his country, I know his heart will break, and will quit his country and serve her in England.” I should regret this for, believe me, he is worth esteeming in this country.

Details.

P.S.—(1) The bearer will bring a foster-son of mine to kiss your hands. He is, “as the phrase of this country is used, a good father’s son.”

(2) Three days ago Parker, the gunner of the *Triumph*, died. He is a great loss to me. I must now play the gunner myself, for though I have many men who call themselves gunners, there is not one in whom I can trust.

“Archer the priest conjures this foul weather, which I do partly believe, for the old men here never saw the like May. If he remain in Dunboy I hope to conjure his head in a halter. He hath a fellow divell to help him, one Dominick Collins, a friar, who in his youth was a scholar and brother to him that this last year was Mayor of Youghal.”

Pp. 6½. (*Hol.*) *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 211, 37.

31 May. NOTE of the BOATS kept in LOUGH SIDNEY or LOUGH EAUGH [Lough Neagh] for her Majesty’s service, and of the charge thereof.

These are :—One barque, close decked, of 30 tons, one boat of 14 tons, and two at 10 tons, and three smaller boats to load and unload the victuals and munition and other matters of service.

The charge of the barque and boats is, for the master, shipwrights and men, 721*l.* 5*s.* 1½*d.*, besides the charge for cable, sails, tackle, &c., necessary to make the boats fit to assist in crushing Tyrone.

Captain Hugh Clotworthy, who is well recommended by Sir Arthur Chichester for his diligent services on the lake, was dealt with to undertake the maintenance of the barque and boats, but could not be brought to a lower figure than 1,000*l.* per annum, of which he asks that half be paid in England in sterling money. Although, on consideration, I found this to be a good offer to her Majesty, yet I brought him down to the 721*l.* 5*s.* 1½*d.* mentioned above, as well for his own pay as for

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that of the men aforesaid and the tackle. He is also to receive 400*l.* by exchange in England to make his provision there (because Ireland does not yield them) and the balance paid here. This balance is to be paid in the new standard, and is not to be exchanged. I approve this course if their lordships approve it.

Pp. 2. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 38.

[May.]

MEMORIAL delivered to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL by THOMAS WATSON, agent for and on behalf of SIR GEORGE CARY, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, and resolutions thereon by the COUNCIL.

He asks that as the Earl of Kildare does nothing to free Ophaly (of which he is made governor by an order out of England and with great entertainment) from buonies and other rebels, the Lord Deputy should appoint some special officer for that government, and that the English gentlemen "of good living and command in those parts" as Warren, Cooley and Moore, be required to repair there forthwith, and not live obscurely in Dublin, which causes their country to be much weakened. These gentlemen say they dare not live in Ophaly because the Earl of Kildare's friendship is very great with the Geraldines and others in that country who often prey and spoil it, without resistance. Sir George Cary thinks that the best way to avoid this is to draw the Earl and his company away to service in some distant place, and place another company in Ophaly. Sir George hopes that some steps will be taken in the matter but that your lordships will not let it appear that your action is due to a suggestion from him, for he is already hated by the Irish as having done faithful service to the Queen.

Answer.—The Lord Deputy is to take the Earl of Kildare to the North. The gentlemen mentioned to be ordered to Ophaly.

2. Sir George has made up the number of Irish soldiers in the Queen's army in Ireland. They are 2,800 foot and 325 horse, "under the leading of the Irishry and the soldiers mere Irish." He thinks it is prejudicial to the service, and hopes that a course may be taken to diminish the number without discontent to the Irish.

Answer.—This matter is left to the judgment of the Lord Deputy.

3. Sir George desires directions as to how to deal with supplies of men sent from England when they arrive here [in Dublin?].

How shall imprests received from them be defalked and what course taken as to paying them?

Answer.—Already decided.

4. He begs that the new supplies of men sent over be not distributed into bands in England but sent over under conductors. If this is done the list need not be increased, the new men, as they come, being drafted into the weak companies which are already on the establishment. By sending over new companies her Majesty's service is not assisted and her charge increased. Such officers are soon cast and are often overpaid by their imprests received

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in England: and their men and arms lost before they can be drafted into established companies.

Answer.—The forces now sent are sent in the manner suggested, and new captains appointed.

5. Great advantages have been gained by the issuing of the new monies: but, to sustain that issue the banks must be furnished with money. The Treasurer is personally blamed if the banks are not kept up “as hath appeared by divers libels and slanderous reports thrown up and down Dublin to his great grief.”

Answer.—Their lordships will take care thereof.

6. It is quite impossible to require from all persons who bring in the new coins to the banks that they should bring in 25 per cent of such money in the form of standard coin. Mariners, colliers from Wales and Newcastle, victuallers from England and merchant strangers cannot do this, and think it a grievance that they should be asked to do it. The Treasurer asks for power to “vary from the proclamation,” and for directions as to whom your lordships would have favoured in this matter.

Answer.—The directions cannot be altered.

7. The Treasurer has sent over his accounts, completed to 31 March, 1602, and prays that the auditors may promptly go into them.

Answer.—This will be ordered.

8. The Treasurer has bought 450*l.* of the old standard money of Ireland, and has paid 1*s.* in the 1*l.* profit on it, so that it has cost the Queen about 500*l.* The old moneys are as much in bulk as 2,000*l.* of the new and worth, to be sold, 400*l.* sterling. The Treasurer asks for directions as to how he shall dispose of this money, which is now in the hands of Thomas Watson; and prays for payment of the sums he has expended in this way or for a warrant to allow himself something on account.

Answer.—A privy seal is to be procured for receiving this money and for the allowance.

9. A Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland should be sent over at once. Pending his arrival much of the Exchequer business is kept waiting.

Answer.—This will be done.

10. Mr. Auditor Peyton lately obtained your lordships' letters to the Lord Deputy for discharging of Mr. Ware, Auditor of Wars, and of his fee of 13*s.* 4*d.* a day. Mr. Ware has been discharged of his fee and office (as a useless office) since 31 January, 1599 [1600]. Peyton now claims the fee of 13*s.* 4*d.* a day paid to Ware, which was erected by the Earl of Essex.

Answer.—Peyton shall only have the fee mentioned in his patent, and only do that which belongs to his office. Letters to be written accordingly.

Pp. 2½. *Add. Endd.* with date. *S.P. Ireland* 211, 39.

About
May.

* to [ARCHER, the Jesuit?].

To write you all my mind it were tedious, for there [are] so many alterations that I cannot conject the least opinion of

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their mind. Such treacherous thieves as hath rebelled against the Catholic Church after giv[ing] their oath and sacrament are now become the most envious and eagerest dogs to serve against the Catholics. The Governor is come to Ardtely [?] with 500 soldiers. Donell McCarthy came with him. Manus O'Donnell, that wicked member, is bound to serve the Governor by his own confession that he shall plant a garrison at Arde or in the church by West Arde called Kilmakillog, and lead the English forces as far as Berehaven. They are preparing this fast [?] ship and other boats about to try to sink [?] that French barque, for they fear mightily that the nobility might embark themselves for Spain.

Wherefore you may look to this and to all others if it pleased God to work it well. The gent[leman] prays your lordship to licence him to come to hear his ordinary mass if it be no more.
Details.

I am to desire you to take great heed of many, especially of merchantmen. It is reported that you departed the mountains and went towards Waterford. Write no date on your letters, and let no man in the world nor any of our special men know or smell of your journey in anywhere.

I am here in as great danger as any man that liveth for these [?]. My letters are to shew against me and I think Donell McCarthy works the best against me.

I commend myself into [unto] our Lord. If you get any way over seas procure after [? *] for myself, for surely my friends shall forsake me.

P.S.—Donell O'Sullivan is in a troublesome case and fears mightily to appear before Englishmen, and I think [is ready], if he could get any means, to go over seas rather than to commit himself to their treacherous hands.

Pp. 21¹. *Written* badly and apparently by some person ill-acquainted with English. *Endd.*: "A letter without name or direction, written as I suppose to Archer the Jesuit about the time that Sir Charles Wilmot came with his regiment to join with me, *the President*,† at the camp at Castle Carew, by Bantry." *S.P. Ireland* 211, 40.

May.

DRAFT of the QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY.

You write that the Bishopric of Clonfert is vacant and recommend the Bishop of Kilmacough [Kilmacduagh], on the petition of the inhabitants of Galway, for the see, as both sees are small and "scant able to maintain a man of that place in honest condition." We grant your request. The Bishop of Kilmacduagh is to hold Clonfert in *commendam*. Warrant our Chancellor there to make out all patents, &c., necessary to give him spiritual jurisdiction and the temporalities, as his predecessors had them.

P. 1/2. *Endd.* with date. *Ibid*, 41.

* Document imperfect here.

† The words in italics are in Sir George Carew's own hand, which makes it likely that the letter was endorsed shortly after it was intercepted.

JUNE, 1602.

1602.
1 June.TABLE showing the sums due at the Exchange in LONDON on
Bills of Exchange sent from the four Exchanges in Ireland.

<i>Name, &c.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Joseph Crewe, of Dublin, baker	175	15	0
Michael Butler, of London, merchant	475	0	0
Edward Erby, " " " "	200	0	0
John Shelton, of Dublin	160	0	0
John Smith, of London	50	0	0
John Mockett, of Weymouth	168	0	0
Denis Rouse, of Southampton, sailor	30	0	0
John Large, of Dublin, merchant	50	0	0
Antony Skinner, of London, merchant	210	0	0
Thomas Ashe, gentleman-usher to the Lord Deputy	100	0	0
Henry Kelly, of Dublin, merchant	100	0	0
Richard Cooke, Secretary to the Lord Deputy	120	0	0
Francis Last, of Cork, merchant	100	0	0
Richard Cornelius, of Southampton	259	0	0
John Mockett, of Weymouth, merchant	137	16	4
Francis White, of London, merchant	740	0	0
Robert Cutt, of London, ironmonger	684	0	0
John Cusack, of Dublin, merchant	765	4	6
Henry Dillon, of London, gentleman	95	0	0
Lawrence Hunter, of Carrickfergus, merchant	72	19	10
Sir Arthur Chichester	63	0	0
George Lucar, of Waterford, merchant	211	0	0
Thomas Gough, of Waterford, merchant	263	10	0
Nicholas Laughe, of Waterford, merchant	211	0	0
Captain William Windsor	52	10	0
Cobbam Dove, of Dover, mariner	60	0	0
Humfry May, Gentleman Usher to the Lord Deputy	70	0	0
Henry, Lord Primate of Armagh	200	0	0
Christopher Percivale, Commissary of Victuals	400	0	0
William Barnes, of London, merchant	70	0	0
Hugh Peard, of Bristol, grocer	105	0	0
Peter Dermott, of Dublin, apothecary	100	0	0
Peter Dermott, apothecary	400	0	0
Thomas Allen, of London, merchant	300	0	0
John Gilbert, of London, grocer	500	0	0
Mr. Wilbrum, Master of the Requests	149	12	6
Henry Boyle, of the Middle Temple	106	0	0
Mathias Springham, of London, merchant	500	0	0
Alexander Pallace, of London, merchant	100	0	0
Sir Oliver St. John	80	0	0
William Hill, of Limerick, merchant	140	0	0
Sir John Dowdall	110	0	0
Sir William Godolphin (two bills)	400	0	0
Nicholas Curtis, Clerk of the Council in Munster	26	15	0

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<i>Name, &c.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Thomas, Bishop [<i>sic</i>] of Dublin	200	0	0
Sir Garrett Aylmer	30	0	0
Captain Slingsby	105	0	0
Allen Apsley, Commissary of the Victuals ..	100	0	0
Thomas, Bishop of Meath	130	0	0
Humfry May, Gentleman Usher to the Lord Deputy	70	0	0
Richard Otway, of London, draper	130	0	0
John Cutler, of London, merchant	200	0	0
Captain Roger Bellings	200	0	0
Captain Henry Clare	100	0	0
Sir Richard Wingfield	250	0	0
Sir Oliver Lambert	400	0	0
Richard Mousedale, of London, merchant (two bills)	100	0	0
Lewis Clotworthy, of Cork, merchant	60	0	0
John Travis, of Cork, gentleman	13	0	0
Margaret Keare, widow	10	0	0
Captain H. Sackford	105	0	0
Lewis Rogers, surgeon to the army	110	0	0
John Smith, sadler to the army	20	0	0
Clement Ford, of Carrickfergus, gentleman ..	30	0	0
John Shelton, of Dublin, merchant	432	0	0
John Vanderbeake, merchant stranger	61	0	0
Total, 12,147 <i>l.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>			

There is owing at the Exchange at Chester, as is certified by Richard Parkins, the agent there, 3,700*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*, and at Bristol, as certified by Walter Willson, agent there, 3,200*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

Towards answering this total debt of over 19,000*l.* there has been received, by order, dated June 1, 3,000*l.*, so that a debt of over 16,000*l.* remains.

Pp. 2. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 42.

THE LORD DEPUTY AND COUNCIL TO THE ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

2 June.
Dublin.

By a clause in her Majesty's letters of 4 October last, she directed us to consider the question of reannexing Clare or Thomond to Munster, and to make an order for reannexation if we did not find it prejudicial to her service to do so. We have considered the matter carefully, and now send, in writing, several reasons against the alteration and shall await instructions before going further. We shall obey her Majesty's said letter in regard to the Earl of Thomond.

I, the Deputy, start to-morrow for the North, and have appointed the small helps growing out of the general hosting, which consists only of carriages, to meet me at Dundalk. I shall get to work at once and it will go on well if the supplies asked for have been sent to Loughfoyle. If not, as I hear of no companies out of Munster, where the force is 1,500 above the former list of 3,000, I fear the main prosecution will be weakened through want of a sufficient force to give continuance to it at first.

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We shall also be hindered by lack of beeves, carriage-garrons, &c., from the Pale, but hope to atone, by our wonted alacrity, for these deficiencies.

P. 3. Signed by the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop of Dublin, and Cary, St. Leger, Fenton and Wingfield. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 43. Enclosing :—

A. *Some reasons for keeping Clare or Thomond in Connaught, and not joining it to Munster.*

1. *The great river Shannon runs between them and forms a natural boundary.*

2. *Munster is already of greater size than Connaught, "and hath in it many cities and walled towns where Connaught hath only the town of Galway and the wast town of Athenry." Details.*

3. *If Thomond be joined to Munster [in case of] "such stealths and bodragges as would be annually made in the parts of Connaught, and particularly out of Clanrickard, which bordereth upon it, the poor people spoiled must be driven to appeal to another province for restitution; and so would Thomond be made a den or sink to receive all stealths that should be put over into it out of Connaught and cover all malefactors and thieves that would resort thither," for it would be too tedious to the distressed subjects to follow their stealths into a foreign province.*

3. *Connaught has many enemies of Ulster lying upon it, as O'Donnell and O'Rorke, who have lately harried it to the gates of Galway. They were never strong enough (in Connaught) to resist these, but will be even less strong if Thomond be taken from them, which is their principal strength.*

It may be dangerous to consent to the separating of Thomond from Connaught, "for that in all times heretofore there have been civil broils and dissensions between the families of the O'Brians, being lords of Thomond, and the city and county of Limerick, insomuch as great effusion of blood has passed amongst them, being then but borderers upon one another." But if now they are made to live under one government, "it would increase their jars and make them stomach one another the more; and so out of their private disagreements would never be wanting occasions to feed a public disturbance in both the provinces."

4. *If Thomond is joined to Munster it would carry away from Connaught so much of her Majesty's composition and other rents as are due and rated upon that county of Clare, which was formerly assigned towards "defraying of the province of Connaught."*

P. 13. Add. Endd. Ibid, 43A.

3 June.

NOTES of certain MATTERS which their Lordships think should be considered.

1. Steps to be taken to moderate the Exchange, and that it be not overcharged. A reasonable figure to be set down, limiting

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what every captain shall set over by the Exchange. It may be reasonable, *e.g.*, to limit him to one whole year's entertainment, and to say that if he brings that sum to the Exchange he shall pay in $\frac{1}{5}$ th part in bullion, and swear that the money is his own.

Note in margin.—This matter of the captains may be forborne yet.

2. What course should be taken when merchants offer to bring money into the Exchange, considering the great abuse that is discovered therein?

3. The merchants of London that have made over money upon the Exchange to be examined what wares they sent over from hence into Ireland to countervail the money delivered by them into the Exchange.

4. The merchants of England who ship goods to Ireland are to bring a certificate from the officer of the customs to the Lord Treasurer saying how much goods they transport, and a letter is to be written to his lordship to give direction therein to all the officers of the ports.

5. Irish merchants who bring money into the Exchange on pretence that they will buy goods in England for transportation to Ireland must enter into bonds to employ the money here [in England] accordingly. After making the purchase of such goods they shall furnish the Lord Treasurer here with a certificate from the officers of the customs in England shewing how they have employed the said money.

6. No merchant shall bring any money to the Exchange there to buy goods in England to be transported thither; but, upon due certificate of the goods bought, they shall be allowed to put so much upon the Exchange as they employ there.

7. The proclamation lately made in Ireland concerning the Exchange to be printed here, with such additions as their lordships shall think meet.

8. The Treasurer of Ireland to be written to, to let him know the abuse their lordships have discovered by bills of exchange bought by the merchants of London, who do not send wares there from hence but sell them at their shops. The Treasurer should be warned to receive no bills of Exchange there, but for wares sent directly from hence by merchants according to the late proclamation and since the new "quoyne" was current.

9. A letter to be written to the Lord Deputy for speedily taking the accounts of the Commissaries for the Victuals.

10. The victuallers to send a commissary at once to Ballyshannon.

11. The Treasurer of Ireland to be shewn, by letter, why the Queen should not pay the bills of Exchange of the merchants of London, and to be directed to give back again all the new current money he hath received of them to the factors of the English merchants; and for the bullion such allowance shall be made to them as is appointed by the proclamation.

12. The Treasurer is to be written to to continue the weekly lendings to the soldier notwithstanding the late warrant, in regard her Majesty is compelled to provide and send over some apparel at this season.

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13. The Lord Deputy to be informed of the determination taken here (after conference with Sir Oliver St. John) to provide summer apparel here, and consequently that there be further lendings until other directions are given. He should be asked to consider advisedly whether the captains will be able to provide winter apparel for the soldiers in time, and how her Majesty shall be secured for the imprest [he] shall receive to that end, and the soldiers [be] well used. If he thinks it fit to continue the apparelling here he [should be told to] report to that effect before 12 July, so that provision may be made in time.

Sir Oliver St. John requested the Council that provision of victuals might henceforward be made in butter, cheese, oatmeal, pease and rice.

Pp. 2½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 44.

4 June.
Dublin.

SIR THEOBALD DILLON to SECRETARY CECIL.

Polite messages. I hope ere long the rebels will be ruined. Sir Oliver Lambert has gone into Connaught; and I would he or some other honest man had gone there long since, before myself and all mine were altogether banished and spoiled, only for want of assistance. My 100 foot are in the North since they came from Kinsale. My lord could do nothing for me since you wrote in my behalf, and I cannot recover my castles which are in the possession of the rebels or revenge the killing of my kindred and servants. My loss cannot in my time be made good. I have never been able to rise my company to avenge myself and my friends, and have not been in my own country these six years, except when I went on service against the rebellious Boorkes, who are my constant enemies. I have no more charge or employment at this time than the meanest captain in the kingdom. I often served in the field with 100 foot and 30 horse without charge to the Queen, as Sir William Russell, who is now there, knows. Pray authorise the Lord Deputy, who is anxious to do what he can for me, to give me such employment as he thinks me worthy of to settle me in my living. I will see this summer's service before I ask leave to go to Court.

I have always wished that the Lord Deputy should live at Athlone, which is the only place from which he can bring this kingdom to civility. If this were done, no governor would be necessary in Connaught.

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 45.

4 June.

DEMANDS made by the LORD DEPUTY for Victualling the Army in IRELAND.

He asks for victuals for :—	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
3,000 men at Loughfoyle and 1,800 men at Galway, costing	14,280	0	0
2,500 men at Carrickfergus and 2,500 men at Carlingford for four months, costing ..	9,916	13	4

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3,000 men at Dublin for four months, <i>i.e.</i> for	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1,500 actual men, and a store of provisions			
for 1,500 more, which can be sent to various			
garrisons as required	5,950	0	0

Their lordships think that the following supplies will be sufficient:—

The amount actually required at Loughfoyle	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
and Ballyshannon does not for various			
reasons [<i>details</i>] exceed	5,950	0	0

Victuals need only be sent to Carrickfergus			
for 1,500 men for five months	3,718	15	0

Ditto to Galway for 1,000 men for five			
months	2,479	3	8

Thus the total amount required by the Lord Deputy would cost 30,146*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; whilst the amount considered necessary by the Council can be had for 12,147*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*

P. 1½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 46.

5 June.
Dublin.

MEMORANDUM by SIR GEOFFREY FENTON on Lord Delvin's case.

On the 3rd of June Lord Delvin was committed to the Castle; and is now a prisoner ill in body and unsound in heart. This is the second or third time of his restraint from which he has been set at liberty rather by the Queen's clemency than by his own innocence. Considering how far the dangers of Ireland have been increased by his remissness and that of others, it would be well to have him "touched thoroughly" as a punishment for himself and as a deterrent to others. For this purpose we should look back to the Earl of Essex's conspiracy; with whom he was consenting if not actually confederate. Udall and the Earl of Southampton can throw light on their conspiracy. Udall observed it, and the Earl was very inward with Delvin at the time of Essex's discontentment with the state of England, "and by consequence sought to practise combinations with the Irish." These will give evidence to touch Delvin thoroughly, and discover others against whom there is suspicion, but no actual evidence. Delvin will try to excuse himself by saying that he was a commander on the borders and had leave to play with traitors and send spies among them under colour of service. He used this authority rather to practise combination with the rebels than to serve the Queen. This is shewn by the fact that he allowed Tyrone, in his passages to Munster, to pass through Delvin four different times without trying to stop him. This was evidence of complicity in Tyrone's designs, seeing that Lord Delvin was placed where he was to guard the "straytes" and passages of those borders. When Tyrone was at Kinsale his brother Cormack, the second chief rebel, wrote very intimately to Delvin for news. This letter was brought to the Council, and we delivered it to Mr. Treasurer; and we think that the messenger who brought it brought also other private messages to Delvin. Moreover, Terleogh McShane O'Reilly, a principal man with Tyrone, confessed to me that

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when Tyrone was on the frontiers of the Pale and about to break foray into Delvin's country, Delvin sent a messenger who had conference with Tyrone, and that, after that conference, Tyrone withdrew his order for the foray; and, when some of his men had taken from some of Delvin's men cows and other goods, he had them promptly restored to the messenger, which is further evidence of conspiracy between Delvin and Tyrone. I send McShane's confession, which he made before he was arraigned or condemned.

Delvin is now sick and may die; so if the Queen desires to benefit by his lands or discover his treason a commission should issue at once to have him thoroughly examined and "convinced" here if he cannot be sent for trial in England. We have no directions on this point yet, and I think they should be sent. Meantime evidence should be collected against him.

Pp. 3. (*Hol.*) *Signed. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 47.

COLLECTION of SUMS due by MERCHANTS of IRELAND to
MERCHANTS of ENGLAND for Goods delivered before the
erection of the Exchanges:—

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To John Gilbert, of London	1,961	10	8
„ Michael Butler „	388	11	9
„ Martin Smith „	908	0	0
„ Martin Springham „	298	13	7
„ Edward Erby „	290	0	0
„ Edward Allen „	290	19	7
„ John Wright „	2,395	12	8
„ Francis White „	1,101	3	4
„ Robert Churchman „	822	13	9
„ John Churchman „	1,108	8	6
„ Randall Dye „	155	6	10

The total is 10,409*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* The nature of the goods (haberdashery, woollen cloth, groceries, &c.) is stated in each case.

Since the erection of the Exchanges the aforesaid merchants have delivered [for sale in Ireland?] goods to the value of 11,229*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

The moneys which these merchants demand on bills of exchange depending unpaid amount to 5,734*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*

The moneys which the aforesaid merchants have received upon bills of Exchange since the erection are 4,842*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*

P. 1. *Endd. Ibid,* 48.

6 June.
Mellifont.

The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

We hope by this journey to settle such garrisons as will utterly ruin and banish Tyrone. The end may come sooner than we think "since all the rebels begin to forsake him and sue for peace." I would willingly give them this on the hardest conditions I can. "Tyrone doth continually importune me to be received to mercy, but I have found it so dangerous by the examples of

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others to meddle with him in that kind, as I have hitherto stood off. I protest I am afraid to deal with him. Yet when he is at his lowest I think him fittest to be received, if he cannot be otherwise cut off, and, for some reasons, fitter than any other to be again established in his country. He seemed to make offer to come to me upon my own terms, the which, to deal plainly with you, I was loth to hearken unto, for if I should thereupon stay him I should do that which is against my honour, [and] if I should not it may be I should get displeasure. In general terms he protesteth to do anything for her Majesty's pleasure, but if he were to be taken in I know no other assurance of him than these garrisons I am now resolved to plant." If not let me know "how far with confidence I may proceed with him." I will trouble you further when I hear from Sir Oliver St. John about my own estate, "which first I desire to make profitable to my country if not yet free to myself and not troublesome to my friends."

"Sir, I beseech you to believe that the more I do know you the more I do love you, and that my heart doth now constantly resolve to prefer your friendship before any worldly fortune, and to merit your favours by anything you will command me; and, Sir, I beseech God to give me the ability to shew myself not unworthy of your love, and send you all the happiness your own heart doth desire.

Yours, Sir, most faithful to do you service,

MOUNTJOY.*

P. 1½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 49.

9 June.
Dublin Castle.

PROCLAMATION by the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Her Majesty finds that in former times, as shewn by ancient records, and later in the times of Kings Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Edward VI and Queen Mary, the coinage in Ireland differed from that in England.* She finds also that, for the maintenance of her army in Ireland, it is necessary to send over continually huge masses of her treasure, which have been carried into foreign countries contrary to her laws. Moreover, much of her sterling has got into the hands of the rebels, who have thereby furnished themselves with all things necessary. For reformation of these evils the Queen "in her Princely wisdom and with the advice of her most honourable Privy Council," has thought it well to reduce the moneys of Ireland to the same standard which has formerly been used. She therefore issued her late Proclamation of 20 May, 1601,† declaring that these new monies should be current and none others, and decried and called in all other moneys, ordering that after July 10, 1601, the new moneys alone should be used; and that the decried moneys should be deemed but bullion and brought into the Exchange. Now, however, the

* The preamble to the proclamation consists, as usual, of one very long sentence, which, for clearness, I have broken up.

† See the last volume of this Calendar, p. 350; but the substance of the proclamation is not given there, so I give it here.

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merchants and others of Ireland do not obey this Proclamation, but still buy and sell and traffic with the decreed moneys, and, for their private gain, do keep Exchanges amongst themselves and do not bring in the decreed moneys to the Exchange, whereby they incur liability to be punished as her Majesty by her Royal Prerogative may prescribe. This would be heavy if it were duly laid upon them. The Queen and Council in England and we, the Lord Deputy and Council here, are informed by the Master of the Exchange that there has been brought into the Exchange in Dublin since the Proclamation aforesaid a sum of 60,000*l.* in the new standard, for which bills have been given here; and that, besides, great sums of the new standard have been given and exchanged by the Master of the Exchange's agents at Cork, Galway and Carrickfergus; and that not so much as 20*l.* of the decreed money has been brought, since the said Proclamation, into the Exchange at Dublin. Her Majesty takes this in no good part, being "merely contrary" to the tenor and true meaning of her late Proclamation; and she has, by two letters, commanded us to make known her pleasure to confirm it and add to it the following explanations:—

These are, that no man shall hereafter traffic or trade with the decreed moneys, or use them for payment of fees, wages, or debts, or in any contract or bargain [*&c., details*] whatsoever, on pain of imprisonment and of such fine as the Lord Deputy or other Chief Governor at the time may think right; provided that all goldsmiths, free of any corporate town or city within this realm, may, by way of traffic, exchange plate for plate or any other wrought gold or silver and utter the same for money of this new standard. The magistrates and all other her Majesty's officers, sheriffs, &c., who shall be informed of the payment of any of the said decreed moneys shall have power to seize such decreed moneys and bring them into her Majesty's use within 30 days of such seizing, upon pain of imprisonment, and of such fine as may be put upon them by the Lord Deputy or the Council in his absence. Every informant of a breach of the Proclamation shall have one half of the moneys so seized for his pains, and the moiety of any fine which may be imposed when such seizure cannot be made. *Other details* as to rewards.

In her Majesty's last Proclamation it was laid down that for every 20*s.* of the old decreed moneys brought into the Exchange there should be allowed but 21*s.* of the new money. The figure of 21*s.* is now changed to 22*s.*; and this applies to all gold or silver plate of the fineness of sterling which may be brought in. There was not, in the late Proclamation, any express mention made of gold moneys or bullion of gold (although "inclusive" [*i.e.* impliedly] it was contained, because the Proclamation decreed "all monies" in general terms (except those of the new standard). We now, to make more clear her Majesty's meaning by the late Proclamation, declare that her pleasure is that for all moneys, foreign or English, and all plate or bullion of gold of the fineness aforesaid which may be brought into the Exchange the Master of the Exchange will pay at the rate of 22*s.* of the

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new money for 20s. worth of plate or coin received by him. Her Majesty's further pleasure is that for such old base money as shall be brought in allowance shall be made at the rate of 12*d.* in the 1*l.*

Her Majesty has been informed that divers persons of this realm, using not plain and sincere meaning in the construction of the first Proclamation, "do take hold of so much thereof as serveth for the exchange of the moneys of the new standard for sterling to be delivered in England, but do not according to the true scope and intent thereof bring in any sterling monies of the new standard to be there used." It is therefore declared that, hereafter, every person who trades in anything and all others (except such as shall be in the Queen's pay) who bring in any moneys of the new standard to the Exchange here, in order to receive therefor sterling money in England, shall bring in at least $\frac{1}{5}$ of the sum so brought in in sterling money of England, for which he shall have his bill directed to England for payment in sterling there, "for which sterling decried moneys and bullion so brought into the Exchange he shall have 2*s.* in the 1*l.* without deduction, and for the rest he shall pay 12*d.* in the 1*l.*" according to the Proclamation.

Those who are in her Majesty's pay may have bills of Exchange (on England) for payment of their due in sterling without the obligation of bringing one-fifth as aforesaid, to the extent of his pay or entertainment, but no more, on taking an oath [*details*] that the money or bullion is their own without fraud or collusion. If such officers wish to change further moneys they can do so on the same terms as the merchants and others, and if they do not conform to these rules the Master of the Exchange shall not be bound to give them bills.

"For the preventing of another fraud used by some merchants resorting to the Exchange aforesaid who lend their names for other men's moneys, or take up money upon credit only to make profit by the exchange thereof without trading in any merchandize, but do indeed make the said Exchange (instituted by her Majesty for the good of her subjects . . .) a private gain," we declare her Majesty's pleasure that every merchant, coming to the Exchange for a bill into England shall bring with him a certificate from the officer of her Majesty's custom house where the goods were entered saying what goods he entered there, and when, to show that he is not "a colourer of other men's moneys." It is the Queen's further pleasure that all passengers coming from England shall forthwith repair to the Exchange and hand over such moneys as they brought with them for moneys current in Ireland. The officers of the Exchange and the custom officers at the ports may, in suspected cases, search passengers to see that they are dealing honestly in this matter.

Whereas it is likely that many offences will be committed against this and the late Proclamation by persons living in remote places, who cannot easily be called up here to be punished by us, we hereby give authority to the President and Council of Munster, the Commissioners and Council of Connaught and the

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Governors of Loughfoyle, Carrickfergus and Ballyshannon (within their several jurisdictions) to examine into and punish all persons who may infringe the provisions of this Proclamation in the areas of their several jurisdictions. These officers shall from time to time certify to the Lord Deputy, or to the Council in his absence, what proceedings they may have taken in the matter. Any person who seizes money or bullion for breach of this Proclamation shall, within thirty days of such seizure, prefer an information on the matter to the Lord Deputy or Council or other authority aforesaid; and, if he fails so to do, shall lose his right to the share, provided for above, of the penalty. The mayors and other chief officers of corporations, clerks of markets and justices shall see what persons by colour of this new standard enhance the prices of victuals and other commodities, "Her Majesty taking it in very evil part that this her Highness's purpose, being intended for the general good of the kingdom, should be thus perverted by some private persons for their private gain."

P. 1 (*large*). Printed at Dublin by John Francke: *overwritten* by the Lord Deputy and *signed* by Cary, Wingfield, St. Leger, Bourchier and Fenton. *S.P. Ireland* 211, 50.

9 June.
Mellifont.

The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

The bearer, James Ware, was lately her Majesty's Auditor-at-Wars. He has often petitioned me saying that he was paid 13s. 4d. a day until I came over, but that he has not been able to obtain payment since that date because his name was omitted from the establishment which I brought with me. He now understands that you have given the place with a fee of 150*l.* (100*l.* for the revenue accounts and 50*l.* for the war accounts) to Mr. Peyton by patent, and that Peyton is also to have an allowance yearly given by the Commissioners on foot of the revenue accounts. He [Ware] prays either for reinstatement or for the payment of the arrears of his entertainment. I recommend him both because you have spoken well of him, and because the man who holds that place should, I think, attend the Deputy in the field. Ware has done this; and the person who has to take the revenue and other standing accounts here cannot, I think, answer the service abroad.

P. 3. *Signed*; with seal bearing the sun in glory charged in the centre with an eye, surrounded with the motto [Honi soit qui m]aj y pense.* *Add. Endd. Ibid*, 51.

9 June. SIR GEORGE CARY to SAME.

On Lord Delvin's restraint (of which I presume you know), Ashpoole, his steward, by whom he was chiefly directed, should

* This is not the crest of Lord Mountjoy as given in Doyle's *Official Baronage of England* (ed. 1886), vol. I., p. 587; but is the ancient crest of the Blunts of Sodington.

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also have been arrested, and also Christopher FitzOliver Nugent of Carpenstowne [Carpenterstown, co. Westmeath], "supposed to be a chief instrument from the Baron to the Arch-traitor." This should have been done in order to most effectively make a charge against Lord Delvin who, as he has been arrested, must be charged.

The day after her husband's arrest, Lady Delvin rode to her house, disposed of her business there, and has, I hear, broken up her house and is going to England to be a suitor for her husband.

The Treasurer arrived here safely on the 5th. Captain Plessington arrived in the *Tremontane* on the 8th. I sent him to Carlingford to attend the Lord Deputy and hope that, as the wind has been favourable, the soldiers sent over for supplies have arrived there. Lord Delvin is convalescent and desires leave "to walk in the garden within the Castle."

P.S.—I intend with the help of my Lord [Bishop] of Meath, who knows somewhat, to get information as to Lord Delvin's conduct, as you say that hold shall be "laid of" him.

In all p. 1½. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 52.

14 June. SIR GEORGE CARY to SECRETARY CECIL.

A Scottish ship arrived lately at Waterford, which had left St. Lucas [San Lucar] on May Day last. Humfrey Stephens [the master?] was one of Sir Richard Luson's [Leveson's] men who lately entered the Spanish ship which Sir Richard laid aboard. I send his examination, and will send back Stephens to the Admiral, whom he is anxious to rejoin.

P. ½. (Hol.) Add. Endd. Ibid, 53. Enclosing:—

A. Examination of Humfrey Stephens, of Dover, as aforesaid.

He arrived at Waterford on the 3rd of June. He attended, with his master, Sir Richard Leveson, before Kinsale and Castlehaven, and thence went back to Plymouth, when his master was sent for by the Privy Council of England. Remained at Plymouth while Sir Richard was at Court, and till the return of the shipping with the victuals. About Michaelmas last Sir Richard put to sea with five of the Queen's ships and a carvel of his own, and deponent was with him. After 15 or 16 days, about the height of the Southern Cape, they met 39 of the King of Spain's fleet returning from the Indies. There were 11 galleons, and of these seven were laden only with the King's treasure "and in an encounter with one of the galleons by her Majesty's Admiral called the Repulse, wherein Sir Richard Leveson was, this said examine with some others attempting to enter the galleon, by some impediment of the sails of our Admiral, the main yard being broken with a shot and the sails split, the ship fell off and could not recover us so as some of us were slain and drowned. . . . and he [the examine] and one David Jones were taken."

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After they were cleared of the Queen's ships the Spanish Admiral sent a small pinnace to inquire what news of the fleet. Deponent and two others were sent to the Admiral in the pinnace, and, after examination, remained with him till they arrived at St. Lucar. Does not know what happened to the Queen's ships.

So far as deponent can remember the questions asked of him were whether the Queen had any larger fleet at sea, and what preparations were made in England. He answered that he did not know as he had only been in Ireland and at Plymouth lately, but had heard of the honourable composition with Don John and the return of the Spanish forces from Kinsale to Spain.

He then, by leave of the captain who had charge of him, talked with Father Martin, chief of the English church of St. George in St. Lucar, and others of the English. He heard that upon supplication of Father Archer, then at Berehaven (who said there were 10 or 12 Spaniards with him who would die in the cause of religion), the clergy assented their aid of five ships with 600 men in them and one of them laden with rusk, wine and munition for Berehaven. He understood from Martin that this was a voluntary aid and not assented to by the King of Spain.

He heard also that there were eight galleys prepared to pass the narrow seas and ten ships. All these were in the river near St. Lucar. He was in one of them, and they were ready to start in a few days after his departure, which was on May day. He saw also 18 galleons in the river, taking victuals aboard. He does not know where they were going, but heard that they and 12 other ships "of the ships Royal," which were further up the river towards Civill [Seville], were either bound for the West Indies or to waft the carricks coming from the East Indies. He heard that the King's great ship called the St. Paul, in "carrying" [careening?] of her was overset and sunk.

The Adelantado died suddenly and the Duke Medina's eldest son is in expectation of his place.*

Deponent was 33 days at sea owing to contrary winds and bad weather. The wind was north-east. Eighteen men of the Spanish ship which he was boarding when he was taken were killed, and many hurt and burnt.

P. 1½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 53A.*

[15 June.] SECRETARY CECIL to SECRETARY WINDEBANK.

The Council have written so largely to the Lord Deputy and Council that the Queen's own letter handles only those things which are to be done by the Deputy himself; so it should be addressed to him alone "with this condition that howsoever some parts may be fit for him upon occasion to show them

* A Note adds:—at St. Mary port.

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he shall not impart that to the Council which concerns Tyrone." Pray satisfy her Majesty that, in this respect, her pleasure shall be obeyed; "and yet, Mr. Windebank, methinks it somewhat strange that her Majesty should think it an unfit thing for her Council in Ireland and all Europe to know that she will be pleased (for saving Christian blood and the miseries of her natural people from hence hourly sent to the shambles) to give that Traitor his life if he will simply submit himself, and ask no other conditions. Would God it could be so much as dreamed of!" Her subjects would not wonder at the offer she makes. Pray let her Majesty know what great mercy she is offering to Tyrone, and then she will not much care who knew it. Yet shall her pleasure as to its concealment be fulfilled "for her Majesty's is the kingdom and myself her humble vassal; and so I end with *Liberavi animam*. Your loving friend, Ro. Cecyll."

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add.* to Windebank at Court. *Endd.* with date. *S.P. Ireland* 211, 54.

15 June.
Limerick.

EXAMINATION of SYMON FANYNGE, taken before the Mayor of Limerick.

Deponent left Bilboe this day three weeks. He understood there were 15,000 men in an army at the Groyne. Some said they were bound for Flanders; but divers assert that they are bound for Sligo in Ireland. There are at St. Anderes ten great gallies, as the report is, bound for Flanders.

Deponent departed Pulgeye* in Brittany this day week. He heard there, by the report of one who left Groyne [Coruña] a week before, that O'Donnell sent a small barque to Berehaven in which was 15,000 ducats and munition. She was ordered, if she could not get into Berehaven, to go to Ulster. He also heard that Patrick Arthur is gone to Salamanca, as it is said there, to study.

Yesterday deponent was in company with six English ships going with provisions to Salamanca.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed* by Stephen Roche, Mayor of Limerick. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 55.

19 June.
Kilkenny.

THOMAS, EARL OF ORMOND AND OSSORY to SECRETARY CECIL.

This bearer, Bartholomew Daniell, is my servant and has taken up there for me sundry things necessary for my use. To pay for these I have procured Mr. Treasurer's bill of exchange for 332*l.*, to be paid in sterling by his agent, Thomas Watson, by 14 August next, or within seven days after. Pray cause the payment to be made by the day limited in the bill.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid*, 56.

20 June.
Berehaven.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SIR EDWARD WINGFIELD.

"Noble cousin," I am glad to hear of your return and hope to see you soon. "I thank God my business is well ended, the

* Possibly Poulguen, near Riec, department of Finistère.

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enemy by our forces broken and beaten in the field, the strong island of the Dorseys [Durseys] taken, the guard executed and the powder and ordnance there in my possession ; also the castle of Dunboy taken by assault, the rebels in it all taken and hanged or put to the sword, the munition and artillery in the same aboard our ships." Details when we meet.

P. 1. (Hol.) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 57.

20 June.
Castle Toome.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have planted at this old castle and taken in the fort on the other side of the river, which was held by Tyrone's men and accounted the strongest 'hoolte' in these parts. I came before it four days ago with 300 foot, the way being impassable for horse. O'Cané and Brian McArt were appointed by Tyrone to relieve it, and O'Cané has lain within four miles of me for three days with 600 men ; and Brian is now come as near. But their labour is lost, and we have got so good an entrance from these parts that we shall shortly be able to waste all the way to Dungannon. I shall not stay here, however, as I am ordered to plant nearer the heart of the rebel. He having got all his assistance about him, I undertook my task [of planting here] in order to scatter them, and hope, before they come together again, to be settled where I should be, of which I shall take the first opportunity to give you notice.

O'Cané has sent asking to speak with me and that I would be a means for him to the Lord Deputy. "He is false and treacherous, but I think to serve my turn with him as he hath done with others." If Sir Henry Docwra be of strength to advance towards Tyrone it will be profitable to temporize with him until the greatest work be done, after which these petty lords will be dealt withal at pleasure.

Colonel Egerton has other duties which prevent him from acting as Constable of Knockfergus Castle ; and he is anxious to sell the post. I was not rich enough to deal with him, and he has made a bargain, subject to your approval, with Captain Langford. I recommend Langford.

P.S.—We have had 300 supplies from England, which arrived at Knockfergus on the 7th, and 100 from the Lord Deputy ; so we have been able to dismiss some unable men, English and Irish.

P. 1. (Hol.) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 58.

20 June.
Dublin.

LADY DELVIN to SAME.

Pleads the age and illness of her husband, Lord Delvin, and the discomforts of Dublin Castle, in which he now remains. *Proceeds* :—I ask that he may have leave to live in the city of Dublin "for commodious use of physic and other helps." He meant to go to Court after these wars were over to kiss the Queen's hands and come back confirmed in our friends, "but that purpose, I fear, malice and lack of health will disappoint."

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In former times he had "a most wise and worthy patron, I might say (for kindness to myself), a father," who perceiving his innocency always favoured him, by which his troubles were removed and he was brought to the Queen's favour. That patron was your father. As he is now in the like need of a defender, and in the like degree innocent as he then was, I hope you will succeed your father as his patron until he is found guilty, which I assure you he will never be. He has not been told what his offence is. He is loyal. I pray for and rely on your favour.

P. 1. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 59.

22 June.
Masserine.

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER to SECRETARY CECIL.

By my letters of the 20th I gave you to understand about my actions near Toome. Tyrone, hearing thereof and imagining that Sir Henry Docwra (who is also afoot in his country) and I were to be upon his back "before he could conveniently recover his fastnages, in which he reposeth his trust, that very night he set Dungannon with all his loaghs on that border near my Lord Deputy on fire, keeping a ward only in Loagh Rewgh," and yesterday came to Monemore, in Kylletragh, seven miles from Toome, "with his wife, children, people and goods, minding, for what I learn, no more to advance to the plains; and these woods, with those of Glancomkeyne, are the strongest in the North; but the fort of Toome, which I now took, lying betwixt them, shall make him weary of his abode there. He is fortifying Loaghe Lugge, standing in a very strong place." The true owner thereof has come to me, and will be a good guide to bring us often upon him. His men constantly forsake him on every side, "but being hopeless of being received they will for a time stick unto him."

O'Cane has written unto me and I send a copy of his letters, "they being written in Irish." As Sir Henry Docwra has advanced, and left those garrisons, I think, not very strong, I sent some men to confer with him yesterday. They found him about 700 foot and 80 horse, and to keep him from aiding Tyrone or doing those garrisons any harm I hold him upon good terms for seven days. I hope before then to meet my Lord Deputy and return his answer.

To-night or to-morrow I shall pass the loagh again, and will draw to the place appointed by the Lord Deputy, when I shall have more express orders "and resolve of a speedy course for beating, and, as I hope, beheading, that wood-kearn, Tyrone, whose time is at an end."

I understand that one John Bortter, of Otterpoole, in Lerpoole [Liverpool], was taking aboard forty maimed and unserviceable men to ship them to Chester with my passport; but that, the wind not serving very fair, he set them all ashore, and is departed with their passport. They have 4d. a day relief, which will be charged to the Queen. Perhaps you may write to the Mayor of Chester to arrest the party for his contempt. We are often

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treated in such contemptuous manner and, if he has no good defence, he should be punished.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 60. Enclosing :—

A. Copy of an Irish letter from O'Cahan to Sir Arthur Chichester, received at Toome, 21 June, 1602.

"The commendation of O'Cahan to the Governor of Carrickfergus ; and I do trust my business, my bodie and my counsel unto you because I heard it is not hurtful for me to trust to you, and therefore I do ask you to be true to me and to every of my people until such time as you send my Lord Deputy's answer unto me, until which time I will not do hurt to any of the Queen's forces or her garrisons. And, to leave that, do not slack my business,* for fear I should not get them done as I would to my liking with reason. And the service that I would do for myself and O'Neyle I will leave undone, but will believe what you write unto me, I have such confidence in you. And so long as I was against the true Prince which ought to be over me, be it known unto you that I could not choose but do so since I was between O'Neyle, O'Donnell and the Scotts, and it may be I was not able to defend myself against any of them ; but what word soever I give you let it be betwixt me and God if I break it. Subscribed, O'Cahan."

Message by word of mouth.

He offers to give her Majesty loyal service, rent and rising out, and offers pledges for this. He desires not to be deluded and to know quickly if he will be received, that he may not lose O'Neyle's favour by his submission and [then] be refused of his desires.

P. 1. Endd. Ibid, 60A.

26 June.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

I send enclosures which have been received from the Lord Deputy. The news of a good beginning is comforting, and I hope the sequel will be an end of this languishing work. You will see that my presage is true, and that Tyrone will leave the plain country to be circuiated at the Lord Deputy's will and will withdraw into his fastnesses with his creatts.

P.S.—Official letters addressed here should be addressed to me. It is my duty and right to receive them.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 61. Enclosing :—

A. The Lord Deputy to Same.

The passage which we have now made is the one which I guessed last year with mine own eye to be the only safe one for carrying an army into Tyrone. So now also I think it likely to prove

* This sentence is difficult to understand and has apparently puzzled the translator. He puts the words "and to leave that" in a parenthesis.

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the only assured means to end both the rebel and the rebellion, "for though he made very great appearance of resistance as soon as he perceived that I was possessed of the water side and began to work, which was on Sunday last, . . . his whole army brake and the next day he burned Dungannon and his chief islands where he used to dwell." He has fled with his creates to Clancumkyne, "the greatest fastness of Ireland." His country is so open to me that to-day I came to Dungannon with only 100 horse and 500 foot. The country is so eaten that I think we can hardly live there with our horse; but I intend to bring my army there and hope to meet Docura and Chichester there in a few days. We will then concert plans for hunting down Tyrone; "and although I have ever held that the uttermost effect of an army in this country is to plant garrisons in the summer which must take their effect in winter, and that I now think we shall prosecute the traitor where he is with many disadvantages with an army at this time, yet I will keep in these parts as long as I can to see whether under the countenance thereof some plots I have laid for his head may the better go forward." Please let me know what will become of the preparations of Spain, and what you think we may this year expect from thence, for I must lay my foundations accordingly. I must also have absolute warrant either to hearken to or reject the traitor's submission; for, as I stand now, it is dangerous for me to do either. Whether the Queen takes him to mercy or not, the result will be the same, for I shall soon ruin him; but if the Queen does decide to receive him, "believe me, and let no man persuade you to the contrary, there is no assurance of him, nor of his country if his head were off, but these garrisons I plant." These will ease her Majesty of a great charge, and the cost of them may in a short time be reduced or paid out of the country.

P.S.—Sir Oliver Lambert can describe to you the place where I make my passage. It is four miles from Dungannon.

Pp. 2. (Hol.) Dated 23 June, 1602. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 61A.

B. Sir Francis Stafford to Secretary Cecil.

The Lord Deputy arrived at Newry on June 10. The army was here before him, and was busy conveying victuals to Armagh under the serjeant-major, Sir John Barkley. On the 14th the Deputy rose with his army and went towards Armagh, and thence to the Blackwater, where he is now in camp fortifying on both sides so as to secure his retreat and "making of a floote for his passage over the river." Repeats news of burning of Dungannon and of Tyrone's retreat to "Glancomkyne, a great fastness by the Bandside, towards O'Canes country." All the McCanns and all the men of Clanbrassil submitted to my Lord before he went to the Blackwater, and have put in pledges. Many people draw daily to Con. O'Neale, John O'Neale's son, who is lately escaped out of

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prison. I feel sure many others will forsake Tyrone, and that if God bless the Lord Deputy and his army with health the traitor will be driven from his country and have to submit if he will be received. Sir Arthur Chichester is fortifying Toome in case Tyrone should seek to save himself and his people by that hazard. Details.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. Signed. Dated Newry, 23 June. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 61b.

c. Sir Oliver Lambert to the Lord Deputy.

The day before I left Galway I sent Tibbot ne Longe, with his own force, with Captain Guest and three other companies to the borders of the co. Sligo. He assured me of a good prey and that Donell O'Connor would meet and join with him, and that I should follow and receive him at his return at Ballyaghan. I went there and found, when within a day's march, that Tibbott ne Longe lay still before me without having attempted anything. I wrote to him to be on my way next day towards Mayo, and he sent word that he was on the best road to Sligo and would make cashes and prepare my passage for me, and wished me to follow him. He said that Donell O'Connor hovered thereabouts to guard his creats from Rory O'Donnell, with a full purpose to submit.

I was well informed of all those passages before I left Galway and kept my resolution to myself, with which I acquainted you in my last letter, and commanded Tibbott to march towards Castlebar, and said that I would not alter my course. "I was no sooner past Castlebar than my spies brought me certain word that O'Rourke, Rory O'Donnell [and] Donell O'Connor, with all their rabble, attended three days my coming through the pace of Ballaghie, which is far worse than the Curlews." I only told Tibbott what I heard and passed it over, being more watchful of the rest of his advises.

On the 5th of June I came to the Moy river, which is tidal and separates Sligo from Tyrawly. The rebels held two castles on the best fords. The river had risen so high, by reason of great rains, that I could not cross without boats and swimming our horses. It is much broader than the Narrow Water. But Oliverus Bourke, "the honestest of all the un-noble Bourkes," after having drawn me this way, provided me with two boats, by which, with great difficulty, I crossed in two days and a night. The enemy might have had a great advantage of us if they had withstood our landing.

I camped twice after leaving the Moy before I came to Sligo. The rebels drew all their rout to a pace within three miles of Sligo, which I shunned by crossing at low water at the left hand of the pace. "I marched a mile in battalle on a large stronde [strand] to the said ford, being a fair strond on the other side, on which the rebels ordered themselves to the greatest show with churls and boys and all they could make. As soon as I came near the ford they betook them-

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selves to the wood, yet the ford was so deep that all the soldiers (being in battle) waded to the middle.

I lodged that night fast by the pace, being the worst wood in Sligo, from whence we were the next day to take wattles for our cabbaines. We were no sooner come where we were to camp than they skirmished loosely to impeach our men of wood, whom with little ado we put off and lodged our men aquietly till towards the falling of the night, when they took all places of advantage, just as Tyrone served your lordship by Armagh, and shot roundly into our quarters. I did somewhat mistrust their purpose before and lodged 120 men in a valley closely, to answer all suddens that night, and gave them leave to shoot a pretty while, having 60 horse ready to charge with the foot when I gave the word. The most part of the rebels kneeled on the brow of a small hill that looked directly into our camp—a small bog betwixt us and them—with a bad ford to pass through. Behind the rebels lay a plain two musket shot over ;” “at the end thereof a soft bog which led to the wood. As soon as it grew duskiſh I caused the horse to charge home, with the 120 foot and all the guards to second them, the camp being ready in arms. Our horse brake their foot close by the bog, killed some ten of them, took one prisoner and made many of them to quit their arms in the bog, where most of them stooke up to the neck, being put from the ordinary passage. It was so dark by this time that we could not see what to do more, and so drew home.” Two hours after a volley was fired into our camp, but to no purpose. That done they retired to their creats about Ballymote.

I came next day to Sligo, where I found nothing but the ruins of the old castle and the abbey broken afresh. The town [had been] burnt the day before by Donell O'Connor. I laboured next day to make a defensive position in the old abbey to protect my baggage. The ship with my victuals and tools had not yet come ; but a ship is here with victuals for 1,000 men for 20 days and munition.

On the evening of the twelfth, the “baggage, women and garrons” having been “stowed” in the abbey with a guard, I marched towards the rebels, all of whose cows were between Ballymote and the Curlews, about 16 miles from Sligo. On my way my spies met me with news that the same day they were passing their creats over the Curlews, which shewed they must have heard of my intent. I held on my way, so as to reconnoitre the country and, if I might, to fall on their rear. About 3 a.m. I brake forth to the foot of the Curlews and we fell with our horse into a small “buly,” where were about 40 of O'Donnell's men and 200 cows. We took the cows, killed fifteen men (one of account) and captured a barrel of Spanish powder. As soon as the foot were come up, I turned 500 foot into the wood on the left hand of the Curlews, who marched through the greatest of Macdermott's fastnesses, and, coasting about the lough of Ballidown, I met them at Kilmatranagh

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in Tirohell [Tirerrill] fort in O'Rorke's country, where I camped that night and "where no Christians have been since the wars began." The foot brought in 120 cows, and all the preys had fled over the Curlews and into O'Rorke's country. The soldiers were so laden with spoil that I had next day to withdraw to Sligo to deposit it and prepare the abbey for my victuals.

On the 15th I heard that McWilliam was making a road into Mayo with 200 foot and 40 horse. Tibbott ne Longe feared this expedition, and asked me to spare him such convoy as I could to go there. I yielded to this because he had so many messengers coming to him that unless I would have contested with him (which I did not then like to do) I could not go any journey undiscovered. His company in Mayo is soon to return to me but not himself.

I invaded O'Rorke's country on the 16th. I saw no creature there, but the "strayttest ways in Ireland." O'Rorke and most of his creaghts are with the rest in Mulorghe [Mullurge], having on that side no fear.

Teig O'Rorke has sent to me to be received on condition of having men in pay; but I hope to pay them all in the like coin when I have broken the great knot, on which are all my thoughts. They have "infinite number of cows" at present in Mulorghe, the number of these creates are truly these (though the report is double), O'Rorke 200, O'Donnell 200, Donnell O'Connor 120, McDermott 100, O'Connor Roe 80, McWilliam 40, Teig O'Rorke 60—in all 800. They have 140 horse which they keep together in Mulorghe and the Curlews.

The 17th Captain Diggs came to me with other captains from Ballyshannon. I returned him thither and he will be a great help to the small garrison there. They will be within [Ballyshannon?] the 22nd with 300 English, a great comfort to the few English I have. The 24th (D.V.) I will leave 100 English in the Abbey and go to the Curlews, and either find a way to pass or make a way with good blows. If this is done and the Abbey of the Boyle guarded, the passage will be fairly free and the rebels will only have O'Rorke's country to guard themselves in, "out of which (these parts put in order) I doubt not to hunt them before the winter ends."

Your lordships have often heard how apt and fit the port of Sligo, if fortified, would be to impeach the landing of a foreign enemy, and to help the Queen's forces here in case of invasion. In my opinion they are mistaken. "Sligo is a dainty dwelling for a gentleman and of great importance for the state of all this province if it were walled; [but, I think] that it cannot be made strong. The hills of the one side will overlook every quarter," and "it cannot defend the harbour. It is two miles and more from the road where the shipping must anchor, and fair landing everywhere between. To the north-east of the bar there lieth a channel three-quarters of a mile wide, two fathom deep at low water, that leadeth to the harbour. Within a culverin shot of the bar there is an

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island on the west-south-west side, where a strength is to be made of stone work (being stone enough fast by) that commands all the road and this entrance. To the north-east of this island there lieth a low point of land which maketh the mouth of the harbour about the wideness of Cattwater by Plymouth. Within the mouth of the haven 200 sail of great ships may ride at 7 fathom at low water with all winds and weathers. I caused an English master to sound every part of the haven twice or thrice."

I beg your resolution for fortifying this island, without which we cannot be secure if foreigners attempt this way. If that is finished no shipping may lie anywhere in those parts to impeach our succours.

Salebegg, accounted a good harbour, is many leagues further into the bay than this island. I will begin the work when and if I have leave, and, meantime, will repair the Abbey (wholly in ruins except the vaults) and enclose a plot of ground about it for the garrison.

I was proceeding to buy a galley to clear the coasts from the Flaarties and O'Malies who continually make prize of all they take. "I maintain a captain in her and 50 mariners. She rows with 15 oars on a side." Sir Richard Bingham had to take this course before those islands could be brought to subjection and the subject go freely to sea. They have many gallies, of which they must be spoiled, for they spare none. Pray allow the expense of this galley, which is most necessary in my affairs.

Pp. 8½. Dated, Sligo, 18 June. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 61c.

D. Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

Repeats news of firing of Dungannon. The McCanns and men of Clanbrassill surrendered to the Lord Deputy before he went to the Blackwater. [Other news as already given.] The Lord Deputy is very busy making a bridge over the Blackwater.

P. ¾. Dated, Newry, 24 June. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 61d.

26 [June]. SIR OLIVER LAMBERT to SIR GEORGE CARY.

Sligo.

Details as to his previous letters, which he fears may have miscarried.*

Proceeds.—The enemy lieth very strong and watcheth every passage from this place to Athlone, so that, believe me, this very letter, if it comes safe to your hands, costs me three cows for carriage. Since my last letters of the 26th, the ships with victuals have come, and also my galley, which is of great use to me; and Captain Diggs with 300 English. There has been so much rain that the bogs and mountains are too wet and the rivers too high for me to drive the enemy out of the Curlews.

* They did not; see above, 61c.

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Meantime, I am going to make a "rood"* into Maguire's country, as well to divert him from the Lord Deputy as to spoil him. After that I will leave Sligo Abbey fortified and garrisoned with two companies and "miss my mark very much but I will give Rory O'Donnell and the rest a good knock at parting." After I have settled the county of Roscommon, taken the Kellys' castles and planted the Boyle I will return to these parts again and leave a greater force here. O'Rorke and the rebels are still about the Abbey of Boyle. [For] twelve miles compass they have planted all the passes in and about the Curlews, made a fort on the descent of the hill of Carrickbane, all which, with favour and good weather I way [weigh?] not. *Apologizes* for bad writing† as he is in haste and about to put foot in stirrup for Ballyshannon. *Proceeds*.—This province should not be neglected as it has formerly been. "I lay all the ways possible for a dainty hobby for you, but believe me, I saw not one yet, and I fear my being hereabouts bars me of hawks."

I am myself clerk of the munition and have to disburse all charges for here is none from Sir George [i.e. no money from Sir George Cary]. The biscuit in the first ship is naught; the barrels of pork and beef are quarter filled with brine and salt and three-quarters of the meat goes bad. Much of the butter goes to waste. *Details*.

Pp. 2½. *Signed. Add. Endd.* generally and, in Cary's hand, "I pray speak to the victuallers to send better victuals." *S.P. Ireland* 211, 62.

27 June.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CARY to SECRETARY CECIL.

Sends letters. Has no news from the President [of Munster] since his first plantation before the castle. *Sends* news of Sir Oliver Lambert's planting at Sligo. The Lord Deputy and self will supply him. If no foreign invader comes this year the Queen will have a good account from her servants in Ireland.

P. ¾. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 63. *Enclosing*:—

A. *The Lord Deputy to Sir George Cary.*

"We have drunk your health at Dungannon. Tyrone is turned wood kerne. I thank you for your venison. Pray send away my letters. God send us a happy meeting.

Your most assured friend, Mountjoy."

P. ¼. *Dated, 23 June. Add. Endd. Ibid, 63A.*

B. *Sir Francis Stafford to Same.*

This is identical with the letter to Fenton calendared above, p. 421 (61D). P. ¾. Add. Endd. Ibid, 63B.

27 June.
Camp at
Carew Castle.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Recommends Lieutenant Webb, the bearer, who has long served under the Earl of Thomond and did brave service at Dunboy.

* "Road" or "Raid."

† It is not easy to read.

1602.

P.S.—Special recommendations. Captain Webb [at the siege of Dunboy] was one of the first that entered the breach, was shot and in as much peril as any man.

P. ½. Signed; the p.s. holograph. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 64.

27 June.
Camp near
Bayntrey
[Bantry]
Abbey.

SIR ANTONY COOKE to SECRETARY CECIL.

I hope my previous letters have not displeased you, and pray for the comforting assurance of a few lines from you. The Earl of Thomond, who is going over with news of the campaign, will say what service I have done.

P. ¾. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 65.

28 June.
Camp at
Carew Castle.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

This is the original letter, a copy of which is calendared in Calendar of S.P. Carew, 1601-3, at pp. 252 sq., q.v.

Pp. 6½. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 66. Enclosing:—

A. Journal of Events leading to the Capture of Dunboy.

[*This is a long journal, beginning with the rising of Carew's army of nominally 4,600 foot and 40 horse from Cork on 23 April, 1602. States that the number of efficient was only about 1,800. The document, or its substance, has evidently been used by Stafford in the preparation of his Pacata Hibernia. In calendaring this document I refer to Stafford (ed. 1810, Vol. II., p. 525 seq.) and add only those statements which appear in the original but not in Stafford's work.**]

23 April.—Departure from Cork. Camp at Owneboy. [Stafford, op. cit. II., p. 525.]

24-26 April.—See Stafford, Ib. p. 526.—Adds:—The same night Lord Barry and the White Knight sent out a party of men to the "Castle" of the Downings which was possessed by the rebels. They preyed the "town" and killed one of the ward.

27 April.—See Stafford (Ib. p. 526).

28-29 April.—See Stafford (Ib. 526-7.)

29 April.—Adds to Stafford (Ib. p. 527).—The same day Owen O'Sulevan and his brothers, who stand firm and daily deserve well of her Majesty, went abroad and had an engagement with some of Terrell's men. They killed four of the enemy "and took other four prisoners who were executed."

30 April-4 May.—See Stafford, Ib., 527-8.

5 May.—Adds to Stafford.—The forces that were sent into Kerry under Sir Charles Wilmot, understanding that Donell O'Sulevan, son and heir to O'Sulevan More, had openly declared himself a rebel, entered into the country of Iveragh, spoiled and burned it, and brought from it 4,000 cows and better.

* There is much in Stafford which is not here.

1602.

6-13 May.—See Stafford (*Pacata Hibernia* (ed. 1810), Vol. II., pp. 529, 531, 539-41).* On 13th the MS. adds that the place of burial of Dermot Moyle McCartie, Florence's brother, was concealed by the country people and the priests.

Add to the 14 May (*Ib.* pp. 542-3).—The reason for transporting the army over to the great island was that, if that course had not been taken, though the way had been passable yet in consideration of the contrary winds that would have kept the shipping (with our ordnance, victuals, &c.) from us at the point of the island of Whydy, we should have been compelled to raise the siege or starve.

15 May.—See Stafford, p. 546.

16 May-5 June.—See Stafford (*Ib.* pp. 543-6). The bay at which the Spanish ship arrived is called in the MS. the bay of Kilmallock.

5-17 June.—See Stafford (*Ib.* pp. 546-572). The MS. says that the dice being cast for the point of the attack [*Ib.* p. 568] the chance allotted it to Captain Dorington [not Doddington]. Says that when the defenders were compelled to retreat to the east part of the castle they "cheeked their pipes at the corners of the walls to receive them [the assailants]."

The rest of the narrative to 26 April, when this journal ends, adds nothing to the narrative of Stafford.

Six large pages. Signed by Sir George Carew, the Earl of Thomond, Lord Buttevant, Sir Richard Percy, Sir George Thornton, Sir Charles Wilmot, and Gerald Comerford. *S.P. Ireland* 211, 66A.

B. Examination of Moelmory McEdmund Buy McSwyny, of Ballygriff in the co. Clare, being specially employed into the country of the rebels; taken 12 June, 1602.

He says that he was among the rebels on the 5th of this month. They boasted that they would keep the Lord President from landing on that side where the castle of Dunboy stands; and to that end had put all their forces on the shore at the place where, as they thought, the Lord President would land his army. They said they were 1,500 men, though deponent thinks they were less, and they placed a rank of gabions for their defence at the place where they intended to make a stand. But the President, taking a shorter course than had been expected, landed before they could "compass the ground where the army had gained their footing." The President's forces then broke and beat them and inflicted loss on them, but deponent does not know how great it was.

After this defeat, they decided to send to Spain a pinnace, which had been taken from a Galway merchant by a rebel, Teige Keogh O'Mahowne, to beg for present aid. Immediately afterwards news was brought to Donel O'Sulevan and Archer the priest that a Spanish ship had arrived at Ardea, a castle

* The account of the 8th of May begins in the MS. before me, "I sent," but in Stafford, "The Lord President sent." This is the first passage in the journal in which Carew is shewn to be the writer. Others shewing the same follow.

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of O'Sulevan's. These letters were read openly and received with much joy by all. O'Sulevan and Archer went to Ardea, twelve miles away, and were received on board, and came back next day in two boats bringing treasure, wine, powder and lead from the ship. O'Sulevan returned again to the ship the same day, and brought with him Bryan O'Kelly, a Connaught man that was amongst them, and one Donnogh McMahowne McEnaspicke O'Breen. They did not stay there long but returned [to Dunboy] with a "ronlett" of sack. This was brought to Captain Terrell and his men. A conference was held in private between Terrell, O'Sulevan, the Knight of Kerry, and William Bourke, after which O'Sulevan returned a third time to the ship and brought with him letters which Terrell and the Knight of Kerry wrote at the seaside. They again loaded the two boats (as before), and the ship departed for Spain in deponent's sight; and Brian O'Kelly and Donnogh McMahowne O'Breen went in her. O'Sulevan discharged his two boats at Ardea and came back again to Terrell and the rest at Oliver Hussy's bwoly, bringing with them a friar newly come out of Spain and two bags of Spanish coin which were divided amongst the gentlemen there. The Knight of Kerry got the largest portion of it. The total sum sent over was alleged to be 12,000*l.*, whereof one James Nelane, a man of Thomond and belonging to Sir Tyrlough O'Bryen,* is paymaster. His orders were to divide it between Donell O'Sulevan, Donell McCarty, bastard son of the Earl of Clancarty, Sir Fynyn O'Driscoll and his son, McMorrice, the Knight of the Valley, Donnogh Moyle McCarty, Donell O'Sulevan, son and heir to O'Sulevan More, McFynnyn, O'Donovan, John O'Connor of Carigfoyle, Captain Terrell, William Bourke, Dermot Moyle, brother to Florence McCarthy, and Teig Keough McMahowne. The last two were killed since the money was sent.

Deponent heard of no passengers to come over in the said ship but the said friar, the paymaster and Owen McIghan, a priest. The munition, which he saw brought from the ship, was four horse-load of powder and lead, delivered to Tyrrell, which was to be brought into Dunboy.

The rebels believe that O'Donnell will come over [from Spain] with 7,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and that Redmond Bourke is to have another charge, but deponent knows not over how many men. O'Sulevan seems sure of relief from Spain; and deponent has heard the same said to his uncle Tyrlagh McSwynny, who is now in rebellion and "a near and inward man with O'Sulevan."

P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 66B.

c. Examination of Edmond Bore McPaden, being born in the barony of Tyrawly, taken June 16th, 1602.

Confirms the foregoing as to the arrival of the vessel from Spain "at the haven of Kilmallock near Ardea." There came in

* The name O'Brien is thus spelt differently on different occasions even in the same document.

1602.

her Owen McEgan, the Romish Bishop of Ross, Dermond McKallaghan prior of Kyllaghy, another to be abbot of Gyll Abbey, Dermond McDonnogh McBrayn, one of the Nealan's Thomond, and many others. Confirms (with details) O'Sulevan's landing of munition, wine, &c., from the ship. O'Sulevan received for himself 1,500*l.* and a chain of gold which was sent to his wife. Confirms distribution of the money amongst the Irish leaders.

O'Sulevan, in the hearing of Donell O'Dowdy (who told deponent), begged the Spaniards on their return to hasten the coming to Ireland of six of the King's ships if the whole army were not ready to come, but that, if ready, the army should be hastened away to his aid.

It is reported credibly among the enemy that the Lord Deputy has sent for this [English] army to reinforce him, that Tyrone is strong in Ulster, and O'Sulevan and Tyrrell expect to hold Dunboy for a year. Tyrrell and O'Sulevan shew themselves to encourage the garrison and purpose to keep us busy at night time.

In Spain all the credit of the Munster rebellion is thrown upon O'Sulevan as the chief promoter thereof. O'Donnell signified this to Tyrrell in letters from Spain; and Tyrrell has refused to leave O'Sulevan to his own strength and go to reinforce the Irish in Connaught; and has been paid 140*l.* by O'Sulevan over and above his portion of the money sent from Spain.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed (copy) by David [Lord] Buttevant and Gerald Comerford. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 66c.

28 June.
Carew Castle.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I send a journal [see above, pp. 423-4] which will tell of my success at Dunboy. My letter to the Lords gives my grounds for thinking that the Spaniards will send an army this year. I think their second coming may bring more danger to Ireland than their first. Other officers in Ireland fear this less than I; but I have more information than they, for those who chiefly encourage the Spaniards to come are in my government. Therefore I pray you in England to be jealous, and do not feel too secure. I wish Ireland were "a fishepoole," for it will never be settled peaceably in this age. God deliver me from this "Hydra's task, where toil and mischiefs are endless." If the Lord Deputy thought the prospect of Spanish invasion as serious as I do, he would not send to Munster for any companies, but I do not dispute his directions because he is my commander, and will hasten the men to him. I will also send copies of the examinations taken, and leave the matter in his hands. If I did not send the men for whom he asks, I should be blamed for delaying the conclusion of the war in Ulster; but if it ends as quickly as is promised, I am much deceived.

The examinations and letters sent herewith were found at Dunboy. Pray read them all and suppress such as you think

1602.

right. By Sir Samuel Bagnall the Lord Deputy sent me Don John's letter, which, as he wrote, he read before Sir Oliver St. John's departure. I send you the original now not wishing to conceal any kindness which may come from an enemy. I do not know why Don John should remember me with letter or token, "and the rather because the Lord Deputy received nothing from him it makes me jealous, but I know not of whom, for I am sure when he was here he more coveted my life than any man's in this kingdom." . . . The Lord Deputy has the wines and fruit and sends me word that he will keep them, "alleging that he is sure that Don John would have remembered him as well as me if he had thought that he remained in Ireland. Much good may the present do him; and I do also wish that the letters had been directed to his lordship, for I do nothing joy in an enemy's kindness."

He also sent me a copy of Pedro Lopez de Soto, the Veador's letter to Roger Harvey, whom I have desired to write at large to you the conversation which passed between him and the Veador.* "He was very sick at Baltimore when I saw him, and delivered me both the dialogue* and the passport. The Lord Deputy is in some displeasure with him as his father can tell you; but his meaning was good and nothing but malice can make an ill construction of it."

"The greatest matter of state most importing the Crown of England and the safety of it is the peace or war with Spain. To censure† a business of so great weight were an ultra . . . in me, and therefore do leave it unto those to whom it doth properly appertain, but if, for the present care of her Majesty's charges and the settling of this realm, which labours of a desperate malady, it should be thought fit to embrace a peace, or to temporize, in my opinion [by] the overture made by the Veador to Roger Harvey, or between the Lord Deputy and Don John, or between Don John and me, having unto either of us, when he was in Cork, discovered his desire of an amity between our sovereign and his master, a good opportunity is given (for gaining of time) to entertain some speech of pacification. But the state of the Deputy is too near the person of the Prince, and, for fear of scorn, a matter of this quality in his infancy is better and more meet to be handled by inferior persons. Now that I have shot my bolt I leave it to your wisdom, praying you, if you like the motion either in Roger Harvey or in me, to give directions at large; and, except I may have leave out of England, I will never thank Don John for his present." In your next let me know if I may write to him, which I would like to do because I do not like to be thought "barbarous."

The Earl of Thomond has only one suit in England—to secure the annexation of Thomond to Munster. If he fails in this his heart will break. He is greatly perplexed at the thought that he may not prevail in this matter. I join in his request,

* See Stafford, *Pacata Hibernia* (ed. 1810). Vol. II., p. 494 sq.

† i.e. express an opinion upon.

1602.

Sir Charles Wilmot has been sent for by his father [who wishes] to confirm his inheritance upon him ; and he desires leave to go over. I have had to refuse it on public grounds, though, privately, I approve his request. He submits, but begs for leave as soon as circumstances permit. I cannot deny him this, but hope his leave will be sent over from England, for it will, I fear, be a long time before we have a fit time to spare from Ireland men that are good commanders. Captain Fleming (whom I have victualled for two months at the Queen's charge in Munster, for his victuals were exhausted) has done good service in defending us against the Mayles [O'Malleys] and Flaerties, who otherwise would have infested us "with their gallies." He is now going back as his ship is foul and wants to refit. Pray return him at once in another ship ; which will be necessary in order to keep the coast in awe.

Pp. 3½. (*Hol.*) *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 211, 67.

June.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Carew Castle.

This gentleman, Sir George Thornton, has served the Queen here for thirty years. I have, after many promises, given him a few weeks' leave to go over. I hope he will presently return for I can ill spare him ; and I therefore urgently ask you to favour his suits. *Strong recommendations follow.*

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd.* *Ibid*, 68.

About
June.

PETITION of JAMES WARE, on behalf of the Lord Deputy, to the PRIVY COUNCIL, shewing that :—

By reason of the waste and want of provisions in Ireland, his lordship's household accounts are more than double those of former governors. Since his arrival in Ireland his lordship has increased his necessary expenses (to 9 May last) by 1,200*l.*, as shewn in the accompanying brief ; and has also lost by decay of tents and furniture, and loss of horses incident to his journeys, his lordship keeping the field constantly.

Prays for a concordatum for this sum.

There were left with his lordship by the Earl of Essex' officers twenty-four carriage horses of her Majesty's in Ireland, which hath much eased the charge which the Queen would otherwise have incurred for land carriages. These horses have been kept at his lordship's charge, except for four months. Further payment for them has been refused by the Treasurer of Ireland.

Prays for an order in this matter.

A great part of the port corn and tithes belonging to the State are now waste through these troubles which other Deputies have enjoyed to their great benefit. The whole rent for these has been laid upon his lordship by the Auditor and Treasurer there, and answered accordingly.

Prays for an order for remitting rent except for those parcels only whose corn he receives.

1602.

His lordship has had his warrant denied by the customers of Chester, and "Leerepoole" for a competent proportion of oats, &c., to be transported free.

Prays for order to remedy this.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. *Endd.* S.P. Ireland 211, 69. *Enclosing* :—

A. *Accounts of Lord Mountjoy, as Lord Deputy of Ireland, as indicated above, and for the time stated above.*

This account shews the receipts and expenditure of the Lord Deputy during the two years and ten weeks mentioned in the covering letter.

His income, paid by Sir George Cary, Treasurer in Ireland, has been :—

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>For his entertainment</i>	9,752	7	4
<i>Allowance for Cavan beeves (two years only)</i>	626	13	4
<i>Total</i>	10,379	0	8

His expenditure has been—

(a) <i>Disbursements appearing by his household books, i.e., diet, stable charges, extras, and wages and livery [details given]</i>	9,945	5	8
(b) <i>Sundry payments for provisions made in England [details given]</i>	1,245	4	11
(c) <i>Defalked upon [from] his entertainment by the Treasurer [details]</i>	1,384	3	0
(d) <i>"Private rewards. Paid also by Mr. James as well at gentlemen's house[s] as otherwise." These are not included in the accounts nor yet any allowance taken from her Majesty for them by concordatum as other Deputies have had.* These, by note under James' hand, come to</i>	235	0	10
(e) <i>Losses sustained in the afore-said places: Horses dead or stolen; stable furniture renewed; loss of tents, and carriages of pewter, brass and plate, and in the "spicerie," "pantrie," "warderop," and armoury. [Details given]</i>	1,531	16	4

Total 14,341 10 9

Thus for the time mentioned his expenses exceed his income by 3,962l. 10s. 1d.

P. 1 (large). *Endd.* *Ibid.* 69A.

* It is not surprising to find the system of tipping servants in existence in the 16th century; nor does it seem unreasonable to spend 235l. out of a total expenditure of 14,000l. on these gratuities.

1602.
June.

Considerations upon the SPANIARDS coming to IRELAND with a powerful army, as is reported, *and if the Irish do join with them.**

If the army of Spain be so great as is both reported and expected by the rebels in Ireland, he will be master of the field unless the army in Ireland is very much increased, which will be a great charge, and perhaps insupportable to England and Ireland also.

The best way to diminish that expense is to be careless of the country generally, and concentrate attention on the cities. In every one of these there should be a strong force of horse and foot, ready to resist a siege. When the enemy sees our forces dispersed he will either lay siege to some one place or else disperse himself (because he has the country to friend) as we do.

When he concentrates to besiege we should concentrate and try to raise the siege, and may make him rise.

If he disperse, the garrison will be able to master those countries about them and so deprive alike Spaniard and Irish of the means of resistance. Occasionally two or more garrisons may meet for some special and greater services. This kind of war will in a short time destroy all the country, make the Irish to curse the Spaniards and involve the King [of Spain] in immense expense to sustain his army, ease the Queen's charge and "secure her chief towns which is chiefly and above all other things to be respected."

Supposing that the army will land in Munster, there ought to be principal regard had of Cork, Limerick, and Waterford. Each of these should have a garrison of 3,000 foot and 300 horse. There should be another 1,000 foot scattered in poorer places. The other provinces, where the Spaniard is not, may be kept in awe by some smaller force. It is clear that such an army will be able to ruin Ireland; for (leaving enough men to guard the townsmen against the Irish) we can draw 6,000 foot and 600 or more horse into the field. "With such a light army the commander may go where he list and lodge as near the Spaniard without harm as he thinks good; for we have the same advantage upon them as the Irish in lightness hath upon us; and with such an army of the Irish there is no doubt to be made; then it follows that we shall be able to go into every part of the province and retreat at our pleasures. To the contrary, if he be strong and we in his strength do fight with him, the event of battles being dangerous and uncertain, the loss of one field or day's disaster would absolutely lose the kingdom.

"If he come with like numbers as he did the last year, which is not to be believed (because that example hath taught him more wit), yet it were not fit we should (as we did) presently besiege him; for Kinsale was bought at so dear a rate as it were better for ever to protest against all winter sieges if they may be avoided; for we may well believe that at the siege, and after the sickness there gotten, we lost above 6,000 men that died."

The Queen's ships must be constantly on the coasts to keep the Spaniards from relief of victuals. If this is done a Spanish

* The part in italics is crossed out, but legible.

1602.

army cannot subsist in Ireland; "for between us and them and the swarms of Irishry that will draw into Munster the province will be so harrassed as neither the Spaniards or rebels can avoid the starving."

Pp. 2½. *Endd.* in Carew's hand: "*Mutato nomine de —.*" *S.P. Ireland* 211, 70.

June? ALE. WHITE to

I have just talked with a special friend that came from the Groyne. There is a special report there that the Irish Lord O'Donnell goes to the Ulster first with 3,000 men, and that the great army goes after for Munster. This is likely for it [*i.e.* the going of O'Donnell in advance] will make the English think that no other army is coming for hence. I write this that you may expect me not with the first but with the second. A brave ship of the King's left here the 21st of May for Munster with munition and 24,000 ducats to be disposed of by O'Sulevan, and brave chains of gold for himself and for O'Driscoll.

P. ¾. (*small*). (*Copy.*) *Ibid*, 71.

June? MEMORANDUM on the ARTILLERY which must be sent for into ENGLAND.*

1. Ordnance already here which wants these carriages:—
Three carriages for demi-cannon with shod wheels complete and spare axle-trees.
Four carriages for culverins complete with same and same.
Four carriages for demi-culverins with same and same.
Four carriages for sakers with same and same.

2. Spanish ordnance taken in the Castle of Dunboy† and the Durseys:—

Brass—Two sakers and one falcon.

Iron—Two sakers, five minions and one falcon.

Shot should be chosen for these according to their height [calibre].

3. Carriages for the Spanish ordnance.

These should have shod wheels complete, and should be for sakers four, for falcons two, and for minions five.

4. Ordnance to be sent to replace cracked ordnance which was returned with Sir Richard Lewson [Leveson].

5. New iron ordnance, complete with carriages, to be sent over for Galway and other western ports.

Six culverins; eight demi-culverins; six sakers, with round iron shot. [*Details of quantities.*]

6. Utensils.

Shovels, pickaxes, scythes, &c. [*Numbers given in detail.*]

If the carriages are not sent ready made, twenty tons of elm planks should be sent, and ten tons of good iron.

Their lordships should consider what powder, lead and match is to be sent.

P. 1. *Signed* by Sir G. Bouchier. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 72.

* The "height" or calibre of each of these weapons, except the Spanish, is given in detail to ¼ of an inch.

† This helps to date the document.

1602.

JULY, 1602.

4 July.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Recommends Captain Sydley, whom Cecil has already favoured.
P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* S.P. Ireland 211, 73.

4 July.

RICHARD HADSOR to SAME.

A merchant late come from Drogheda in Ireland informs me that one Boyzart, a goldsmith at Crossick in Brittany, makes counterfeit coins like those of the new standard in Ireland, and that they are circulated in Ireland. It is said that the money is also being counterfeited in Scotland, and that 1,000*l.* of it can be had there for 100*l.* sterling. Steps should be taken to prevent any Scot, Frenchman or other foreigner from making any payment in Ireland, and to see that the chief officer of the town is informed of such persons as intend to make payments there and examines them straitly as to where and from whom they received the coin which they propose to pay. Other courses, as you may think fit, should be used for punishing this offence.

On Sunday last the Countess of Kildare sent for me and agreed with me that the Earl of Kildare shall be her tenant of her jointure lands in Ireland. I have acquainted my Lord Admiral with this, and he is very pleased. I am to attend at the Council Board to-day to receive the answer of the Board to letters from the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland (recently delivered by me) touching the redelivery to the Earl of Kildare of his evidences. I am ready to answer Sir Robert Digby in any of her Majesty's Courts.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. (*Hol.*) *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid*, 74.

5 July.
Shandon.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SAME.

I recommend Mr. Comerford, the second Justice of Munster. I have the highest opinion of him for his long and loyal service, and he attended me on journeys, as lately to Dunboy. "In his own condition of a judge he doth exceed many that have carried higher places in the kingdom, and proceedeth therein with such true understanding and discretion as much good doth accrue to her high affairs by him." He now only wants an exchange [of offices], and his loyalty should be encouraged.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid*, 75.

[6 July.]

DRAFT of [the PRIVY COUNCIL] to the TREASURER OF IRELAND.

By the Queen's commission to us of 25 April last, we are authorised to warrant as well her Exchequer as any other her receivers for the payment of all such sums as may be needful for maintenance of an exchange established by her Highness between England and Ireland. We hear that, in accordance with her proclamation in that behalf, you have got into your hands divers old base moneys heretofore current in Ireland,

1602.

and have sent them here, having paid for them according to the proclamation and the covenants between her Majesty and you. By virtue of her Majesty's commission aforesaid, we order you to deliver these moneys, amounting to 538*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*, to Sir Thomas Knyvett, Master of the Queen's Mint, so that they may be converted into moneys of the new standard of Ireland. His receipt and this letter will be your discharge for this on your accounts. For the cost of transportation you shall be allowed [*blank*]* *l.*, and, for buying of the same [old moneys] 12*d.* in the 1*l.*, *i.e.*, 26*l.* 18*s.* 10½*d.* in the new money.

P. 1½, with further notes in another hand:—

(1) The Warden of the Mint to be ordered to receive these moneys, and to give Mr. Treasurer a receipt therefor under his hand.

(2) A letter to be written to the Lord Deputy about increasing the list according to the tenor of her Majesty's letter.

P. 1½, followed by:—

Draft of [the Same] to the Warden of the Mint.

Directing him to receive from Sir George Cary the 538*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* and give a receipt for it; and to coin it into as much money of the new standard of Ireland as it will make.

P. ¾, followed by:—

Note of part of Mr. Treasurer [of Wars in Ireland]'s letter concerning the Lords' warrant for increase of the army.

Explains how the force of 14,000 allowed by the establishment signed by the Queen, was increased by 2,000 on her Majesty's letters, and by a further increase afterwards. *Asks* for letters of warrant from the Council that he may set right his accounts.

Pp. 3¼. *Endd.* with date. *S.P. Ireland* 211, 76.

[7 July.]

DRAFT of [the QUEEN] to the TREASURER OF IRELAND.

We observe by your letters that you have not observed the straight words of our proclamation for introduction of the new standard into Ireland, and the exchange thereby appointed, nor of the covenants made with us for the observation of the same, in that you have refused to receive to the Exchange moneys of mere copper of the said new coin to be exchanged hither for sterling moneys. You have done this of your own discretion, finding what a burden would grow to the Queen if you accepted them; and you have asked for the approval of this action. We approve it and approve your judgment in that and other things of the like nature where the strict observation of the letter of our proclamation, being not answered with equal care on the merchants' part, might cause great frauds to be committed contrary to our true meaning. Continue to refuse to accept such copper coin to be exchanged for sterling in other acceptations [??] and uses than as our coin current there; and observe in all points the Lord Deputy's proclamations, by our

* A note adds:—"This blank to be filled by the Lord Treasurer."

1602.

warrant, there on 9 June last. We have caused our Council to write in this sense to your deputies, so that the copper may be refused universally.

P. 1½. *Endd.* with date. *S.P. Ireland* 211, 77.

[7 July.] DRAFT of [the PRIVY COUNCIL] to [the OFFICERS of the EXCHANGE in IRELAND].

By experience in matters of the Exchange between this realm and that the Queen has found that the receiving of moneys of mere copper to be exchanged here for sterling brings great inconveniences and serves for a colour to defraud her; and has accordingly ordered the Master of the Exchange that from henceforth neither he nor his deputies shall receive any such moneys to be exchanged here. As this restriction should be observed universally throughout the realm . . . we charge you to refuse all such money of mere copper current there as may be offered for exchange and to observe in all things the late proclamation issued by the Lord Deputy under her Majesty's warrant.

We have heard of your* care and industry in handling the matter of the exchange from the Master of the Exchange here and his deputy. We shall not forget your industry.

A note in another hand adds:—

They should be instructed to see that no debts for bargains made before the exchange should be brought upon the Exchange; but only such things as have happened since the proclamation was published.

P. 1. *Endd.* with date, and "To the Master of the Exchange's deputies in Ireland." *Ibid*, 78.

7 July. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.
Cork.

I recommend Captain Henry Skipwith, who has already been favoured by you. At Kinsale, he served in my regiment and was lieutenant-colonel. *Elaborate recommendations.*

P. 1. *Signed Add. Endd. Ibid*, 79.

7 July. AGNUS MCCONNELL to SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER.
At the Logh.

I have received your letters from John Lugg touching my son Sir James, wherein you say that he slandered you by his speeches for the surrendering of Dunluce Castle. Sir James denies that he ever spoke the words alleged to have been spoken by him and will prove this when he is with you, which will be ere long. You have not yet told me what is the Deputy's answer to my last demands. Please send it by this bearer, whom you may trust, and send back with him a servant of your own to me at Kyntire.

P. ¾. *Copy. Endd. Ibid*, 80.

* This is apparently a common form letter. If so, the statement is hypocritical.

1602.
9 July.
Athlone.

CAPTAIN MALBIE to SECRETARY CECIL.

Sir Oliver Lambert, has, as we hear, been for some time fully possessed of Sligo. He has built a strong fort there on the Abbey and harbour, to the great discomfiture of the rebels, whom he has preyed and spoiled and driven them clean out of that country. He has also, "to his most worthy reputation," made a journey to Enniskillen (Maguire's chief house and the greatest fastness of all those parts). He overthrew many chief men there and brought away a great prey to Sligo. By these victories "I judge the rage of that war is utterly disheartened." We expect his speedy return to scatter our few enemy hereabouts. The Governor left me in command at Athlone in his absence. I will send anything which occurs and is worth hearing. *Details.*

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 81.

10 July.
Kilkenny.

THOMAS, EARL OF ORMOND AND OSSORY to SAME.

*Many protestations of friendship. Refers to his friendship for Lord Burleigh. Proceeds:—*I have heard from the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Edward Stafford of your kindness in my nephew Theobald Butler's cause, and have also heard of it from other sources. I am very grateful for this; both for my nephew's sake and because I desire "the continuance of my ancient house in true succession, the securing of my only daughter her estate, the quieting of my country and of my kinsmen and followers." The best way to effect this were to join them both in marriage. This course has been taken by my cousin Cary and others in England.

P. 1. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid,* 82.

13 July.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

In addition to news already sent you with regard to the intentions of Spain, I now send the enclosed which prove that a fresh invasion from that country is probable. . . . I report nothing but what is confidently believed here; and if you accept it, please remember that this country cannot subsist except by aid from England; and that the Spaniards intend to make Ireland a bridge to pass into England.

If the Spaniards come there will certainly be a general rising, at all events at the place where they arrive; and this cannot be suppressed by her Majesty's army which is now scattered over the face of the country. It is most likely that they will attempt Munster. You know the state of that province well enough; and I need only remind you that it does not contain a single city or town which is strong enough, either by art or nature, to make resistance for time convenient until they be relieved. The fortifications at Kinsale and Cork will not be finished before the invasion takes place—if it comes at the time alleged. They, therefore, have nothing to defend them but men.

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For the purpose of such defence I am drawing the forces in the province together to Cork. This city, where her Majesty's treasure and victual are stored, will be the main objective of the Spaniards. I hope to make good its defence or leave my body in it, but I beg for supplies of men, munitions and victuals ; and I beg that these be sent before the enemy be landed, lest he be possessed of the harbour of Cork, which would make it impossible to land men here.

I send an estimate of the victuals and munitions remaining in this province ; but I cannot tell how they are distributed as the clerk who has control of these matters is away at Kinsale, receiving the provisions which have come from Dunboy. The moiety of the victuals is herrings and Poor John ; and the soldiers have not been used to being fed on fish except on two days in the week, and that when in garrison, "and at no time when we are in the field where the soldier has neither time or means to water them, as is meet before they be eaten ; and yet of necessity I was constrained for the issuing of the same at the time of my late being in the field for ten weeks together to expend that victual, whereat, and not without cause, the soldier mightily repined, so many of them fell sick by that victualling, and to my knowledge they did ordinarily sell of their allowances 80 salt herrings for 1*d.*, whereas they receive but eight for 2½*d.*" The remaining fish, which is very great, I will issue as soon as I can to prevent loss, but I beg that the victuallers be ordered not to send any more fish until the supply which is here has been used up. The other victuals are satisfactory. They are fairly well stored here too ; but the storehouses are dispersed throughout the country ; and after an enemy is landed it will be difficult, or impossible, to supply one place from another. I therefore pray send quickly.*

As to ordnance :—Her Majesty's ordnance in these parts is dispersed at Limerick, Cork and Kinsale. There are three demi-cannon at Limerick, one cannon, one demi-cannon and two culverins at Cork and Kinsale, and some smaller pieces at each of these places ; but these smaller guns, and the sixteen Spanish pieces which I brought from Dunboy want "mountures" ; so I beg that planks may be sent from the Tower and a sufficient carpenter and his man and a smith ; for this place yields neither man nor stuff to serve that turn ; and also that foreign shot may be provided in England to suit our Spanish guns. I also beg that six canoniers may be sent here to be placed as I dispose. We have none here. If they do come I beg that their entertainment may be rated by the officers of the ordnance there and not by me.

I also send an official [*details*] certificate of the number of the supplies sent over with Sir Edward Wingfield, and of how they were disposed. The deficiencies are great, but less than I have ever known here before. It is shewn that 657 men were delivered

* In this despatch Carew clearly shows that he is convinced that the threatened invasion will be made.

1602.

over for supplying the list of Munster, as it then stood (being 4,500 foot), but of these 340 were sent with the reinforcement of 1,500 men which I sent to the Lord Deputy after my return from Dunboy, so that 317 was the actual number used for making good the deficiencies in my 3,000 men in Munster.

In my journal concerning Dunboy I mentioned that there were three prisoners whom I respited for a time. One, by name Taylor, I executed when I could get nothing from him worth the understanding. Another was called Tyr laugh Roe McSwyny, a gentleman of Thomond, from whom I fear I shall reap no better benefit, so I purpose that he shall "run Taylor's fortune." The third, Dominick Collins, a Jesuit, seems more open-hearted, and as he has had long education in France and Spain, and may have given your lordships valuable information in times past, I respite his execution until I know your lordship's pleasure.

As I expected (and foretold in my recent letters) the impending arrival of the Spaniards has caused some to relapse; and Donnough Moel McCartie, and his brother Fynnen, sons to Sir Owen McCartie, have gone into rebellion; and I fear that, as the opinion of Spanish aids shall increase, more will follow their example. "The falling off of these gentlemen from their duties (the estate of this province standing as now it doth) is not material or of any moment, for, if the succours they expect arrive, I had no hope to stay them or almost to hold any other," so that their revolting a few days later makes no difference.

"If their succours fail them I doubt not to be able not only to banish them but all the rest that are in rebellion in Munster"; and were it not for the hopes they have from Spain, I would humble their spirit and keep them in obedience. The revolt of these two brothers (who, I hear, have received 300*l.* of the Spanish money brought over by Owen McEigan, the Pope's Bishop of Ross) much confirms me in the expectation of present aids. These gentlemen were never, till the late arrival of the Spaniards, suspected or touched with rebellion, and then only stood neutral for a few days, and, presently acknowledging their errors, came to the Lord Deputy and humbly begged to have their faults remitted. The sum (300*l.*) they have received is small, and I wonder at their risking their lands and possessions of greater value, "standing besides (as they did now that Florence McCarty and his brother are suppressed) as next heirs to have possessed the country of Carbery."

P.S.—Since I wrote last I took a castle of the traitor Sir Fynin O'Driscoll's on my way homeward. It is called Lyttterlenlis [Lettterinlish]. I gave the spoil to the soldiers and burnt the castle. The army and the force under Captain Roger Harvey have since taken several other castles strongly seated upon rocks and necks of land, Donmanis [Dunmanus], Lemcon [Leamcon], Rincoluskin, Donnegall, and the Downinges. All are close to the sea and shipping may ride safely near them, so they are likely places for the enemy to take and hold. The Council therefore agreed with me that they and Cape Clear Castle, formerly taken, should be burnt, so as to prevent the enemy

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from making use of them and save the Queen the burden of useless wards. Captain Roger Harvey has received orders accordingly, but the Castles of Duninalong, Donneshead [Duneshead], and Castlehaven I have respited pending further orders from your lordships. I have withdrawn the two Harvyes from them with their companies, leaving only wards to guard them against the Irish.

Pp. 7. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 83. Enclosing:—

- A. Report to Sir George Carew by Cormock McDermot, Lord of Muskery, which was related to Cormock by those who came from Owen McEigan, the Pope's Bishop of Ross, that came lately out of Spain with letters, money and munitions to Munster.

He says that Don Juan D'Aquila is using every effort to dissuade the King of Spain from sending an army to Ireland, and bitterly taxes the Irish with infidelity; but his dissuasions are of no effect, for the King holds "him in his disgrace," and intends to prosecute his designs against the Queen at all risks, "for that he finds himself much engaged in honour to make good his enterprise and to advance the Catholic cause, and to relieve those of Ireland who for his sake have hazarded apparent ruin and destruction unless by him they be aided; besides he thinks that Ireland is a fair step into England."

The army is to be landed there by Lammas Day; the place of landing is not settled. Cork and Galway are spoken of, but Cork is most affected.

The army is to be 15,000 foot and 2,000 horse.

Don Luis de Carillo, Count of Caracena and Governor of the Groyne, is the chief favourer of Irish fugitives in Spain. He racks his credit to the utmost to advance their designs, and it is thought by some that he will command the army.

An Italian priest sent from Rome by the Pope is to remain in Ireland as his legate; and 5,000 of the invading force is to consist of Italians and to be at the Pope's charges.

The Earl of Thomond's land is given by the King to O'Donnell to bestow upon such of the O'Briens as he shall nominate that will be true servants to him. O'Donnell, Redmond Bourke and the rest of the Irish in Spain are greatly favoured and much esteemed.

Owen McEigan has brought legitimations from the Pope for Donell McCarty, the bastard son of the late Earl of Clancarr, and for divers others reputed bastards in Munster.

P. 1½. Signed by Carew. Endd. Ibid, 83A.

- B. Remain of the munition and arms in the Queen's store at Cork on 5 July, 1602.

This is a long list of arms and stores the amount or number of each item being stated.

Sir George Carew appends a note as follows:—

This list was delivered to me by Michael Hughes, Clerk of the Munitions, residing in Munster. All these things, I find,

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remain at Cork. We urgently want pioneers' tools. Those sent last winter were exceedingly consumed at the sieges of Dunboy and Kinsale, or have been sent to the Lord Deputy. Please send a large supply.

In all pp. 2. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 83B.

c. Deposition of Tyrlaugh Roe McSwyny, a gentleman of Thomond, now prisoner, and one of the principal men left at Dunboy by O'Sullivan Beare for the defence of the place, taken before Sir George Carew on 9 July, 1602.

O'Sullivan Beare seized the Castle of Dunboy when he found the Spaniards were going to give it up [&c., as related before].

O'Sullivan Beare erected the fortifications at Dunboy, except one platform towards the sea, but the works which he erected "were by him finished according to that form which the Spaniards intended."

The Spanish cannoniers in Dunboy were first stayed by O'Sullivan against their wills. Nevertheless they served him faithfully. "More forward or willing men to further the service against the English he never saw; and [they] animated those of the ward to fight it out to the last man."

The King of Spain's army will surely be in Ireland by the beginning of the next month, for so the letters brought by Owen McEigan say. These letters were landed at Kilmallock on 5 June, and were from the King to the Conde de Caragena and many of the Spanish nobility and Irish fugitives.

Many of the Irishry, though they have not declared it publicly, are "combined in the Spanish treasons." They say that they will not rashly adventure their estates, but declare themselves when the Spanish army is landed. He says, in answer to a question as to who the persons are who are so implicated that all the Irishry will forward the Spanish and Catholic cause; that he knows this and that O'Sullivan Beare told him so. He says also that if the Spaniards do not come as expected then O'Sullivan Beare, Tyrrell, William Bourke McMorres, the reputed Baron of Lixnawe, the Knight of the Valley, the Knight of Kerry, O'Connor Kerry, and Conor, son and heir to Sir Fynin O'Driscoll, will all depart for Spain.

P. 1½. Signed by Carew. Endd. Ibid, 83C.

d. Deposition of Dominick Collins, a Jesuit,* taken before Sir G. Carew, 9 July, 1602.

Deponent, when 33 years old, left Youghal 16 years ago and landed at Sable de Olona in Poitou. Went thence to Nantes and was a servant in an inn there for three years. Having then got some money to fit himself out for the wars, he did so, and served on horseback with the League under the Duke Mercure for some eight or nine years. He served under different captains, of whom M. Fontenelles was the last. He was called by the French Captain de la Branche.

* See above, p. 437.

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Then, procuring letters from Don Juan de Aquila, he went to Spain, and had an audience of the King, who (by means of the Bishop of Clonsfert that came over with Don Juan to Ireland and died at Kinsale) gave him a pension of 25 crowns a month. He held this for a year, and then met with Thomas White of Clonmel, who is Rector of the College of the Irish seminary in Salamanca. White induced him to renounce his pension and profess himself a Jesuit, and he did so, and remained in a College of Jesuits in St. James' in Galicia about three years. When he left the College two young men of Ireland remained in it who were professed Jesuits. One was Richard, son of Richard or Robert Walsh of Waterford, and the other John Lee, son of Walter Lee of Kilkenny. Lee came with Don Juan to Kinsale, and remained there to be the King's intelligencer. James Archer, the Jesuit, procured the Superior of the Jesuits in Castile to command deponent to come with the holy enterprise to Ireland. Deponent never saw Archer, for he came to Ireland not with Don Juan but with the supplies which came later with "Sir Iago" to Castlehaven.

Deponent went from Castlehaven to Tyrone's camp, and was with him at his overthrow near Kinsale. After that he did not return with Tyrone to Ulster but remained with his friends, rebels, in Munster.

He brought with him to Ireland three letters from the Rector of St. James' College in Galicia, and two youths, to Archer. He confidently affirms that these contained nothing but particular commendations of the cause. He brought also a letter from the aforesaid John Lee to his father at Kinsale.

He first met the Jesuit Archer about the beginning of February last at a castle called Gortnecloughy [Gortnecloghe], near Castlehaven, and remained with him till Sir George Carew arrived before Dunboy, when Archer left.

Deponent does not know of any messages sent by Archer to people in Ireland; but he knows that Archer wrote a letter to a priest of O'Sullivan More's in which he advised the priest to withdraw O'Sullivan More from his allegiance to the Queen, and to join their holy enterprise. Archer used as an argument the contents of a letter from Sir Charles Wilmot to Sir George Carew which the rebels had intercepted, and in which O'Sullivan More was condemned for the revolt of his son. Archer said that this letter should shew O'Sullivan More that it was not safe to live under the English, and that he should therefore join with them.

Deponent does not know of any letters received by Archer from people either in Ireland or Spain since he met Archer; but deponent himself received letters from Patrick Synnott, a priest, who dwells in the Groyne, a little more than a month after his arrival in Ireland. They said that O'Donnell was very royally treated in Spain, and that the King will sooner lose his crown than suffer the forces he had sent to perish.

1602.

Another letter of the King's to the Earl of Groyne* was sent to the Viador† at Castlehaven, and arrived there about the beginning of February last. In this letter the King expressed his determination to maintain the holy cause in Ireland, and ordered Don Luis de Carillo to send O'Donnell to Court where the King would consult at large with him on all matters. At the same time the King sent instructions to the Viador to strengthen all the harbours in the west with his best expedition.

In the same packet came letters to MacMorris and O'Sullivan Beare, Fynnen McCarty, Donnough McCarty, O'Donovan, Captain Tirell, Donnell McCarty, Dermot Moel McCarty, Conogher O'Driscoll and some others, by Don Luis. Deponent was told that letters were sent only to such as had sworn loyalty to the King and had given pledges. O'Sullivan Beare did send his son as a pledge of his loyalty; but the others, seeing that Don Juan was drawing to a composition, did not send pledges. These Irishmen wrote to the King after the composition, complaining of the way in which their castles were handed over to the English and saying that, as they were 2,000 strong, they would keep the war going till May [1602]. The "pettache" which brought supplies from Spain to Dunboy brought two letters (which McEigan delivered to deponent), one from O'Donnell to O'Connor Kerry, giving encouragement and asking for news, and another from Owen McEigan to Richard Magoughegan, Captain of the Castle of Dunboy, which spoke of 13,000 Spaniards drawn together at the Groyne embarked and ready to come away.

In answer to questions as to the intentions of Spain to invade Ireland again, deponent said:—

The Viador told him that if Don Juan had not come to terms with Lord Mountjoy so soon, 6,000 men would have been sent to second him. The Viador also told deponent that the King was determined to assemble an army of 30,000 men horse and foot, consisting of Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, French horse and Scots. Deponent did not hear if the Kings were to be in combination in the action or not, but heard that an Earl was to bring the Scots from Scotland. These, with 10,000 Irish, who, as the King of Spain calculated would rise in arms, would overrun Ireland and make this realm "his ladder or bridge into England." O'Sullivan Beare has told deponent that if the Spaniards do not come he will go to Spain, never purposing to come under English government. Deponent thinks that if the Spaniards do come there will be a great revolt in Ireland, and that when they do come they will be so strong that, whether the Irish assist them or not, they will be able to perform what they intend.

In answer to further questions, deponent says that if, as suggested, the Spaniards have any hope of help from the port towns

* Carew adds in the margin, "Don Luis de Carillo, Count de Caracena."

† Don Pedro Lopez de Soto.

1602.

of Ireland, such hope is unknown to him. The Conde de Caracena did, however, tell deponent that if Don Juan had marched straight to Cork the town had been his, and that Don Juan now repents not having done so, because, in Spain, they blame him for not having taken it. Don Juan's instructions were to go to Cork, Kinsale or Castlehaven, but first to Cork. The Viador, in conversation with deponent, spoke strongly of his dislike for the Irish towns, and said that as for the citizens of Cork, "he wished he could eat all their hearts, for that he thought them subjects to no Prince; and for that town and Waterford he would work upon his return into Spain to make a restraint against them."

Deponent said that if Florence McCarthy had been here [at the time of the Spanish invasion] all the country would have gone forth with him.

Pp. 44. Signed by Carew. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 83D.

14 July.
Derry.

SIR HENRY DOCWRA to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have been with the Lord Deputy in camp near Dungannon, but have now withdrawn here to get more victuals while he does the like. I am, in a few days, to attend him again in those parts. Meantime I have, by my Lord's direction, mitigated Neale Garve's humours (we now call him Sir Neale O'Donnell), and have sent him to live in his country, of which he is in full and quiet possession. It was difficult to quiet him, but at the same time it was very important that he should be satisfied because he has it in his power to keep the country, if foreign forces should arrive, and thus can do us much service or mischief. I have also, by my Lord's special directions, entered into negotiations with O'Cane, and he proceeds so roundly therein that, although he has often deceived me in the like manner heretofore, I think he is now in good earnest; for if he is not it tends clearly to his ruin. The garrisons which the Lord Deputy has put at Lough Sydney, and I at the Omey, and those which we are respectively about to lay at Monghan and Dungiven (the last bordering on his country and the great fortress of Glancomkyne) will lay waste as much country as is inhabited by the rebels from the Erne northward. *Respectful* messages and assurances of friendship follow.

P. 1½. (Hol.) Add. Endd. Ibid, 84.

15 July.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SAME.

I send advertisements which have apparently come by a slow messenger, for the Mayor [of Waterford] had the news of the merchant on the 9th and the packet did not get here till to-day.* It is clear that there are great preparations in Spain, and that the King wanteth no will to attack Ireland again, "since

* But he does not say when it left Waterford.

1602.

his late wound of dishonour bleeding fresh within him will quicken him the more to a revenge." The army spoken of is so large that I doubt that part of the advertisement. Besides, as the King of Spain knows that the army which lately beat him out of Ireland is still kept on foot there, and that the Irish who were a help to him last winter are now scattered, he will think twice about coming "if the passion of revenge abound not more in him than a serious advice and consideration of things."

I send you the information without expressing any final opinion on its truth; but the author is an Irishman "who will not stick to fable strange rumours to the end to serve the turn of the Irish."

The Lord Deputy has put Tyrone into Clancomkine* and his confederates into their quarters, and, we hear, walks at large in the plains of Tyrone. This is a great change, and I cannot but think that this sudden giving way is due to an expectation of foreign succours or else to some other deep project to work their escape out of the realm, or await a happy hour to come to submission. I believe that they have some deep device, tending to work their safety.

Sir John Berkely, sergeant-major of the army, was shot three days ago through the body and killed. He was buried at Armagh.

P. 1. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 85.
Enclosing :—

- A. *Deposition of Robert Browne of Waterford, taken before me, Robert Walsh, Mayor of Waterford, on 9 July, 1602.*

Deponent left Rochelle twelve days passed. A merchant of Rochelle who had been with a cargo of corn to the Groyne had returned to Rochelle about 14 days before deponent left it. He told deponent that an army of 15,000 foot and 2,000 horse was in readiness at the Groyne and thereabouts along the coast; but he did not know where they were to be employed. Several English and French merchants who came [to Rochelle] from the Groyne said that it was commonly reported that O'Donnell had come for Ireland about five weeks since with 100,000 ducats in a "patashoe," and no more than eight in his company of his own followers; that the "patasho" had since returned to Spain, having landed O'Donnell and the treasure in Ireland. A Portingale who came from Viana thither told him that it was proclaimed from Viana that all prisoners who were committed for debt or any other offences would be set at liberty if they undertook to serve the King. While deponent was at Rochelle, a peer of the realm of France (whose name he does not know) was executed at Paris for conspiring the King's death.

P. 2. Copy. Signed and countersigned (copies). Endd. Ibid, 85A.

* This name is spelt in many different ways.

1602.

B. *Note of arms and munition remaining in Dublin store on 14 July, 1602.*

Common powder, match, lead, swords, halberds, staves for horsemen, crows, shovels, cressets, &c. Numbers given in each case.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *Endd. in Sir George Cary's hand. S.P. Ireland 211, 85B.*

18 July.
Waterford.

SIR NICHOLAS WALSH to SECRETARY CECIL.

I send you a "cast of facons" by Harry Sherwood. *Compliments.*
P. $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid. 86.*

19 July.
Monaghan.

THE LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.*

We received yours of 19th June on 8th July, when we were encamped at Lough Sidney. We had already taken Dungannon and sent a force as far as Enniskillen on Lough Erne, taken some strong islands and made a defensible post for 1,000 foot and 100 horse close to Dungannon and on Lough Sidney, from whence it may be well victualled. We intended to prosecute Tyrone and ruin him, but owing to the length of march which would be necessary for this and the distance which we would have to place between ourselves and our means of relief [base of supplies], we thought it best to dismiss Sir Henry Docwra to leave and provide for good supplies at the Omev and to draw off to Dungevin in O'Cane's country, taking with him sufficient supplies to enable him to prosecute and fall upon Tyrone that way in twenty days' time. Sir Arthur Chichester is to do the like by Toome, and we at the same time are to invade him by Killetroue that doth next border upon Tyrone. All the bases for these various forces are meantime to be well provisioned, and we "do presume that the garrison of the Omy and the other upon Lough Sidney will restrain the traitor from the plains into the fastness where now he is." In the meantime we with the main, lying in places where it is most easy to get victuals, will pass the time in assuring or wasting all the countries between Blackwater and the Pale. We have taken his strongest island fort, recovered some pieces of the Queen's artillery, made him quit most of the rest [of his country?] and have utterly banished his partizans out of these parts, and, lastly, have taken his island of Magherlocowe, which next to Dungannon was his strongest place.

Reports the death of Sir John Barkly and Captain Willis.† and *proceeds* as in the narrative given by Fynes Moryson† as to the preparations made in the event of a Spanish invasion. *Continues* :—We have great fear in the event of such an invasion of the loss both of this kingdom and the other. We are grateful for the care her Majesty takes of us, and beg you to express our thanks and of our desire to deliver her from "the great incommodities which her estate doth suffer by these wars," and that

* Fynes Moryson (III., 178 sq.) gives an inaccurate abstract of this despatch.

† *Ibid.*, III., 178.

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the demands which we make are only for things which are absolutely necessary. We are deeply grateful for the immense supplies of victual which have been sent "and almost ashamed to think thereon," but, without such supplies, it was, we thought impossible to draw this war to an end; for [without them] we could not have pierced so far, and by so many ways into the traitor's country, "nor leave the garrisons which by that means were planted here so strong in numbers as that every of them apart might without apparent hazard not only withstand all that whole force which he can in any one place make head with to draw upon them, but to be stirring with some parties to seek out him and his creaghts in their fastnesses," &c., as in Fynes Moryson (*op. cit.*), Vol. III, p. 178-9, as to fortification.

Proceeds :—For the matter of apparel it is true that, before the new coin was made current here, I, the Deputy thought that the captains would be best content if they might supply clothing to their companies, and I thought this course would be of least charge to the Queen as the captains might easily make their purchases in England, or in part here. I adhered to this opinion for some time "so as the Exchange might be royally maintained." On this point we no longer have any doubt since we have received assurances upon it from your lordship; but time and experience "have discovered so many difficulties and inconveniences that no man could conjecture or forecast, as we are now all thoroughly persuaded the course" of clothing by means of the merchants must be continued.*

Neale Garve has been with us when Sir H. Docwra met us with the force of Loughfoyle. *Proceeds* to describe his character as in Fynes Moryson (*op. cit.*) III, p. 179-180. *Proceeds* further as to the rumour of Spanish invasion, the steps taken in view of it, the taking in of Maguire's garrison at Ballyshannon, &c., as in Moryson *Ibid* p. 180-181. *Proceeds* :—Our fear is that if the Spaniards come they will come sufficiently strong to maintain themselves without any help from the Irish. This will mean that all the Irish will join them unless we be supplied "very royally," and we beg you to consider the question of supplies accordingly. We send you a copy of a letter of the King of Scots in favour of Agnus [Angus], Lord of Kentyre, and his son Sir James McConnell, who makes a title to the Glynnnes. We have deferred them till our return to Dublin, both having use of Randall McDonnell in the meantime, who has that country in possession, and wishing to prevent as much as is possible their claim by forces out of Scotland. We should be grateful if your lordship would write to those McConnells to claim only by course of law, as becomes lawful subjects, and not by arms. This would quiet these northern parts. If there are fresh disputes about "those glynnnes" a number of Scots will be drawn over and it will be very hard to get rid of them. If we do not assist them they will join with Tyrone; and if we do we shall lose Randall, who is rich, powerful, and, at present, loyal.

* In his brief abstract of this passage Moryson omits all reference to the new coinage, which is no doubt the key to the situation. See Preface.

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Pp. 8. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy, and by Wingfield and Bouchier. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 87.

19 July.
Monaghan.

THE LORD DEPUTY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

I received the Queen's letters of the 8th of July to my infinite comfort. Ireland by herself is one thing, but Ireland supported by the King of Spain is quite another; and this must be remembered when the expense of the campaign is considered. If Spain had not taken Ireland's part there would not now be one rebel of any power in Ireland and the army might have been reduced to as low a figure as her Majesty pleased. If Spain abandon them I do not doubt I shall be able to bring things to that pass by this time next year, though in the meantime we may reduce our army here by thousands. I should even now begin large reductions but that I think it better to wait till the cloud of invasion be better cleared. If we have to fight both Spain and Ireland, however, I cannot reduce the Queen's charge.

The garrisons which I am planting will not involve any increase in her Majesty's charge; but if the Irish were left alone the kingdom may be kept quiet with but few men; and I could draw up a project to show this, of the wisdom of which I could convince any reasonable man. It is to explain that (after I have satisfied my first desire, which is to kiss the Queen's hands), that I desire leave to come to England.

“For the matter of Tyrone I will boldly affirm that never any minister of her Majesty's hath handled that point with so tender a care of her honour as I have done.” At Kinsale the Lord President brought in to me one O'Brien who communicated to me Tyrone's desire to be received to mercy, and swore upon *officium beatae Mariae* that Tyrone wished nothing more than to be a subject, and to serve against the King of Spain and for the establishment of peace in Ireland; but that he despaired of liberty and “besides his great affairs alleged some reasons which I think fit to omit.” In conclusion he said that if I would send George Blount to Tyrone I should receive the fullest satisfaction. O'Brien also offered to give himself up as a pledge [of Tyrone's sincerity] if his life were promised him. I despatched Blount with the articles enclosed* and with some further instructions written in the President's own hand. Blount returned saying Tyrone would agree to all the terms proposed, and desired only that some commissioners should be sent to conclude with him. This I did not approve, and I have since refused to deal with him although he has made means to me with that object as you will see by Sir Garrett Moore's letter which is enclosed. As for the allegation of insult upon the conference had by Blount with him, “upon my salvation I think that it to be merely fallacy.” He has often asserted it, and when Captain Williams was a prisoner with him Tyrone called him “before his own army to whom in their hearing he used these speeches:—‘You have been beholding unto me for your life and the greatest requital you shall do for

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it is to deliver this safely to the Deputy. I hear he is offended with me for giving out that I am sought to for a peace. I do protest before all these people that I am slandered therein. I have ever sought and do now most humbly seek her Majesty's mercy. I know her to be a mighty Prince and, if I had not care of my honesty to report what is false, yet it were ridiculous for me, considering her power and my fortune, to speak in that manner.' " Indeed, there are many witnesses to prove that so soon as I came to the Newry " he did weep bitterly and cry out that I was born to undo him." He is now in as miserable condition as possible unless new hopes help him. Randall the Scot told Sir Arthur Chichester that Tyrone had asked him whether he would be allowed by the King of Scots to fly " with himself and his wife " through Scotland, and I hope you may shortly hear that " some such will be his best fortune," unless—again I say it—Spain helps him. But if Spain does so she will assuredly do it with such an army " as you shall hear of them in England if you do not make such a war here as you would do to defend England." I hope God will confound all the Queen's enemies and unfaithful subjects, " to which end no man's life shall be more liberally employed than the life of her poor servant and your true friend. Mountjoy."

Pp. 4. (Hol.) S.P. Ireland 211, 88. Enclosing :—

Sir Garrett Moore to the Lord Deputy.

The man whom I sent to Tyrone yesterday is returned to me. He says that Tyrone is in camp at Benburb with about 500 or 600 men, repairing his decayed fights to offend your lordship going down. He shewed him the articles I sent, which, when he had perused, he said he would stand on no commodities with his prince, but that he could not sign the articles as some of them were mistaken, Turlagh Brasiloe's sons and O'Cane being included in his patent as part of Tyrone. He will be ready to show this to any that it shall please you to have sight of the same.

For arrears of rent he says that he owes none, as he holds the earldom from her Majesty by knight's service.

He says that he cannot pay the fine your lordship proposes to lay upon him, but will pay any reasonable charge.

He will not stand upon [i.e. will agree to] the remaining terms, and will rather deliver up his son than see the destruction of his country. They are very poor beneath, and much people dying of want, which causeth many to desire peace.

Maguire, whom Tyrone supporteth, and was married to Cormack McBaron's daughter, hath of late put her away. On this " a great dislike is grown and I wish it may continue, Maguire being a man of a great command."

P. 1½. Copy subscribed with :—

Tyrone to Sir Garrett Moore.

" I commend me unto you. Insomuch as I know not what the Lord Deputy has resolved on the return I sent by your

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brother and Ri. Owen to his lordship, I thought good to let you understand that if it may stand with his liking to send yourself or some other whom he thinketh good to confer with me, it is not unlike but that by conference a way may be opened for some conclusion to follow, which otherwise cannot so conveniently be done. So, expecting your answer, I commit you to God.—24 June, 1602, stilo novo."

P. $\frac{1}{4}$. In all p. $1\frac{3}{4}$. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 88A.

20 July. SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

Calendared in *Calendar of S.P. Carew, 1601–3*, at pp. 276–8 q.v.

Pp. $2\frac{1}{2}$. Signed. Add. Endd. With seal; the shield bearing three lions passant [sable] and the crest—a demi-lion [sable] issuing out of a mast-top [or]. *Ibid*, 89. Enclosing:—

A. Deposition of *Ellyn nye Connor*,* taken on July 19, 1602.

Connor O'Driscoll and James Archer, the Jesuit, went to sea on July 3rd. When they were in the offing of the Dorseys [Durseys] they discovered four sail. Being afraid of these they returned to Ardea. They set sail again on 6 July. Deponent did not hear of their staying there five days later.

The object with which Connor O'Driscoll and James Archer went to Spain was to hasten away the army which the King was somewhat unwilling to send because news had come to Spain from England that all the rebels of Munster were taken in as subjects, and had put in security for their loyalty "or [been] slain"; also that at the time the fleet was to set forth the Adelantado died, which caused further delay.

O'Donnell was much displeased at the delay and begged the King if he would not send away the army, at least to let him [O'Donnell] depart; but the King would not permit this, but sent away the patache which landed on June 5 at the Bay of Canmarra [Kenmare?] to see how the rebels in Munster, if any, persevered, and to send them munition, money and encouragement. O'Sullivan, Archer, Tyrrell and the other rebels sent answer by the patache that they would persevere in the rebellion; and they begged the King to hasten his army over, and that in the meantime they would hold Dunboy and the country thereabouts for the King. To confirm their promise for the country, Connor O'Driscoll and Archer are now departed; as also to expedite the succours.

In spite of all doubts expressed to the contrary Owen McEigan believes in the return of the patache aforesaid, that the same is now at sea; yet, fearing the worst, it was thought good to dispatch Connor O'Driscoll and Archer, and [they thought also] that if they should meet the army at sea they would be of use for pilotage. Connor O'Driscoll also wanted to go to Spain to get a grant of lands in Spain in return for

* As to Carew's opinion of this witness see his letter, which the deposition certainly justifies, in *Calendar of S.P. Carew, 1601–3*, p. 276.

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his services and the loss of his men in Dunboy and the Dorseys. He thinks to obtain this from the King, the Dorseys being [having been] defended only by Connor O'Driscoyl's men.

Owen McEigan and Dermot McConnor O'Driscoyl (Florence McCartie's man who came in the said patache out of Spain aforesaid) say that the army is to make its descent at Cork; but propose, on the way, to send a pinnace into Berehaven to be informed of the state of that place. The Irish advise a descent on Cork, and say that if that city were taken all Munster were their own. It is no use they say for the Spaniards to possess Baltimore or Berehaven, for these are not places of importance to do any good to them or harm to the English, "because Cork is the westernmost good town that can relieve the Queen's forces and so thereby annoy them."

Owen McEigan, when he came from the King, was directed either himself to return when he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of the country or else to send back Archer. McEigan was a bad sailor, so Archer went in his place.

Deponent heard McEigan and a servant of Florence's say that the army would be very great in horse and foot

In answer to questions, she said that all the gentlemen of quality sent letters by the patache to Spain, but that the only persons who actually wrote to the King were O'Sullivan and Archer. But now at the departure of Connor O'Driscoyl* and Archer "there were a far greater number of letters written" by all the rebels to O'Donnell and to their friends in Spain and to the Spaniards, "and unto the King she knows perfectly that O'Sullivan, McMorrice, the Knight of Kerry, the Knight of the Valley, John Fitzthomas, and Tyrrell" wrote to him separately. She thinks Owen McEigan also wrote to him, and knows that he wrote to others.

If the Spaniards do not come Tyrrell, William Bourke, and the bonyes will, they say, go to their own provinces. The better sort of the Munster rebels as McMorrice, O'Sullivan, the Knights of Kerry and the Valley, and John Fitzthomas, will go into Spain, and the meaner sort will fly to Ulster, Connaught and Leinster for their safeties.

In list the "bonnyes" are 1,500, "besides the countrymen of Munster," but the companies by poll are not so strong. As is the case with the English companies, they vary in strength.

In answer to a question, deponent said that the reason why Connor O'Driscoyl and Archer took so many men with them was defence of the ship in case she met English ships. Connor O'Driscoyl took away his son with him to be left in Spain as a pledge of his loyalty and to be brought up in Spain with O'Sullivan Beare's son. The Knight of the Valley also sends his son, and they expect that their children will be defrayed at the King of Spain's charges. Connor O'Driscoyl and the Knight of the Valley sent their sons in

* This name is spelt in different ways in the same document.

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answer to a request from the King of Spain that the principal Irish gentlemen should do so.

The King of Spain wrote two letters, one to O'Sullivan, the other to Dermot Moel McCarty, Florence's brother. Dermot being dead, McEigan kept the letter which had been intended for him. Deponent does not know the contents of either letter.

Ellen ny Donnough, wife of Dermot Moel McCarty, is gone into Spain to be a suitor to the King for relief in consideration of her husband's being killed in his service.

Pp. 2½. Signed by Carew. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 89A.

B. List of those who have shipped themselves from Ireland for Spain since 1601.

For this see Calendar of S.P. Carew, 1601-3, pp. 200-202. Two large pages. Signed by Carew. Endd. Ibid, 89B.

20 July.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Refers to his recent letters to the Council and hopes they have not been too voluminous. Proceeds:—If you in England really fear a Spanish invasion, please send us reinforcements at once. If the enemy comes, he will, I think, aim at Cork, which is weak, and the harbour commodious. In Spain they are well aware of its weakness, and the Irish there press the King to address his design for it. The woman whose information I sent you has up to now remained with O'Sullivan in the Dorseis [Durseys], and, because her mother was slain there, has come to live with her friends in these parts. She was one of his household, and seems, by her relation, to have observed much. Unless you in England are certain that there will be no invasion, I conclude in my opinion that it will be here shortly. We shall want more than the 2,000 for whom I sent by my trumpeter; so, if you are sending supplies, please advance the numbers as much as you may.

Cork is one of the weakest towns that ever my eyes beheld, and nothing but bodies of men can make it strong. If it were lost not only would the Queen's magazines be sacrificed but there would be a danger that all the towns and cities in this province might revolt. It cannot be long defended against an army which is master in the field; and the Spaniard is likely to be so for some time if his army consists, as is stated, of 13,000 foot and 2,000 horse. "But let the army be as great or greater than is reported, let George Carew lose your love if he do not discharge his part to the uttermost; for I am resolved to do as much as flesh and blood can do to make resistance and will lose my life rather than lose the least iote of my reputation."

Pray send to Bristol the pioneers' tools and other necessities for mounting the Spanish pieces, for it will take too much time for them to come by long sea.

"I long to hear what opinion the Lords are in of the Spanish army." Pray write soon.

Pp. 2. (Hol.) Add. Endd. Ibid, 90.

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23 July.
At Court at
Greenwich.

The PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND to the LORD DEPUTY and
COUNCIL.

After Newcomen's arrival here we dealt with him to undertake for the victualling of the Queen's whole army in Ireland, seeing that his presence on the spot would enable him to know what was in store and what was wanting there. The contract was so large that he thought himself unable to tender for it, but he offered to undertake for the supply of the whole army in Leinster. This, however, had already been agreed for till 30 September next, and is the most profitable part of the victualling, since the sending of victuals to the other and more distant provinces, Ulster and Connaught,* is more expensive. On fuller debate he, Jolles and Cockine, have joined together to undertake the whole victualling of the three provinces, and have contracted to supply victuals for 2,500 men for six months in Leinster to begin after the present victuals are exhausted, which will be about October 1 next.

For this they are to have *5d.* per man per day. One half of this sum is to be paid by you, the Treasurer at Wars there, in such manner as you may be hereafter directed by us, and the other half will be paid out of the Exchequer here. In the mean season we thought it best to give your lordship timely notice hereof.

You are to appoint persons to inspect these victuals provided there or sent from here, and that their quantity and goodness are according to the contract and that they are delivered at the contract time at the magazines; and they are to send you certificates from time to time [of the arrival of victuals and of their quantity?] that we may be satisfied on the matter by you. We have also ordered the officers at ports [in England]† to certify us of the provision bought here and sent by sea [to Ireland]. For the better performance of this they [the contractors] are to have the storehouses in all those provinces [Ulster, Leinster and Connaught] with the bakehouses and necessary implements. You are to order these to be delivered to their deputies. Furthermore as all of them enter together into this charge and are bound to make choice of the Commissaries of the Victuals, we send you a copy of their contract with them and of the instructions delivered to the Commissaries, who are to have the usual allowances for themselves and their servants. The contractors having undertaken to supply victuals and to appoint commissaries to issue them, they are bound not only to account for the victuals provided according to contract, but must also be responsible to the Queen for the whole amount provided by them, and for the "full issuing and spending of the same." The auditors and commissioners appointed to take those accounts, must, therefore, "take an exact account of them and their commissaries for every contract both of the several provisions that they be

* Munster is omitted as though independent.

† This letter is phrased rather vaguely, and several interpolations (which are in square brackets) are required to make its meaning clear.

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made according to the contract in several kinds, goodness and quantities, and also of the full expending and issuing of the same which must needs be taken in that realm."

Beef and corn are, as you know, to be provided in Ireland; and we pray your lordship that they may have your and the Councillors' help in getting such quantities of these as are necessary to enable them to fulfil their contract, "and that you will take special care and order that all those beeves which are any way recovered from the enemy may be reserved and delivered to the said Newcomen" or his or partners' agents, at reasonable rates. If any corn, &c., is shipped there from hence, we think it should be staid at the ports and sold to Newcomen, &c., at the price at which it was sold here before transport.

You were right in sending a commissary to Ballyshannon, but the contractors have now agreed to supply victuals there and are to appoint a commissary there; so when he arrives the officer appointed by you should give place to him, and hand over to him the victuals which are in store there. The new officer is to receive the usual fees as commissary.

We send you also a copy of a contract made with them dealing with the places at which we thought best that victuals should be stored in Connaught and Ulster, from which you will see that we have been careful to provide for all places.

We have now to require [of] you in behalf of the contractors that their commissaries may be favoured by you in all things and that the terms of the contract which concern those officers be observed, that the allowance for baking bread and biscuit mentioned in our former letters to you be granted to them. Examinations should be taken on oath of the bakers to discover how much baking has been done, so as to save the Queen needless expense, and to make it possible to make the allowances. Mr. Cockine and Mr. Jolles must be paid what remains due to them for biscuit bags (at the rate of 12*d.* per bag) since the time when we directed that these sums should be "defaulted upon the soldiers" and not borne by the Queen. [*Details.*] In the future a similar allowance is to be made to the contractors for bags.

Pp. 3. *Copy*; with copies of signatures of Lord Keeper Egerton, the Earls of Nottingham and Worcester, Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir William Knollys, Sir John Fortescue, and Sir John Herbert. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 211, 91.

[23 July.] DRAFT of the PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD DEPUTY.

Allowing of the raising of 4,250 foot and 266 horse above the establishment, and of all warrants he has given for payment of them.

On the descent of the Spaniards the Lord Deputy was warranted (by Royal warrant, dated at Richmond, 4 October, 1601) to raise any number of men above such establishment. This letter is sent to meet the Treasurer's scruples as to how he is warranted

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to pay the additional men. Those who remain in pay are from time to time to receive payment from the Treasurer on future warrants from the Lord Deputy.

P. 1½. *Endd.* with date. *S.P. Ireland* 211, 92.

24 July. NOTE of MONEYS due to Contractors for Provisions for the ARMY in IRELAND.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Munster.—Contract with Mr. Wood of 23 July for supply of victuals for 3,000 men for three months in Munster	4,462	10	0
Connaught and Ulster.—Contract of same date with Messrs. Newcomen, Cockaine and Jolles* for 3,000 men for four months and 2,500 men for five months	12,147	18	4
Leinster.—Contract of same date with same as foregoing—2,500 men for six months	8,750	0	0
Due to Messrs. Jolles and Cockaine† on a previous contract of 13 May last—7,500 men for three months	6,693	15	0
Total	31,954	3	4
P. 1. <i>Endd.</i> <i>Ibid</i> , 93.			

26 July. The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

I found this gentleman [Sir Edward Nowell] worthy of your recommendation, and was glad to knight him. I am glad to please you in this and other matters. I am sending a despatch which I hope will reach you before this, so say nothing now.

P. ½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd.* : "Sir Edward Nowell knighted." *Ibid*, 94.

26 July. NICHOLAS, BISHOP OF FERNS AND LEIGHLIN to SAME.
Wexford.

Having got this see by the Queen's late grant and your favour, I have looked into my see carefully. "The inhabitants both in the country and towns incorporate, which are of English blood, are yet so universally misled by the Popish priests which have of late times from Spain and other foreign parts flocked hither as that they do not only contaminate Church government but also may be feared, if timely redress be not had, will grow to further disobedience. It is not unknown to your honour that the principal alleged cause of revolt is religion, the troubles in this kingdom being first bred and since nourished by priests. Nor may it in my poor opinion be hoped but that if any peace should ensue upon the Lord Deputy's forward endeavours, out of the dead ashes our seditious priests will kindle a new fire if their liberty and practice be not hereafter restrained."

* See foregoing.

† This name is spelt in different ways.

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I leave this to your consideration and also ask for your favour in my "private." The Bishopric to which I have come has been "by my predecessors so unlawfully dismembered" that there is not even a house to dwell in.

I seek "by due course of equity" to reduce some parcels again to the see, and find, in consequence, many adversaries both here and elsewhere. I pray for your recommendation to the Lord Chancellor, before whom some of the causes do directly depend, for a favourable despatch. I have no private ends in view in this matter, desiring only "to leave entirely to the Church what against law and conscience hath been alienated."

P. 1. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 211, 95.

26 July. The EXAMINATION of MULMORY McOWEN O'RELY.

Deponent was asked what speeches he heard uttered by Cale O'Gaîne [?], secretary to Tyrone, to Edmund O'Gaîne about a week before Christmas concerning Lord Delvin or concerning a hackney which Cale had lost. He answered that:—

He came by chance into the company of Cale and Edmund O'Gaîne, finding them in talk secretly at Tonlevyn [Dunlavin] at the back side of his brother Cale's house. He heard Cale lamenting the loss of a hackney which had been stolen. Edmund asked him what hackney it was, and Cale answered that it was a hackney which the Baron of Delvin had given him at the Clonyn when he was lately there with Mulmory Fitzhugh Conelaugh *alias* [?] Mulmory O'Rely and Friar Nangle.

Cale said that the hackney was given him when they were taking their horses to return to Tyrone's camp. The Lord of Delvin did see Cale O'Gaîne's horse whisking with his tail and unready to let Cale O'Gaîne get on his back. Lord Delvin asked him what his horse did ail, and he answered that he had a sore back; and Lord Delvin made one of his men bring forth another hackney out of his stable and gave him to O'Gaîne. *Details.* The deponent and Edmund O'Gaîne agree as to time, place and matter touching the hackney.

P. 1. In Sir George Cary's hand. *Endd. Ibid.* 96.

27 July. SIR THOMAS PHILLIPS to SECRETARY CECIL.
Toome.

On the 15th Sir Arthur Chichester went to the castle of Tom [Toome], where he began to fortify. He then sent some musket shot to Tyrone's ward which kept the fort on the other side of the Band [Bann] to know whether they would give it up to the Queen, but they refused. The night before the Lord Deputy passed Dungannon Sir Arthur sent me over with 150 men; and I took it within an hour. Tyrone grieved at this greatly. The place was one of the keys of his country, standing in the midst of his fastnesses, and the only passage over the Band [Bann] out from the Clandeboies and the Rowte and the Glins. My company was left there, divided between the castle and fort, and the Governor gave me the governorship of it.

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Since, the Lord Deputy has given me the “custodiam” [*custodiam*] of the place, and of 2,000 acres adjoining it. I have viewed the country somewhat, but find it for the most part bog and woods.

The castle on this side belonged to Neall McMortogh, a notorious rebel, who has been in and out several times. Five months ago he came in under a protection and murdered one Con O’Neill, who did [had done] good service. He has now come in again and has a protection.

Pray move her Majesty to grant me the lands of the said Neall McMortogh. The country which belongs to it is called “the Feughe, a very fast country.” This would enable me to do the Queen’s service. . . . The Lord Deputy has given me 100l. to repair the castle. I will bestow this to good purpose, and doubt not but to make it one of the strongest forts in this land.

Tyrone has been for ten days in O’Cane’s country and mostly about Coleraine, whither he sent his wife to parley with Randall the Scot. She was very well entertained there. At first O’Cane kept with Tyrone, but later, when he had word from Sir Henry Dockerie [Docwra], he would not go to Tyrone; but, when sent for, sent his wife. The Scotch have supplied Tyrone with wine, meal, salt and *aqua vitae*. He was minded to go to Maguire’s country, but his followers will not go with him, hoping yet to reap their corn.

Tyrone has 900 foot and 30 horse, and Brian McCartie [McArt] 400 foot. This is all their strength. He means to return to his fastness, which in his absence I have passed part of to se[e] a loathe [lough] which he hath fortified eight miles from this place. It is thought that he has good store of provision there. I am sorry he does not go to Maguire’s country. If he were to do so I would soon have his loathe which would be a means to starve him quite, for about the loathe there is store of corn sown which we would spoil. If he continue there till winter, which he will scarce be able to do, his cows will starve, “for I could assure your honour from this to the fort is eight miles, which way I could see no plain but was eaten as bare as the commons in England where the ship are fed; so that I hope between the garrisons which be in Tyrone and this we shall make him weary of all.”

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland*, 211, 97.

27 July. ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT between SIR HENRY DOCWRA and O’CAHAN.

1. O’Cahan and his people shall be pardoned for all former offences to this present day.

2. Coyne Ballagh [O’Cane] shall quietly enjoy all that land about Dungevin which he or his brethren have at any time been possessed of. They shall hold the same “only of the Queen,” and without any manner depending upon O’Cahan; and that for the other it shall be put to arbitration of the Lord Deputy what more belongs to him and that he be restored to whatsoever his lordship shall adjudge him or any others, and ever after enjoy the same quietly.

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A note in margin adds :—The King [Queen] keeps a ward here, for which it is a fit place. If it be continued then Coyne Ballagh O'Cane should have some other consideration in lieu thereof, for he is an honest man.

3. That all the land between the Foghan [Fahan] and Loughfoyle, so far as to Bangibbon, as also all the land between Ban Gibbon and Loughfoyle shall be wholly in her Majesty's power to dispose of.

A note in margin adds :—Most of this land is in the hands of Nicholas Weston [?], upon some agreement with O'Cahanie [O'Cane], notwithstanding it was by his own consent excepted. He has likewise the fishing of Foughan [Fahan] in the sixth article, both in mortgage from O'Cahan as he says.

4. All church land shall be in her Majesty's power to dispose of ; but, till she disposes of it, O'Cane shall enjoy it as heretofore.

5. The fishing of the Ban is wholly reserved to the Queen and also " the whole scope of land called a ballebo," for maintenance of a garrison at Coleraine if the Queen please to have any there.

6. The fishing of the whole river of Fahan shall also go with the land about Aynogh, which is reserved to the Queen's gift.

7. That O'Cane may have her Majesty's patents for all the rest of the land to him and his heirs.

8. That all such as have already come in to the Queen shall quietly hold their present possessions, " but if any of them be desirous to return to live under O'Cahan, he shall be so permitted to do, but against his will no man shall be forced."

9. That Denny O'Sullivan shall quietly enjoy such a scope of land as the Governor and O'Cahan shall agree upon for him.

10. O'Cahan has already put in one pledge for the performance of these conditions. If the Lord Deputy approves them he shall within four days deliver in his son and another person, to be named by the Governor, as further pledges. If the Lord Deputy rejects these conditions the pledge already given in shall be restored within four days.

11. These articles being granted by the Lord Deputy and performed by the Governor in so much as resteth on him to be performed, O'Cahan has taken his oath of obedience to her Majesty and her successors and has subscribed his hand in witness thereof the day and year above written.

12. O'Cahan acknowledges that the pledges which he has put in are as well for the gentlemen of his country as for himself, " the loose persons and such as by any impossibility he can have no hold of only excepted."

P. 1. *Copy. Signed* in the presence of Captain Sydney, Captain Newman, O'Doghertie, Manus, O'Cahan, Captain Hart, Captain Atkinson, and divers others. *Endd.* as in title. *S.P. Ireland* 211, 98.

28 July.
Newry.

SIR FRANCIS STAFFORD to SECRETARY CECIL.

Thanks for letters and favours. *Proceeds* :—Tyrone's overthrow will bring peace to the northern parts ; and he will be speedily

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ruined unless the Spaniards help him instantly. This will benefit the subjects, be an honour to the Queen, and save her Majesty great expense.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 99.*

28 July.
Shandon.

COPY of SIR GEORGE CAREW to

I do not know what my Lord of Ormond does or why he has sent forces into your country, and am sorry that you, a loyal subject, should have to complain of the garrison soldiers, chiefly when you were endeavouring to reclaim your nephews to loyalty. I am sure my Lord of Ormond has good reasons for what he does; otherwise "I see not how it [your complaint] can be answered." Captain Flower was sent to his lordship to follow Keadaghe O'Meagher. If he [Lord Ormond] has drawn them so far into the country, I am "without touch" therein, as his lordship has power to command them at his will. I hope he will, for your good deserts, see you redressed in these wrongs. For my particular, if I knew how to give you relief, I would try to effect it, for I think you deserve favour. Having served as you have done, "I, in my love to your lordship, advise you to hold on howsoever these crosses might any way seem to dissuade you." I shall always help you as far as I can.

P.S.—Pray send me news, for which I shall be grateful.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Copy, with copy of signature. Endd. Ibid, 100.*

28 July.

LIST of ARMS and MUNITION remaining in the Store in DUBLIN on 28 July, 1602.

Gives list of arms, powder, shot, spades, rope, cressets, barrels, &c.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. *Endd. with note in Fenton's [?] hand praying for further supplies of these materials. Ibid, 101.*

29 July.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

Enclosed shows how the brutes of Spanish preparations multiply here, though the largeness of the numbers [alleged] makes the news, in my view, untrustworthy; but a smaller force may be "shaked off" to support O'Donnell's landing and to bear up the Spanish faction in other parts of Ireland "till by time that King may be fitted to set upon us with greater forces." He will probably do this next summer "if God in the meantime do not work an alteration in his heart." Tyrone's obstinacy in standing out when he is reduced to a few men hidden in his fastness, Tyrrell's action in still hovering in Munster after he has lost Berehaven, which is the only place of safety and retreat for him, "and lastly the universal expectation of all the parts of the realm of the coming of Spaniards," makes me think that they have more than a confident hope of the return of O'Donnell this year with some forces, though the main army will probably not follow till later. You in England are, however, better informed as to the Spanish intentions than we can be here, as we have no means of sending special intelligencers to Spain. I have formerly

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written of this defect, and think that, as the malice of Spain is chiefly directed against this realm, it were well if we had two or three discreet persons whom we could send into Spain for discoveries, "not one of them knowing of another for avoiding of corruption in their advertisements." I hope this suggestion, which is made simply in the interests of the service, will not be taken amiss there. If you approve it I can provide men well qualified to perform such service. I leave the matter to your decision.

Lord Delvin gets more and more sickly, and is not like to live "according the opinion of his physicons and others who attend him by command of the State; and if God do call him before he be charged and convicted, her Majesty will not have so good means to discover the bottom of his treasons, nor how far the conspiracy thereof may reach to touch others," besides the losing of the benefit of his lands and goods if he die without being convicted. I do not know how to advise; the danger of death being apparent and no instructions from England in our hands. Please consider the matter.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 102. Enclosing :—

A. Charles Cheevers to Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

The "crosses of the time" have somewhat discontinued my resort to Dublin, but I hope I am not discontinued in your favour. I have no certain news, and know you are informed as to the Spanish "intent towards this kingdom." I hear by Richard Brown, a sailor who left Viana in Portugal on 5 June (English) last, that David Hacquet [Hackett], an Irishman living in Viana, told him that the King of Spain meant to send 20,000 men to Ireland, and that it was intended that certain barques called patashes should first land in the North of Ireland with treasure and munition. The treasure was named to be 2,000,000 ducats.

He says also that he heard that the soldiers who were sent from Ireland are remaining at the Groyne, and that forces and ships are ready at Lishburn [Lisbon], but this he says only from hearsay of Hackett and others. He himself heard the drum with proclamation in Viana requiring all that were imprisoned for debt, murder, &c., to repair to the King's armado and promising them privilege.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. Dated, Wexford, 23 July. Signed. Add. Endd. "From Mr. Cheevers, the lawyer." *Ibid*, 102A.

29 July.
Newry.

THE LORD DEPUTY AND COUNCILLORS in the Field to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Since our last letters from Monaghan, we have planted a garrison there which has secured the English Pale from all northern incursions, and which is as well placed as possible for further prosecution of the rebels who are likely to hold out the longest. We afterwards took and burned all the islands of greatest strength, placing wards in those which we best liked, "and finding

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MacMahound (as we did) to stand upon proud terms (though indeed desirous to be received to mercy), we spoiled and ransacked all that country of the Dartry, and by the example thereof have forced divers chief lords of the countries near adjoining to come in and submit themselves," which they have done with as much show of loyalty as we could desire. We send the names of the persons and a copy of their submission upon their oaths. We think it more strict, and probably more firm, than any which has been seen in this land for a long time, besides their pledges, such as we do name, whereof some are put in already and the rest promised presently, so that we think we may say that we have cleared all the country from the Bann to the Dartry and thence to Dublin, and assured the chief lords more than ever. We have placed Connor Roe McGuire (to whom the Queen has given the chieftest of his country of Fermanagh) in the principal house of MacMahound, within two miles of his own country, from whence he may "easeliest" settle and plant himself. We have long desired this, as he seems inclined to promote her Majesty's service.

Proceeds as to the rumour of Spanish invasion, &c., as quoted by Fynes Moryson in his *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), Vol. III, pp. 183-6.

In all pp. 4⁸. Signed by Mountjoy, Wingfield, and Stafford. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 103. Enclosing :—

A. *Names of the Submittees.*

Art McBaron O'Neale, Henry Oge O'Neale, Patrick McArt Moile, Donnell McShane Mallaght O'Neale, Art McRorie, and Neale McTirlagh O'Neale, Mackennagh.

McCann, chief of his name, and Donnell, Hugh McBrian, Toole Carragh, and Tirlagh McEdmond, "other principal gentlemen of that sept who do severally put in pledges."

Tirlagh Braslagh's sons.

Tirlagh Groome O'Hanlon, son to Sir Oghie O'Hanlon, Kt. Connor O'Fynde.

Neale O'Hagan.

Callogh McArt MacDonnell.

These are "great lords of countries or chief men that have many followers."

P. 3⁴. *Endd. Ibid, 103A.*

B. *Form of Submission.*

"First I do acknowledge Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland, to be the only true, absolute and sovereign lady of the realm of Ireland, and of every part and of all the people thereof, unto whose gracious mercy I do humbly submit myself and my lands and goods, and with all faithful repentance, for my unnatural disobedience unto her Royal Majesty, do most earnestly implore her mercy and pardon for myself and such of my followers as with me have been seduced to this wicked rebellion.

"Further, I do renounce all and any manner of obedience next under God unto any other power or potentate save only to

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my said dread Sovereign Elizabeth, and utterly abjure any dependency or adherence to any of her enemies or unloyal subjects whatsoever, and do promise, swear and vow from henceforth to live in her subjection in all duty and obedience, and to use my best endeavours to the uttermost of my power to withstand and confound any enemy, either foreign or domesticall, that shall attempt anything against her sacred person or estate of her Majesty, or the hurt of her faithful and obedient subjects; and especially and namely I do renounce as before, and promise my endeavours aforesaid against the King of Spain and the arch-traitor the Earl of Tyrone.

"All this I do upon my salvation swear to perform sincerely; so if I do herein break my oath I do acknowledge myself not only to be worthy of all infamy and extreme punishment, but to be ever after accounted unworthy the name of a Christian or the society of men, to the which, as I have unfeignedly sworn, I now in witness thereof set to my hand."

P. 2. *Endd.* : "Submission in English." *S.P. Ireland* 211, 103B.

July. MEMORANDUM on help from the LOW COUNTRIES for the Spanish forces preparing for IRELAND.

The following things were done, or men sent, in the enterprise of sending into Spain from the Low Countries to go for Ireland. The "Conte of Teron" sent the following as names of those most fit for that action, and they are "consented by the King of Spain[s] ambassador, the Archduke, and his Council.

First, Jaques Francisco, the Italian lieutenant-colonel that was to Sir William Stanley, and a very excellent "enjeneur man" "which goeth for the chiefest."

Next, Captain Oliver "Yeustas" [Eustace], elected to have a regiment.

Captain Edward "Fyesgarot" [Fitzgerald], also to have a regiment.

Captains Harry Wyelch and Thomas Roche.

Lieutenant Bremyegam [Bermingham].

Ensigns Thomas Stanys, Thomas Macrafte [Magrath], John Smyght [Smith?], Garlande, Garate Byern and Daniell. Mr. Thomas Barry and Mr. John Dunn.

All these and divers others to the number of 38 were enrolled and went through Paris in several companies about four weeks ago to go for Spain, and there to be employed for Ireland. Ten or twelve places have been mentioned for their landing, but they will probably only land at two.

Captain Isambere, one of the chiefest gentlemen of the Duke's artillery, and who commanded the eight pieces of cannon on the dyke on Alberte side; and his son who is esteemed as great a man as his father or greater. These are Frenchmen; the father married at St. Thomyere [St. Omer?]. Other engineers came, and the King has requested the Archduke to assist them with all things that these gentlemen and engineers shall think necessary for

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their service, and that he should send the King a list and the King would pay all. [They] “lyethe in Donkerke, ready this is that depart out of the Low Countries.”

His commission of the Earl of Teron to go to saye [sea ?] is of 2 July, 1600, signed with his own hand ; and he sent to his son and his governor to further him in anything they mought to the King in his need [?] for supplies. He has likewise letters to the Bishop of Lisbon in his favour to assist him anyways he can.

Richard Broddy, a townsman born at Durdafé [Drogheda ?], knows if the ship had not been gone as soon as she was ; for the ship and the pyenes [pinnace] came over with the first moneshions [munitions]. The pinnace was one of Sir Walter Raleigh's, and the King sent to the Earl of Teron to take his choice of which he would and the Earl of [ferred] him the choice of which he would.

Broddy was kept prisoner and used as pilot for the ship. He was taken in Spain and compelled perforce to serve. *Other details.*

Nyel [?] Foxe came out of Spain, and went with captains to the Archduke.

P. 1½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland 211, 104 ad fin.*

AUGUST, 1602.

1 Aug.

From my
house in Mug-
well Street.

THOMAS WATSON to SECRETARY CECIL.

Mr. Lake and I have made a perfect estimate of the state of the exchange and now send it. It shows what her Majesty has gained by the exchange since 1 April, 1601, since when the army has been paid with money of the new standard. Pray move the Lord Treasurer to uphold the exchanges in some good measure in this burdensome time of the year, when divers have come hither to furnish themselves for the whole year. If the burden were eased which now lies on the exchange I am sure we should uphold it with very little from Michaelmas to next spring. Until your honours take some good course for more payments I will do the uttermost of my duty here to content everyone as best I can without money, but fear I cannot do it for long.

I have, on my Lord's order, paid Lord Barry 100*l.* on his bill.

P. ¾. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 1.*

Enclosing :—

A. *Estimate of the Savings effected by the new Coinage between 1 April, 1601, and 31 July, 1602.*

*An estimate was delivered to your honour on 31 March, 1601, shewing the state of the exchange for one whole year then ended. In that year there was not returned to the exchange above one-fourth part of the Queen's charge in money. For the charge of the army being for that year in money (besides apparel and victuals) 233,984*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*, there was not then entered into the exchange but 53,500*l.**

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From 1 April, 1601, to 31 July, 1602, it has fallen out as follows :—

The army for the whole of that period has been 16,100 foot and 1,375 horse, and 2,000 Irish on half-pay. The charge for these in lendings paid in the new moneys is 85,474l. 13s. 4d. Of this the charge to the Queen in sterling money is:—

For silver and copper and for coinage of l. s. d.
25,000l. of the new moneys sent there 6,750 0 0

Returned into England in that time by
bills of exchange 50,100 0 0

Total—56,850l., of which 20,000l. is unpaid at this time.

Deducting this from the sum of 85,474l. 13s. 4d., which the Queen would have had to pay if she had paid in sterling money, there remains 28,623l. 13s. 4d. The Queen has saved this in these four months.

Your honour should note that the charge of 6,750l. for coining of 25,000l. lately sent into Ireland is not properly to be imputed to the exchange, but is only set down that your honour may see the Queen's whole charge in that time.

Also this time of the year between Lady Day and St. James-tide is the busiest time of all the year for the exchange.

The savings therefore effected for her Majesty during the whole period of 16 months must be set down as follows :—

The whole charge of the army in that time is 309,458l. 9s. 8d.

The charge of this to the Queen is as follows :—

(a) In sterling money is 53,250l.

(b) In England money has been paid in exchange in that time to the extent of 84,600l.

(c) There is still in the three Exchanges in unpaid bills 20,000l.

Total—157,850l.

Deducting this from the 309,458l. 9s. 8d. which the Queen would have had to spend in this time if she had paid the army in sterling money, we get the result—a saving of 151,608l. 9s. 8d.

It also appears by this that the moneys returned to the Exchange, if all bills were paid, are about a third of the charge, for the charge is 309,458l., and the moneys returned are but 104,600l. If the army continue at this rate, the charge will continue to be like and the exchange to diminish for the rest of the year, so that by the end of the year it is very likely to be, as it was last year, about one-fourth of the whole charge. So long as this continues the Queen will save "half in half of her charge in money."

P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. *Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 1A.*

2 Aug.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CARY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

The Lord Deputy has sent extracts from letters from her Majesty which show that the Council there, by letters of 30 June, "gave a taste unto my Lord of Delvin" what just cause the Queen had to restrain him. The letters set forth the Queen's great favour

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to him, the leases and lands he had from her being equal with the rest of his living, his authority in the country and the entertainments her Highness had given unto him. In seven articles his disloyal acts, and the just cause of the Queen's disapproval of him, were set out.

The last article seemed to trouble him most, yet it was not thought fit to explain it to him. His lordship utterly denies that Cale O'Gaune* was with him with the other two, but Cale himself confesses that this was so. The Bishop of Meath and I had some difficulty in inducing the secretary to come upon our word and sift this matter out, as may appear by the examination [herewith]. Mulmory O'Rely, who lately came in as a pledge for O'Rely, that was lately taken in, asserts [?], as I had understood, that he was the third person that came with the friar and the secretary to the Lord of Delvin. I caused him to be kept close, and shall examine him soon. Lord Delvin's brother ("a bad fellow") has tried to get leave to speak with him, alleging a very frivolous cause.

I send enclosed a copy of Cormack's letter, the examination of Cale O'Gaune and his confessor, and the same of Edmond O'Gaune,† and the articles preferred by the Council here against Lord Delvin. Other charges can be brought home to him which will prove him a very bad man. He is ill and not likely to recover—the "best and happiest end for himself and his house that I think he can make."

Sir Henry Docwra writes that he is putting up victuals and finishing his fortifications at the Omye. Since the Lord Deputy left he has taken the Castle of Dungevin "upon the neck of O'Cane," and the fastness of Clancumkyne. At the taking of the castle his horsemen brake in upon Tyrone's camp, killed 60 of his people and brought away eight score cows. I know you have heard from the Lord Deputy.

Pp. 2. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 2. Enclosing :—

A. *Cormack O'Neale to Lord Delvin.*

Salutations to Lord and Lady Delvin. Proceeds :—Pray send me word what news you have heard from Munster, since my brother is going [gone?] thither. From time to time send me such news as you shall get from there. My man Gillayde will send my news. Cathoyr [Cattor, co. Tyrone?], 10 December, 1562.

P. ¼. *Copy, in Cary's hand, with the date 1562 corrected in the margin to 1601. Sir George Cary also appends the following note :—*

The messenger confesses that he delivered the letter to Lord Delvin's steward, who delivered the same to Lord Delvin; that he was two days and two nights in Lord Delvin's house and was well treated, save that on the last night after

* It is difficult to make out how this name should be spelt. It is not always spelt the same; and Cary writes a bad hand.

† Missing.

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supper he was restrained and the next morning sent to Kells to "his lord lieutenant," where he remained other two days, and then sent to Dublin to the Council.

P. 2. In Cary's hand. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 2A.

B. Deposition of Cale O'Gaune, Tyrone's secretary, touching Lord Delvin.

Cale O'Gaune and Henry Oge, for the Irish tongue [?], were confronted by his kinsman Edmund O'Gaune concerning a declaration formerly made by Edmund against Lord Delvin. Cale denied the substance of those statements, but admitted that, by Tyrone's direction, he accompanied Friar Nangle and Mulmory O'Rely (who is now in pledge in Dublin Castle) to the Clonnyng [Clonyn, co. Westmeath], Lord Delvin's house, at the time of the late going to Munster, and that he was lodged there for a night. Afterwards deponent met Edmund O'Gaune in the Brenny and had some speeches with him, but does not now remember their effect.

On the other side Edmund O'Gaune presently before the said Cale O'Gaune (and in Mahoune O'Gawn's presence) maintained his former declaration, solemnly upon his oath, that Cale had told him that Lord Delvin had made an agreement with Mulmory O'Rely, Friar Nangle and himself (Cale), that "where[as] before he had promised to send with Tyrone some men into Munster to assist him in that journey, now it was agreed that the Lord Delvin should pay money to Tyrone for those men (because he might do it with the more secrecy), and did agree to bear the charge of 100 men in money for that journey"; which agreement they accepted. Edmund also maintained constantly that Cale told him that he, Cale, had at his leaving the Cloninge [Clonyn, co. Westmeath], Lord Delvin's house, received a present of a hackney from Lord Delvin; and swore that his statement had been made to him by Cale at the back of Cale McOwen's house in the Brenny. Cale O'Gaune's brother or Mulmory McOwen O'Rely, came on Cale and deponent whilst they were talking about the hackney and heard the conversation. Deponent also affirms that he was told that the hackney was stolen from Cale the night after he returned to O'Neale's camp.

P. 1. In Cary's hand. Endd. in same. Ibid, 2B.

C. Articles objected by the Privy Council of Ireland against Lord Delvin.

1. Friar Nangle was with Lord Delvin after he [Nangle] stood indicted of high treason.
2. After Nangle went to Tyrone, several intelligences passed between Nangle and Lord Delvin.
3. Whilst in command of the Queen's forces in Westmeath, and of the country forces, Lord Delvin suffered Tyrone to pass through the country and return four several times, "of the which his remissness the world spake plainly."

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4. *When Tyrone first came into Munster and was encamped at the hill Ballygrene in the Plunketts' country near Kells, and Tyrone had given order to his army to break foray into Lord Delvin's country, Delvin sent one to him; and, after conference, Tyrone changed his mind and withdrew the men who were spoiling Lord Delvin's country. Tyrone returned some cattle which had been taken from Lord Delvin's men.*
5. *Delvin's ensign and 30 men set upon the Queen's forces who were bringing to Dublin the treacherous friars taken at Multifarnam. They slew and hurt some of the Queen's forces, and tried to rescue the friars, and presently thereupon went into rebellion.*
6. *Cormack wrote to Delvin "in as great privacy and familiarity as if he were his inward friend." Delvin kept his messenger two days and two nights, and then sent him to Kells and thence to the State.*
7. *At Tyrone's last going into Munster, Friar Nangle and some other of Tyrone's people were with Lord Delvin and continued three days at his house. They plotted there, and left after their plot was made, some of them very well rewarded.*

P. 1½, in Cary's hand, and *endd.* in same. *S.P. Ireland* 212, 2c.

2 Aug.

SIR JOHN BROKETT to SECRETARY CECIL.

At Duncannon,
her Majesty's
fort in
Wexford.

A Scottish ship arrived to-day from St. Oville [Setuhal or St. Ives] in Spain, three leagues from Lisburn [Lisbon]. The merchant who brought her was of Waterford, and, being examined upon his oath and allegiance by me, says that he saw 18 sail at Lisbon a week before he left Spain. Of these four were great galleons, five smaller vessels, and nine gallies. Six of the said gallies were new come out of the Straits under command of Captain Spyndall, an Italian, and had in them 4,000 kintals of powder. These ships were ready at all points to sail for Ireland, as the masters of them (some of whom were Scots) did affirm. He knew no cause for their stay but a general report, which said that they were waiting for forty more gallies to come out of the straits. Don Juan de Aquila, he said, was to bring his men overland from the Groyne to Lisbon, and 1,000 of them had arrived before the merchant left St. Oville's. O'Donnell is still at the Groyne, and there are a few ships there.

A ship has this instant come in with letters from the President of Munster. I keep her to write this.

P.S.—I have "made privy" to the Lord Deputy and Council here the exceeding defects and wants of this fort.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 3.

7 Aug.
Athlone.

LORD DUNKELLIN and SIR ARTHUR SAVAGE to

On Sunday last, after twelve miles' march to the Boyle, we entered the first pace [pass] of the Curlews, and met with little

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resistance until we were advanced to the top thereof, which is a "great plain bog."* "The rebels there entertained us with 400 shot. We encountered them with the greater part of our shot, who performed it very well for a time, and brought up our pikes lined in three squadrons. The vanguard whereof, by what accident we know not, took such an amaze that at the instant when we thought ourselves most assured they gave their backs; the example whereof strooke such a terror in the rest as by all the force we could use we could not hold our forces from running, but threw away the most part of their arms most shamefully." We have sent Sir Theobald Dillon to report on the matter, who can give all particulars.

P. 1. *Copy. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 4.*

8 Aug.
Dublin.

The LORD CHANCELLOR and PRIVY COUNCILLORS in DUBLIN to
the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Under orders from her Majesty we considered how to deal with Lord Delvin, and we finally drew up a charge against him which we send.† In doing this our chief feeling was "to beat into him a feeling of his ingratitude and unsoundness to her Majesty," at a time when Ireland was in the greatest danger, and he himself was placed in a post of trust. We told him that these charges, which he must in his heart know to be true, were but a taste of the charges which would be preferred against him afterwards at her Majesty's pleasure. We also admonished him verbally; "and yet to all he made but weak answers, carrying his speeches most in a vein of general protestations that he was a true subject," had never even had a disloyal thought, &c. Next day he petitioned to have the charges against him [which had only been made verbally] delivered to him in writing. This we forbore to consent to without instructions from the Lord Deputy. We send you the charges which we made, and ask for the Queen's direction in the matter. We think he should be put to trial, and that, if he is, "he will be found unsound in his loyalty," as may particularly appear in the last article, which we doubt not will be well proved against him.

P. 1. *Signed* by the Archbishop of Dublin (and Lord Chancellor), and by Cary, St. Leger and Fenton. *Add. Endd. Ibid, 5.*

8 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Recommends Captain Dorrington. As his wounds shew he served well at Dunboy. His recovery was doubtful for a time; but he is now able to go to England for a cure, and purposes to go to Court before he returns to Ireland.

P. 2. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 6.*

* Readers who know the Curlews will recognise the truth of this description.

† See above, pp. 464-5.

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9 Aug.
Newry.

The LORD DEPUTY to the PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

This is the original, a copy of which is calendared in *Calendar of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3, at p. 298 sq. At the conclusion of the letter Mountjoy adds, speaking of a possible invasion:—"You know what the effect of such a thing [invasion] is "in the best and most sound estates."

Pp. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 7.
Enclosing:—

A. Examination of Nicholas Creagh, of Limerick, merchant, on 31 July, 1602.

Deponent left Spain about 34 days ago. Heard at Cales [Cadiz] about five days before his departure that O'Donnell was at the Groyne with 4,000 foot and 300 horse bound for Ireland; but for what part he did not hear.

He heard that Don John D'Aquila was sent for from the Court about two months past for employment in Ireland; and that he answered (as deponent heard) that he would not come to Ireland without an army of 12,000. O'Donnell's stay was till Don John returned from the Court.

Many small barques were staid in South Spain, but these were released before deponent's departure.

New preparations are to be made in Spain towards next year, and, as is said, a man is to be furnished out of every five houses, and the gentlemen and clergy are to give the King their best help for horsemen. Deponent did not hear whither this force was to be directed.

The Indie flyett [fleet] came safe about Christmas last, saving one carige that was taken when on the way from the East Indies. By report she came to England, and was valued at three millions.

A new fleet went to the Indies about two months ago. Deponent saw it going to sea.

P. 2 $\frac{2}{3}$. Endd. taken before Stephen Roche, Mayor of Limerick. *Ibid*, 7A.

B. Articles agreed on between Sir H. Docwra and O'Cane, on 27 July, 1602.

For this see above, at 27 July, 1602.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. Endd. in Docwra's hand. *Ibid*, 7B.

10 Aug.
Newry.

SAME to SECRETARY CECIL.

For this see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), Vol. III, pp. 196-8.

Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$. Signed. Add. Endd. *Ibid*, 8.

11 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

This is the original, a copy of which is calendared in *Calendar of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3, at pp. 301-3.

1602.

Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$, the letter and postscript *signed*. *Add. Endd.*
 (1) generally, and with Carew's signature and (2) "by Sir Antony
 Cooke, 20th August"; with Carew's seal. *S.P. Ireland* 212, 9.
Enclosing :—

A. *Extract from a letter from O'Sulyvan More, dated 4 August,
 and received the 6th.*

*From the west I hear that a Scot has lately come to Berehaven
 from Spain. His ship is laden with wheat, wine, and other
 commodities of that country. O'Sulevan Beare has bargained
 with him for the whole as I hear. It is bruited abroad by
 him that the Spanish fleet is ready at the Groyne, saving
 some 8,000 men which were to come there undelayedly from
 Lisbon. I am informed that he left Spain about three weeks
 ago.*

P. $\frac{1}{4}$. *Endd. Ibid.* 9A.

11 Aug.
 Shandon.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

This bearer, Sir Antony Cooke, can give you any information
 you require. He is now returning to England to recover from a
 grievous sickness contracted in camp which has caused him the
 most intolerable pains that a man may endure. I never thought
 he would recover; and he will not, in my opinion, do so unless
 he goes to England, "for in this country to help nature (when
 she is unable to work for herself) nothing of worth nor any man
 of learning is to be found." I strongly recommend him for
 promotion here, and should do so more strongly were he not so
 nearly allied to you in blood.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 10.

11 Aug.

SAME to the EARL OF THOMOND.

The bearer, Sir Antony Cooke, will tell you of all things here,
 and of our expectation of the Spaniards. "To be short, for
 God's sake come away for I am of opinion, make all the haste
 you may, the Don Diegoes with their great breeches will be here
 before you." Every day brings me news from one port or another
 that they are coming for Ireland, and most of them for Munster
 and some precisely for Cork. I have sent all this news to Court
 and to the Lord Deputy; and if they think the reports are true
 I am sure they will not leave me unsupplied; but urge the sending
 of supplies I dare not, lest, if the Spaniards do not come, I shall
 be charged with drawing the Queen to a needless expense, and
 hindering the Northern prosecution, which, by reports, seems to be
 brought to an end. Modestly, however, I entreat you to bring
 aids. The Lord Deputy is so far off and his army so scattered,
 that he cannot reassemble and come to me in a month after
 the enemy is landed. I must hold Cork, Kinsale and Haleboline.
 The two forts are not made, nor will be tenable in a long time.
 I am nominally 2,400 foot, but, sick, &c., deducted, have

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not above 2,000 men. How I can defend many places with such a force against a powerful enemy you know, and, as you will be listened to there, please let your opinion on the matter be known.

I have your letters from Bristol and have written to the Lords to send you and Sir George Thornton away where you may do good to your country. Loiter not. Send my colours and cornet and tell Sir George I expect the "plots of our last service from him and the havens of Baltimore, Berehaven and the Durseys from my cousin Norton."

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add.* to the Earl of Thomond at Court. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 212, 11.

11 Aug. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Recommends Sir Richard Percy, who is going to England.

P. 1. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid.* 12.

12 Aug. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCILLORS in Camp to the ENGLISH
Newry. PRIVY COUNCIL.

Your lordships' letters of the 26th of July reached me, the Deputy, yesterday after I had sealed up my last to you and despatched Sir Samuel Bagnall to return to Munster, with the companies which he brought thence from Dunboy, save only 300 foot. In lieu of these I gave him 50 horse. We could not have spared him any more foot without leaving the Pale bare, on which Tyrrell might fall back that way to the North, or preventing the Connaught prosecution against O'Rorke and Maguire. This last we consider so important that, now that we are going to take the field again, we should rather increase than diminish the force in that province.

We are very glad to hear that the Queen will send us 2,000 foot; for we need that number at least to fill up our weak companies. 1,200 should land in Munster and 800 in Dublin or here at Carlingford. If, however, the Spaniards have either arrived or are for certain known to be close to our coast before these 2,000 arrive, we shall expect a much larger reinforcement; and also leave to put these 2,000 under captains, and thus make an increase in the army, and to fill up our weak companies with such Irish as we can find, who will otherwise go to the Spaniards; "but, being entertained once with us, we found by experience last year that they both stuck unto our party as well and served as gallantly as our English old soldiers," whereas the new English soldiers could not endure the hardship of a winter war, which this is like to be, and such men would be of little use this winter but as a support for the English party in the opinion of "this country people," and to do the large works which, if the Spaniards land, we feel sure that we shall have to carry out. If they do not come we shall still have to do a good deal of work; and, as it is likely they will come in the spring, we should despatch

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our fortifications. For these we find a great want of working tools. Those we had were almost useless; and we beg that, when you send us a supply of munition, more, and better ones, may be sent, both to Dublin and Munster. It will be no great loss to the Queen if they should not be required, but if, in an emergency, we lack either tools, great ordnance, carriages, munition or anything else, the danger will be very great.

If the Spaniards come (as Sir George Carew constantly affirms) we hope to use the Irish in our ranks for the reasons already given, and because they become very jealous if they think they are not trusted. If the Spanish storm blows over we shall immediately reduce the list by weeding out as many Irish as we think it safe to do, "and in the meantime expose them to services of greatest danger and have not so great a care to preserve them as the English, but hold it a good service when we may carry matters so as their hazards may preserve others better affected and yet both they and their friends by their employment well contented, which, we beseech your lordships to believe, is the whole scope of our intentions in enlisting them, though for the present (the Spaniards coming as is expected) they are of much better use than the new men that come over (for few of them prove serviceable in a great time); and yet must we needs have of them too, for we see we shall have need of all."

Pp. 2½. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy, and by Wingfield, Stafford and Bouchier. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 13.

13 Aug.
Newry.

THE LORD DEPUTY TO SIR GEOFFREY FENTON.

Acknowledges Fenton's of the 8th, containing letters from the Privy Council of England.

P. ½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid*, 14.

14 Aug.

SAME TO SIR GEORGE CARY.

I perceive that Tyrone means to abandon his own country altogether and to join with Cormock McMahonne and Maguire. I think we shall hardly prevent it, but I have laid the forces as likely as I can to give him a blow on his departure. "If he leave his country to be utterly spoiled he will never of himself be of any strength and yet will be the next way to make them with whom he liveth [?] to cut his throat when they shall find themselves pressed by any of the Queen's forces." If he go into those parts it will somewhat alter the fashion of the war, "but we have by our garrisons won so much country from him as long he cannot subsist" and in the winter they will no doubt ruin him "and all his partakers."

Sir Henry Folliatt and Sir Oliver Lambert must now be stirring for towards their quarters they will now fly. We shall miss Sir Samuel Bagnall's troop very much. The President of Munster sent for him "immediately." "By all the intelligence I have yet received I see no reason to fear much the coming of the

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Spaniards." I pray God they may not land. There is this year a great store of corn in the Pale. Pray think of some course for turning this to account so as to increase our supply of victuals, for about the spring, when most is to be done, I ever find that we are worst provided.

I thank you "for the great care you take of the public service."

P.S.—Pray send me any Spanish news as soon as you get it. "I have within these two days set as likely a plot for Tyrone's head as in appearance can be."

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 15.

18 Aug.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

I got yours of the 7th on the 17th and will act on what you say in the matter of settling an intelligence in Spain for Ireland. I will move as quickly as is possible in choosing men and allotting to them places; but cannot act so soon as is desirable. Secrecy and foresight are imperative. One of the men whom I wish to appoint is now in Syvill [Seville] and I am sending for him by a barque now waiting for a wind to sail. It must be some time till she returns; but he is the most highly qualified, in regard of his knowledge about Seville and those parts, of any person whom I know in Ireland. Another person whom I have selected is now in remote Tyrconnell, but I expect to have him here in 16 days; and shall send him to the Groyne or Lisbon. He is indifferent for either place, having been there before in the service of the Spanish Bishop Don Matheo, who was sent almost two years ago from the King of Spain to Tyrone to encourage him in his rebellion, and last year, before the action of Kinsale, returned to Spain with Tyrone's son. This man speaks Spanish and French well; and by his intimacy with the Bishop has opportunity for discovering Spanish designs against Ireland. If I can get him to enter the service "at a reasonable exhibition" we shall have good sources of news from Lisbon or the Groyne. As to the third I must ask for time to choose a proper person; for I trust none of this country birth unless I have real knowledge of them or good attestation from some who know him well. This is the beginning I have made; and as I go further I will impart all to you.

I fear the charge will be 30*l.* a year for each man besides a small imprest to be made to him at the time of his entering into the employment. I will pay them these sums and trust to your ordering the Treasurer here to repay me.

P. 1. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 16.

19 Aug. The LORD DEPUTY to SAME.

For this see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), Vol. III, pp. 200–201.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 17.

1602.
19 Aug.
Loughfoyle.

STATE of the QUEEN'S FORCES mustered at LOUGHFOYLE,
19 Aug., 1652.

Captains.	In list.	Capt. and officers.	Able men.	Sick.	Preachers and Canoniers.	Dead—pays.	Deficient.
Sir H. Docwra	200	9	142	32	4	12	10
Capt. Digges	100	6	50	22	2	6	20
„ Coach	150	8	48	17	3	9	73
„ Sidney	100	6	68	14	2	6	10
„ Leigh	100	6	65	21	2	6	6
„ Bingley	150	8	98	30	3	9	10
„ Pinner	100	6	64	18	2	6	10
„ Brooke	100	6	60	17	2	6	15
„ Vaughan	100	6	72	13	2	6	7
„ Lloyd	150	8	60	34	3	9	44
„ Badby	150	8	108	22	3	9	10
„ Atkinson	100	6	58	18	2	6	16
„ Orrell	150	8	70	26	3	9	42
„ Harte	100	6	60	22	2	6	10
„ Wood	150	8	76	8	3	9	54
„ Yarde	100	6	63	13	2	6	16
Totals	2,000		1160	327	40	120	353
Sir Henry Docwra's horse-band	100	36	80	0	2	6	12

P. 2. Examined by Anthony Reynolds. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 18.

20 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

For this see *Calendar of S.P. Carew*, 1601–3, at pp. 308–11.

Pp. 3. Signed with Carew's seal. Add. Endd. *Ibid*, 19.
Enclosing :—

A. Examination of George Stretch of Limerick, merchant,
[taken] by Sir George Carew on 15 August, 1602.

Deponent left Limerick on 31 May in a French bottom of Mornarcke [Mornac], arrived at Lisbon 1 July, and came away on 31 July [n.s.].

O'Donnell was daily expected to come to Lisbon with the forces gathered at the Groyne. He does not know of what numbers of foot their army consists; but was told that there were 1,000 horse, half armed and half unarmed, ready to come over, and that it is generally reported they are bound for Ireland.

In Lisbon harbour he saw eight of the King's great ships with their arms across ready to set sail, of which the Andrew, one of the King's great galleons of war, is admiral, and Don Diego de Bruchero commands in chief.

1602.

He saw great numbers of soldiers in Lisbon, and heard that 8,000 more were there of which 2,000 had already been in Ireland. They were under 19 ensigns. He heard that sixty gallies, galleons, argozies or galleases were in the river of Seville and bound for Lisbon, and that the army stays at Lisbon for their coming. Does not know whether those ships will bring any men with them. Don John had, he heard, been out of the King's favour but was restored to grace; and Suriago was still in disfavour.

This great navy is prepared to carry the King's army to the Low Countries and to Ireland. The King, deponent heard, intends to divide his forces and push the conquest of Ireland, and not desist till he has won it if he may.

Patrick Arthur of Limerick is gone to Salamanca, and James Hacket, a native of Limerick, who is married in Lisbon, told him that he did fear that Arthur would be arrested as a spy.

The Julian, of the Groyne, who brought to Ardea Owen McEgan, the Pope's Vicar-General, and the Spanish treasure, returned and brought news that the Lord Deputy had received an overthrow by Tyrone, and that 800 of his men had been killed, and that he had been forced to send to the President of Munster for a supply of men; that the President of Munster was at Dunboy, but that the defenders hoped to hold out for a whole year. At this news there was great joy. Soon after news came by a ship of Waterford that the castle was rased and the garrison executed; but this they would not believe. In Spain the two Irishmen of most account are Tyrone in Ulster and Donel O'Sullivan in Munster.

There was not any stay of shipping when deponent came away, but such a stay was expected, and Mahoun MacCreaghe, an Irish priest living at Lisbon, advised deponent, on that ground, to sail for home speedily. This priest told deponent that part of the great army would come to Ireland soon and some of the King's gallies to the mouth of the Shannon.

Great numbers of soldiers come daily to Lisbon, and great ordnance "is laid on the ballace" of their ships.

He does not know for certain whether the Spaniards will come to Ireland this year or next, but was credibly informed that the navy should set to sea for Ireland on 8 August.

The Irish Bishop of Killaloe told deponent that O'Donnell and his retinue had from the King of Spain an allowance of 100 ducats. O'Donnell is in great reputation there, and is to bring 70,000 ducats hither with him, as deponent heard from a Frenchman who came from the Groyne.

P 1½. Endd.: "Taken by me, the President of Munster."
S.P. Ireland 212, 19A.

B. Re-examination of Bennett Whies of Waterford, shipmaster, taken before me, the President, on 16 August, 1602.

Deponent left the Groyne on 26 July last. Had been there about six weeks.

1602.

When he left the Groyne the Spanish soldiers who had returned from Ireland were ordered to march to Lisbon, and set out. Afterwards Suriago sent for 300 of them back again, and put them aboard ten ships. When deponent left Suriago was ready to sail with these for Lisbon to join the fleet under Don Diego de Bruchero. Deponent heard constant reports of a very great army concentrating at Lisbon. Some people thought it was for England, some for France, some for the Low Countries, and some thought for Ireland.

O'Donnell keeps a great port at the Groyne at the King's charge, and, when deponent left the Groyne, was about to go to Court to be dispatched by the King to Ireland. At deponent's coming to the Groyne, Don John was at Court, and by some said to be in favour, but by others in disfavour, with the King.

Repeats the news given in the foregoing deposition as to the expectation of the garrison of Dunboy and the alleged defeat of the Lord Deputy by Tyrone in the north of Ireland. Proceeds:—The Lord President, when asked for supplies by the Lord Deputy, refused, it was said, to send them, saying "he had more upon his hands than he was able to turn over."

On 22 July a ship arrived at the Groyne from Ireland, and deponent saw amongst the passengers Father Archer, Connor, eldest son of Sir Fynin O'Driscoll, Donogh McConoghor of Castlehaven (mistakenly called in deponent's last examination Donogh McDermot), Dermot Moyle McCartie's wife and her daughter, Conor McNemara and 40 others. Except those named, these persons remained on board ship "for want of good apparel." The ship brought news of the fall of Dunboy. Robert Comerford, a man of Waterford, who has long lived at the Groyne, advised deponent to leave hastily, otherwise he might be taken to serve as a pilot on the coast of Ireland.

O'Sullivan Beare is greatly reputed of in Spain for persevering as he does in his rebellion; and he is said there to have promised to hold out till support comes to him from Spain. Heard also that the Pope bears part of the charge of the army that comes for Ireland.

Before deponent came from south Spain to the Groyne he was by force of weather driven into St. Oves [Setuhal or St. Ives]. At that time at Cape Picher [Cabo Espichel] the Queen's ships fought with eleven of the King's galleys and sank two of them. He saw one of these burnt. On 21 July two Spanish captains left as pledges by Don John del Aquila in Ireland arrived at the Groyne. The merchants who brought them went on to Lisbon.

P. 1½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 19B.*

20 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

From mine of the 11th and mine of to-day to the Council you will see our news as to the probability of the Spaniards' coming

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and how we stand at present in this province. The treasons of Cormack McDermond are more manifest and odious than those of Florence McCartie. I beg you that his son at Oxford may be restrained. "He is a youth of great expectation amongst the Irish, and will be exceedingly followed, and, being at liberty, would prove as dangerous a traitor as the father." Sir Samuel Bagenal and his regiment, for whom I long, have not yet reached me. If the enemy land, in as great force as is expected, before he arrives, I shall soon be sensible of my weakness; but if he comes I can keep Cork safe until I am relieved and have good hope of his timely coming. I am sure that you have good news from Spain, and that, if you believe the Spaniards are coming, we shall be sufficiently provided for, but I am grieved at not having seen a letter in your hand for five months; yet trust absolutely in your friendship. *Flattering expressions.*

The passage from Bristol to Cork or to any other part of Ireland is so hard, without a "choice wind," that I think that (in these dangerous times) a post bark should be entertained to keep up a service between the West of England and Munster. "The meetest place for the answering of all winds is Barnstaple or Padstow, for Ilfercombe is too far within Severn." The charge will not be great, for in a few weeks we shall know whether the Spaniards are going to arrive or not, and then the bark may be discharged. I can always find shipping and winds to go from here to England. I hear of many of your letters sent to Dublin and the North, but we hear nothing from you here. Your letters to me may have miscarried.

P.S.—I hear out of the West that a small man "of Millbrook by Plymouth" has been seized by one of O'Sullivan Beare's galleys. I expect it was some fisherman who came to fish upon this coast. One Richard Wallop is in England now, a suitor at the Council for letters of favour against one John Wallop, a man of mine, about an office which the Lord Deputy gave him here—the Registership of the High Commission. Pray let nothing be ordered against him [John] by the Council, but let the question be referred to the law, "and then if Mr. Wallop's title to the office be better than Wallei's, God send him good of it."

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 20.

20 Aug.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

The bearer, Robert Pitts, is bringing you all the hawks which I can get this year. Pitts is "an old Devonshire falconer who came into Ireland this year to take sparrowhawks, a trade new set up, and as it begins in him so I think it will die." I have paid his charges to bring them to you. These unsettled times leave me no leisure "to attend idle thoughts or seek for hawks," otherwise I should have been able to satisfy many of my friends with presents of that nature.

P.S.—Pray "let my Lord Admiral to a part with you."

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 21.

1602.

20 Aug.

A LIST of the ARMY [in Ulster] as quartered, on 20 August, 1602.

At Derry	Sir Henry Docwra with	200 men.
„ Colmore [Culmore] ..	Captain Harte	„ 100 „
„ Ainoigh [Aynogh] ..	„ Sydney	„ 100 „
„ Dongevin [Dungevin]..	„ Orrell	„ 150 „
„ Dounalonge	Captains Flower and	
	Badbye	„ 300 „
„ Colmackatreene [Kilma- crenan ?] and Bert	Captain Vaughan	„ 100 „
„ Omy [Omagh] ..	„ Leigh	„ 100 „
	„ Diggs	„ 100 „
	„ Coach	„ 150 „
	„ Wood	„ 150 „
	„ Yard	„ 100 „
„ Liffer [Lifford] ..	„ Brooke	„ 100 „
	„ Pynner	„ 100 „
„ Ramullan	„ Bingley	„ 150 „
„ Newtown	„ Atkinson	„ 100 „
		2,000

Sir Henry Docwra's horse troop is half at Omy and half at Aynogh.

P. 3. partly in Sir Henry Docwra's hand. *Endd.* in same.
S.P. Ireland 212, 22.

26 Aug.

RETURN shewing the CHARGE of her MAJESTY'S ARMY in
IRELAND, payable in money, apparel, and the total number
of men in her Majesty's pay there.

Pay is set down for :—

1. Officers General :—

The Lord Deputy, Lord Lieutenant of the Army,
Treasurer at Wars, Marshal, Sergeant-Major, Master
of the Ordnance and his ministers, Muster-Master,
Controller of the Victuals, five Commissaries of the
Victuals, 14 Colonels, Scoutmaster, Provost Marshal.

The total daily pay of these is 39*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.**

2. Officers Provincial :—

In Munster, the President and Provost Marshal.
In Connaught, the Commander of the Forces and Provost
Marshal.
In Loughfoyle, the Commander of the Forces and two
Provost Marshals (at Loughfoyle and Ballyshannon).
In Queen's County, the Lieutenant.
In Leinster, the Provost Marshal.
Total daily pay, 6*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.*

3. Warders.

There are in all 253 warders besides their constables.
Total daily pay, 7*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

4. Horsemen.

1,375 horsemen at different rates of pay per day [*details*
given].
Total daily pay, 94*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*

* Fractions of pence omitted.

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5. Footmen.

16,100 at different rates of pay in money and apparel
[details given].

Total daily pay, 728*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*

6. Irish at half-pay.

About 200 horse and 1,700 foot.

Total daily pay, 35*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*

7. Pensioners and almsmen.

57 pensioners and 13 almsmen.

Total per day, 7*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.*

8. 22 Officers and Commissaries of the Musters.

Total per day, 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

The total pay of these per day is, in money, 713*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*, and in apparel, 200*l.* 4*s.* 10½*d.*

The extraordinary charges with imprests on account are not mentioned in the total of this daily or monthly charge. These by estimate will amount to 2,500*l.* per month.

Pp. 2½. *Details given in each case under the various subheads. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 23.*

27 Aug.
Cork.

CAPTAIN ROBERT MORGAN, "Minister" of the Exchange at Cork, to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

There is not above 10,000*l.* of the new money here in the Munster treasury. This sum will be expended if any large number of forces are drawn here and have to be maintained. I must either give knowledge of this to the Council in England or take in money faster for bills to England than I have done that the army may be provided. I have been of late very sparing to the townsmen here in passing their money, and have in this way given them great discontent, and I do not know whether I should furnish the Treasury by taking their money for bills or by sending for supply out of England. I came here tied to use one kind of paper in making of my bills, and am nearly out of it. I have written often for a fresh supply but have received none. If none comes, I must either forbear to pass bills or else ask you to signify the same to the Lord Treasurer, and ask him to order the banks there to accept such bills as I shall send over there on other paper. Unless those who bring hither provision for the army may have their money banked without bringing in a fifth part English there will be here many wants, whereby her Majesty's army here will be much distressed.

P. 1½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. as in title. Ibid, 24.*

31 Aug.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

I send enclosed an extract of part of a letter received to-night from the Lord President and copies of letters which he enclosed. By these the former advices regarding the arrival of Spanish ships at Berehaven "are rather controlled than confirmed." I do not agree [with Sir George Carew] that the five [Spanish] ships that were discovered were part of a dispersed fleet, and

1602.

prefer to think that those ships, coming so singly, were either French traders or English ships bringing victuals to Ireland, which have long been expected here. It is, of course, possible that O'Donnell may, by his importunity, obtain a small party of ships out of Spain to bring him into Ireland and countenance his landing in some part of Ulster. Such a small force will help us rather than the reverse; for when the Irish see that the great force for which they have so long hoped is nothing more than these few ships "it will be a reason to them to repose no more in Spain," but to seek safety by submitting to the Queen. Many of the better sort are already disposed to take this course.

I hope the Lord Deputy will continue the prosecution of Tyrone and divert none of his forces from that duty unless a greater danger arises. I apologise for writing no more, but the report of Spanish ships keeps us constantly occupied.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *Signed. Add.* to Cecil at Court and "for her Majesty's special service. Haste. Haste." *Endd.*: "Delivered to the sea at Dublin, 30 August. Received at Chester the 4th of September at 8 p.m. Received [at Court], 6 September."* *S.P. Ireland* 212, 25. *Enclosing* :—

A. *Robert Walsh, Mayor of Waterford, to Sir George Carew. James Walsh, a merchant of this city, who departed Crosweeke five days past and was at Bilbo [Bilbao] a month before, has arrived here. Examined by me for foreign news he says that it was the general report at Bilbo and Crosweeke that the greatest army was drawing together at Lisbon "that ever was heard of in Spain, the most part being sent from Castile and Italy." He could not learn where they were to go. Almost 200 mariners were impressed along the coast and sent to Lisbon.*

P. $\frac{1}{3}$. *Copy. Signed (copy) by Walsh. Dated, Waterford, 25 August, 1602; with copy of verification by Sir G. Carew. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 25A.

B. *Sir Richard Percy to Sir George Carew.*

Many report that they have heard sundry pieces of ordnance by night this week at sea. These, I think, are of ships which were severed from the rest of the fleet. "Yesternight a tall ship was discovered off the Old Head which put again to the sea; and this morning a small bark of some 18 tons was discovered by a fisherman within the Old Head which instantly tooke't [tacked] about to the eastward." This party gives it out that it is a French hull.

Divers of the country report (as Robert Meagh tells me) that any time these ten days a ship has been hovering on the coast, which I think is a spy. I shall be able to send better news to-morrow. Details.

P.S.—*I have sent a sergeant and six men to lie at the Old Head and bring me news from time to time.*

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Copy, with copies of signature and of verification by Carew. Dated, Kinsale, 27 August, 1602. Endd. Ibid.* 25B.

* So this letter travelled from Chester to London in less than 52 hours.

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c. *Sir George Carew to [Sir Geoffrey Fenton].*

No fleet has arrived at Berehaven, but ships have been seen off the coast. Repeats news given in A. and B. above. Proceeds:—The shots fired mean, I think, that the fleet was dispersed, for two ships have been driven into the river Shannon and came to anchor at the island of Innescattie [Scattery Island]. They staid but for the ebb; and went without even sending a boat ashore.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Copy. Dated, Cork, 28 August. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 25c.*

[Aug.] FLORENCE MCCARTHY to SECRETARY CECIL.

I lately delivered to Mr. Lieutenant* a letter to your honour in which I gave my opinion about Ireland. Discoursing with him I thought of an important service for the Queen which I was and still am willing to perform. As soon as I was able to carry arms I served the Queen with 300 men against Desmond at my own charges; with which and with one English company I chased him "out of the strengths of Desmond into his own waste country, where all his people were driven to forsake him, himself being kept afterwards by Gory McSwinge until some of my men killed the said Gory, whereby the Earl was killed within a week after." The Queen for this service gave me 1,000 marks and 100 marks a year, and showed me favour which was more to me than many rewards. Since that time I have been loyal; and you and Sir John Stanhope know of my unwillingness to go into Ireland last time. I went there without means to do service or charge, but allured some of the best companies from the rebels; joined these with my own men [none else acknowledging the Queen], and kept forces abroad there when none of her Majesty's companies durst enter Desmond. I gained victories against the adherents of James and kept the wild and unruly people of that country from helping the rebels. Then, when the Lord President at his coming wrote for me, I went to him, though I knew that nothing would make me more hated by the rebels [*details*], and thus prevented many from joining the rebels who would have done so had I refused to go to the President. By thrusting myself into the President's hands on his letter I showed my loyalty. When he desired me to put the Connaught men out of Munster, I cashiered 300 or 400 [*details*], and while he was in hand with James MacThomas I wrote to him assuring him that he [Carew] should have no resistance, and that I would contain all my country people and neighbours from assisting them. I made my nephew O'Connor of Kerry give up his castle for her Majesty's service. *Other details of service.*

Proceeds:—

When I came to the President and brought my son to him I had her Majesty's protection, ordered to me about a month before, and with no reserve. I am innocent of all rebellion

* McCarthy was now a prisoner in the Tower.

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and conspiracy with Tyrone, &c., and of complicity with the Spanish commanders ; and I am anxious to do the Queen good service, if only I may have present opportunity and future favour. Limerick is the most important place in Ireland, and the Spaniards could not be driven out of it [if in occupation], and Father Archer has been there and found a way "to surprise the castle of Limbrick [Limerick] that commands the north gate and bridge of the inner and strong part of that city by which one may bring as many as he will into that city." I told the lieutenant of this and sent him a note of it for your honour ; and I was glad to remember it, for, Father Archer being now in Spain, it will be the first thing that he will propound and his chiefest motive to bring them. I have now taught your honour to prevent it, which is not the greatest service that I could do in Ireland ; but service against Tyrone's own person. When he was last in Munster he not only "caused all the buonies that he sent into Munster to create a scurvy kerne (that is said to be my wife's base brother) lord of my country," and establish him as such, but also, when he came to Munster, himself would employ all the Connaught buonies that were there with the said bastard to dispossess me, "until with much ado Maguire, that was O'Donnell's cousin german, and other gentlemen of the North, for O'Donnell's sake, with all the gentlemen of Munster that were there, got him to stay until he sent for me ; and, being come to parle with him upon all the assurance that could be desired, when he saw that no persuasion nor offers that he could make me to deliver him my son for a pledge to be in his action, he did not only countenance the said bastard to quarrel with me and call me still before him a 'damned counterfeited Englishman whose only study and practice was to deceive and betray all the Irishmen in Ireland,' " but also the best conditions I could get was to leave that bastard in possession of two of the best castles in my country, and to stand to the order of Bishop McCrayh and others with him for the seignory thereof. He would not even have been content until he had dispossessed me for him [the bastard] altogether, had he not been informed that the Earls of Ormond and Thomond were coming against him with great forces.

No one can better compass the service against his person than myself ; and the best person for the performance of it is Murrough ny Mart, "who without exception is the most exercised commander and of greatest skill, experience and reputation of that country wars of any mere Irishman. He is my foster-brother, son to my foster-brother that was chief commander of my father's footmen. When I was committed before he fled into the North, where, being followed by some 400 soldiers, he served old O'Neyle, for whom he gave Tyrone a great overthrow at Carriglyen. Afterwards he maintained O'Royrk in his country for a while," and, understanding of my enlargement, he served Sir Richard Bingham, who sent him and his soldiers pardoned into their country. He and a younger brother of his that keeps 100 men about him also are now, as I hear, joined with O'Sullivan Bere.

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I am sure that, if I knew how things stand there, and had a sufficient messenger to employ, I could get Captain Tyrrell and his buonies cut off or driven out of Munster, "but because I do not think him a man of any great moment, and that it would be a hindrance to the other service of greater importance, I do not think it best for the Queen;" for I know that, if I can procure Murrough ny Mart and such others as I think best to go to the North this winter and work the rest to come in, Tyrrell and buonies will not stay there.

To do this I must presently send messengers that know Irish well, and are of special credit and authority "to persuade any gentlemen; which country hath two sorts of people that are of greatest ability and authority to persuade the country gentlemen which of all other sorts and sexes doth most distaste and dislike the government of England, whereof the one, which are the priests, are by no means to be trusted with any service for her Majesty. Of the other, which are the rhymers, some may be trusted only by those gentlemen whose followers they are by lineal descent, and of whom depends their living, of which sort I will employ one of special trust and efficiency for the effecting of this service."

I wrote in my last that I thought the Spaniards would come to Ireland; but do not think they will come this harvest. After their recent experience they will come in good force, the provision of which takes time. O'Donnell, too, hears daily how things stand in Ireland, and when he hears that Tyrone and the others have hitherto kept themselves, he will not be in a hurry to come over, knowing that they may well maintain themselves during the winter "when all kind of flesh there is in season, the night long, the rivers flowen and the weather cold and rainy." If they come for Connaught and the North they will bring galleys which O'Donnell will tell them will be "very necessary and available" for them, both for the shallow bays about Galway and all the islands thereabouts, and to beat away the garrison of Loughfeauyll, and command that arm of the sea betwixt Ireland and Scotland whereby they may have what they will from thence; but now they can hardly bring nor use galleys, knowing by experience how subject to storms that coast is henceforward; which may make them to take the beginning of summer, both to bring and to use galleys all that season for their first and necessariest services and also to provide more means and forces in the meantime." It is also possible that Don John De Aquila, who may be a wise man and a skilful commander, learnt something of the country during his last stay there, weighed what forces came against him and what oversights hindered him, viewed Cork and saw its weakness, whereby he knows that if he came with any good forces on the sudden that he will with difficulty be kept out, "as also that if he have Cork not only will Youghal and Kinsale be his presently, but also the Lord Barry, who dwells near it upon a creek of that haven and his country alongest the haven

* Note the use of the word "available," to which modern purists object, in its proper sense of "profitable."

1602.

up to the gates thereof, and Cormack McDermod, whose country comes to the gates also and dwells within three miles thereof, together with McCarthy Reogh, Lord Roche and McDonogh, whose countries are within eight or ten miles thereof, and John Fitzedmonds that dwells upon that haven, besides many others that dwells thereby, must all with their countries and people be subjects to him." This knowledge may induce him to come to Cork at the beginning of the winter, at a time when he thinks the weather will suit very ill for sending fleets or forces from hence, and in view of the Deputy's want of towns, country and means to besiege him, nearer than Waterford or Limerick. He knows too that in the spring reinforcements can reach him from Spain as soon as they can come from England.

This is the best guess I can make at their proceedings; but if I hear anything more I will let your honour know. I hope that as I was the "chiefest causer of cutting off[f] the Earl of Desmond" that I may now be chiefly instrumental in cutting off Tyrone.

Pp. 3 (*Hol.*), written small. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland, 212, 26.

9 Sept.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I received five letters from you on the 2nd by Sergeant [?] Clotworthy, who came from Ilfracombe; the latest of 7 August. As to the young gentleman of whom you take care, when he comes hither I will obey your desire. I know his father also. *Polite expressions.* Captain Hobbie's lieutenant, whose case was touched in one of the letters, died in prison. I think that the Queen and Council are mistaken in allowing the Lord Deputy to bestow the fine of Kinsale on fortifications. I never said in any of my letters (to which I refer you) that a fine had been imposed on those citizens, but suggested that, when they should be suitors for their liberties, such a fine might be imposed. The fort of Kinsale, when finished, will have cost more than the Corporation can afford to pay, but, so far as they can pay, it is requisite that they should be taxed. There is, however, no colour left until they be suitors for reviving their charter. They importune me daily in this matter, but, not having sufficient power, I wish them to be suitors in England. Then is the time to impose a fine, by direction from thence, and not before.

Your news from Spain concurs with the news which I sent you to show that the Queen's ships "is the cause they came not so soon as they determined." I think they will come as you suppose, but do not agree in the manner of their coming; "for I am persuaded if the Spaniard do ever attempt us again it will be in that royal manner as he will think to carry all things before him with facility"; but he will be deceived in this unless we are very negligent or the forces of Munster employed at a distance. Thank you for Thomond and Thorneton, who are at Bristol still with my servant Clifton. The note of the arms and apparel gives me great satisfaction, for thereby I know what to demand. The captains tell me, with regard to apparel, that they did not in

1602.

former times receive so many particulars as the note sent imports, but hereafter they will not be deceived.

Thank you for the foreign news sent in yours of the 18th July ; which was a great relief "to a wearied spirit daily tormented with the base complaints of cow and garron ; the bleating of which creatures never are out of my ears." I hope soon to be delivered from this.

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 27.

10 Sept.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Recommends the bearer Harold Kynesman. Mr. Treasurer, under whom Kynesman has served, will, he is sure, second this recommendation.

P. $\frac{1}{3}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid*, 28.

13 Sept.
Newry.

THE LORD DEPUTY to SAME.

For this see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), Vol. III, p. 211 sq.*

Pp. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid*, 29.

21 Sept.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

For this see *Calendar of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3, pp. 336-7.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid*, 30.

22 Sept.

EXAMINATION of MORRIS ROCHE of Cork, Merchant, taken by Sir GEORGE Carew.

Being sworn, he says :—

Left St. Malo on the 18th in the *Trinity* of Cork, and landed to-day at Youghal. About seven days before his departure heard that six Spanish galleons had put into Bluet [Blaevet] with 4,000 Spaniards. Heard they were bound for Flanders. On day of his departure saw three Spanish gentlemen, richly dressed, who had come to St. Malo overland from Bluet [Blaevet], who reported that the Spanish army there was 4,000 and that they were bound for Roane [Rouen]. Further pressed, he knows of the destination of the Spaniards "only by the conjectured report of the townsmen of St. Malo." For all he knows they may as well be bound for Ireland. They were not windbound at Bluet [Blaevet], and might have left there before deponent left St. Malo had they wished to do so. Does not know why they delayed.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Ibid*, 31.

28 Sept.
Lisbon.

THOMAS GOOLD to PHILIP FAGAN.

I arrived at the Groine [Coruña] wind-driven on 2 August ; and for my Spanish captain's favour have not only been received

* Moryson dates the letter September 12th. The right date is that in the margin.

1602.

with outward kindness by the Governor of Galicia, the Conde de Corisena [Caracena], but also was given his letters of favour to Don Diego Borchero [de Brochero] to pass and repass without any molestation or trouble. Unfortunately, Don Diego went to sea four days before my coming to Lisbon.

As for my passport by Cortee [?] I received no benefit thereby; but presently on my arrival a guard of soldiers were led [?] aboard my bark, all my goods taken up for the King, together with a ship of Dublin and the goods of merchants of Waterford "alleging that we were all contra bande; and having continued our suit against the King some forty days for the recovery of our goods, to our great cost," until the King was pleased to release us; and I doubt not but O'Donnell, Mr. Redmond Bourke and Mr. Eustace, who rode to the Court at my coming to the Groine, were furtherers thereof; and that they wanted not* the assistance of Mr. Connogh O'Driscoll, Father Archer, Donnogh McConorgh, Mrs. [?] Ellin ny Donogh and the number of forty more of my fellow countrymen. These arrived at the Groyne on 1 August in great distress. They had "neither master, pilot nor mariner, but ventured rashly in a small bark" taken by Teig Keagh O'Mahwny on the Irish coast and laden with wheat and wine.

Pray tell "my brother Galway† that I sought all the book-binders in Lisbon for his book, but, as God judge me, I could find neither new nor old, but by chance one day in a church called the *Misericordia* I spied a library of old books, among which I found this book called *Estevan de Garribay*, wherewith I pray you let him content himself until I furnish him with a better."

I have little news for you except some "of small comfort to great many of our countrymen, vizt., that O'Donnell departed this world the tenth day of this month and was very honourably buried in Vallodelite" [Valladolid]. This bearer will tell you any news I have omitted. Commodities are very dear here in Lisbon since "ladrones los Angleses, as they term them," have taken away the great carrick besides the number of twenty-four carvels laden with sugar in one month.

P. 1½. (Hol.) Add.: "To his very loving wife, Philip Fagane, at Cork in Ireland." Endd. in Carew's hand:—This letter from Goold to his wife was intended to me by agreement between us at his departure that his letters should be delivered by her to me unsealed. This she has performed. George Carew. *S.P. Ireland* 212, 32.

30 Sept. DECLARATION of the ACCOUNT of SIR GEORGE CARY, Sub-Treasurer of Ireland and Receiver-General of the Revenue, for one whole year ending Michaelmas, 1602.

This document gives full details of the receipts into and expenditure out of the Treasury of Ireland in the financial year in question.

* i.e., not "they were independent of it," but "they had it."

† A note in Carew's hand adds here: "meaning the Lord President."

1602.

The receipts are divided into three heads—arrears, revenue, and casualties—and under these are the following sub-heads :—

1. Under arrears :—

Arrears in the great book, on foot of the last account and respited items. Total, 23,721*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.*

2. Under revenue :—

Ancient inheritance, lands resigned, lands of the Duke of Norfolk and of the Earl of Shrewsbury, Abbeyes in England, lands attainted, lands of the O'Moores, St. John of Jerusalem, Thomas Court (in possession?), St. Mary's Abbey, Munster. [*Details given throughout.*] Total, 9,725*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*

3. Under casualties :—

Lands surrendered, bonnaughts, tribute of the Irish, small farms, first-fruits, wards, undertakers' rents, compositions of the Pale, 20th parts of the Bishops, proffers of sheriffs, fines for sale of wards, offices of the clerks of the first fruits and faculties, fines imposed by the Barons [?], forfeited recognizances, impost of wines, compositions of Connaught, and debt resting on the accountant. [*Details given throughout.*]

The total revenue from all these sources is 43,799*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.*

His expenses are as follows :—

Fees, wages and allowances :—

Chief officers, constabulary, annuities, officers of the Star Chamber, procurations, stipends of churches, necessary expenses, allowances on making up the account and allowances of payments, payments on warrants and arrears.

These amount in all to 9,775*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.**

Deducting these outgoings from the receipts,	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
the balance for which the Treasurer has still to			
account is	34,023	13	1*

He next deducts :—

Respited on account of the year	250	9	3
---	-----	---	---

Which leaves him still to account for 33,773 3 10

This remain he places *in super* upon the various heads of revenue given already in part 2 of "Receipts" above [*details are given again here*]. They amount in all to 33,115*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

This includes an item of 288*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* remaining *in super* upon the accountant himself.

There remains further in his hands in cash, 657*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.*

P. 1 (*large*). *Latin.* Signed by Christopher Peyton on the last of September, 1602. *S.P. Ireland* 212, 33.

About
30 Sept.

STATE of the CAUSE between SIR ROBERT NAPPER and SIR EDWARD PELHAM.

Moneys are in controversy between Napper and Pelham, who is Chief Baron of Ireland.

* Fractions of pence are omitted throughout.

1602.

The now Chief Baron had a letter for his office from her Majesty, dated July, 1602, in which the Lord Deputy was ordered to give him the office upon his landing, the fee to take effect from the — day* of April last; and from that time to be paid to Pelham and not to Napper.

Before the date of that letter Sir Robert had received and sold certain port corn, and received also certain moneys in respect of his office. These profits came in all to 130*l.*, and were in respect of Napper's office for Michaelmas, 1601. They were delivered by Napper's agent to the Treasurer there, who gave bills for them in England. The bills were dated 7 June, 1602. They were sent over and received by Mr. William Pytt about 15 June, 1602, before the date of the Queen's letter for Pelham.

The sum received by Napper's factor in Ireland was 130*l.*, and the sum to be received here on exchange into England 123*l.*

Certain other fees were due to Napper in October, 1601, which he had not collected. Sir Edward Pelham claims these by virtue of his letter and has already received some of them.

Details as to the annuity from the Dean of St. Patrick's, port corn of Odder, and allowance of impost which were due to Napper at Michaelmas, 1601, and Easter, 1602, and which Pelham has received.

The total amount which Pelham would receive if the Queen's letter in his favour shall be "deemed to look backward" and to take away from Napper "by relation" the fees due by law to him, is 438*l.* or thereabouts.

Other details.

Mr. King, the agent, wrote to Mr. Pytt a little before Michaelmas, 1602, that because he then conceived that the Queen's letter deprived Napper of his office as from 20 April, 1602, the former entertainment was to be paid to Mr. Pelham. Napper continued in office till Pelham's letters were sealed. He was grievously sick until May last, and did give order to the Barons there for all her Majesty's causes in that Court; and all the process until that time issued and bare *teste* in Sir Robert Napper's name.

P. 1. *Signed* by Napper. *Endd.* S.P. Ireland 212, 34.

30 Sept. LIST of the ARMY as it stands on 30 September, 1602.

In Munster:—

Horse.—Five troops under the President, the Earl of Thomond, Sir Anthony Cooke, Sir Charles Wilmot, Sir Samuel Bagenall, and Captain William Taafe. Total—375.†

Foot.—Companies under the first five officers foregoing, and also under Lord Barry, Lord Audley, Captains Roger Harvey, George Flower, William Saxey and Francis Slingsby, Sir G. Thornton, Captain Henry Skipwith, Sir Jarrard Harvey, Sir Francis Berkeley, Sir Richard Percy, Sir John Dowdall, Captain Francis Kingsmill,

* A note adds: from the 20th of April.

† Throughout the document the figures for each troop or company are given in MS.

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Sir George Cary, Captains William Power, George Kingsmill, and John Bostock, the White Knight, Captain Gawin Harvy, Sir Alexander Clifford, Captains Charles Coote, William Stafford, Edward Doddington, Raphe Sedley and Thomas Boyce, Sir Arthur Savage, Sir Henry Harrington, the Earl of Desmond, and Sir Francis Berkeley (for a ward in Limerick Castle). Total—4,030.

In Connaught :—

Horse.—Six companies under Sir Oliver Lambert, the Earl of Clanricard, Sir Oliver St. John, Captains George Greame and Edmond Wenman, and Sir Henry Harrington. Total—151.

Foot.—Companies under Sir O. Lambert, the Earl of Clanricard, Sir Oliver St. John, Captains Henry Clare, Thomas Bourke, Lionel Ghesté, Theobald Bourke, Henry Malby, Thomas Roper, Thomas Rotherham, Henry Holcrofte and William May, Sir Theobald Dillon and Sir Edward Herbert. Total—1,850.

Newry :—

Horse.—Sir Francis Stafford. Total—50.

Foot.—Sir Francis Stafford. Total—200.

Mountnorris :—

Foot.—Captains Edward Blayney, Atherton and Ellice Jones. Total—450.

Armagh :—

Foot.—Captains Josias Bodley and John Roberts. Total—250.

Blackwater :—

Foot.—Captains Thomas Williams and Anthony Erfield. Total—250.

Charlemount :—

Foot.—Captains Tobias Caulfield and John Ouseley. Total—250.

Dungannon :—

Horse.—Sir Henry Davers. Total—20.

Foot.—Sir Henry Davers. Total—150.

Mountjoy Fort :—

Horse.—Sir William Godolphin and Sir Richard Graeme. Total—100.

Foot.—Sir Benjamin Berry, Captain Francis Roe, Sir William Fortescue, Captains Simon Killigrewé, John Masterson, James Blount, Trevor and Sir John Barkeley. Total—1,100.

Arbowe [*sic*] :—

Foot.—Captain Edward Morris. Total—100.

Monaghan :—

[*Horse.*]—Sir Christopher St. Lawrence and the Earl of Kildare. Total—75.

1602,

Foot.—Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Captain Lawrence Esmond, Sir Edward Fitzgerald, Captain Robert Collam, Sir Thomas Loftus, Sir James Fitzpierce, Lord Delvin, Captain Dennis Dale. Total—950.

In Leinster and the borders of the Pale :—

Horse.—The Lord Deputy, the Marshal, Sir Edward Herbert, Sir Francis Ruishee, Captain Garrot Fleming, Sir Garrot Moore, and the Earl of Ormond. Total—299.

Foot.—The Lord Deputy's guard, the Earl of Kildare, Captain Henry Barkeley, Sir Thomas Bourke, Captain Thomas Cooche, Captain Mulrony O'Carroll, the Marshal, Sir Francis Ruishee, Sir Garrott Moore, Sir Francis Shane, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Henry Power, Captain Richard Hensloe, the Earl of Ormond, Sir Henry Warren, and Sir Henry Wallop for a ward at Enniscorthy. Total—2,120.

Lecale :—

Horse.—Sir Richard Moryson of Captain Jephson's troop. Total—25.

Foot.—Sir Richard Moryson. Total—150.

Dundalk :—

Foot.—Captain Ferdinando Frecleton. Total—100.

Knockfergus :—

Horse.—Sir Arthur Chichester and Captain John Jephson. Total—100.

Foot.—Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Fulke Conway, Captains Henry Seckford, Gregory Norton, Langeforde, Thomas Phillips, Edward Fisher and Raphe Constable. Total—1,050.

Ballyshannon :—

Horse.—Sir H. Folliott. Total—50.

Foot.—Sir H. Folliott, Captains William Wineszor and Edward Bassett. Total—400.

Belleek :—

Foot.—Captains Roger Orme, Paul Gore, Abry Yorke, Farmer and Harrison. Total—600.

Loughfoyle :—

Horse.—Sir Henry Docwra. Total—100.

Foot.—Sir Henry Docwra, and Captains Yarde, Sydney, Orrell, Lloyd, Badby, Hart, Vaughan, Leygh, Wood, Brooke, Pinner, Bingley, Atkinson and Digges. Total—1,850.

Agher :—

Horse.—Sir Henry Davers. Total—80.

Foot.—Captains Richard Hansard, George Blundell and Francis Hobbie. Total—400.

Total of the whole army.—Horse, 1,425 ; Foot, 16,250.*

Pp. 7½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 35.

* By comparing this with the list in Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), III, p. 146 *sq.* it will be seen that the army had been slightly reduced since April, 1602.

1602,
30 Sept.

CHECKS imposed upon the Horse and Foot at LOUGHFOYLE for six months to 30 September, 1602.

The list shows the sums which had been charged as a check for apparel or for lendings on the several officers of horse and foot. The names of the officers are the same as those mentioned under the sub-heads "Loughfoyle" and "Agher" in the last document [*above*, p. 488], except that Sir Neale O'Donnell, not mentioned there, is mentioned here, and that Sir Henry Davers, mentioned there, is not mentioned here. Five other captains (Coach, Wyllis, Alford, Winsor and Orme), having gone out of this list, had no apparel here, and are checked only for lendings. Captain Teling [?], commander of the bargemen, is also mentioned here.

The account also shows certain defalcations made out of the checks by the Lord Deputy's warrant, for pay of the sergeant-major and the lieutenant-colonel, for the brewhouses and ten brewers, and for Captains Wood and Coach each with two men.

The total amount of the checks are :—

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
On the horsebands	182	5	3
On the footbands	3,050	17	1
Boats	21	6	0
Defalcations	279	8	0

P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. Examined by Anthony Reynolds. *Endd.* S.P. Ireland 212, 36.

30 Sept.

BRIEF by way of Estimate of the CHARGE of the ARMY in IRELAND for six months ending 30 September, 1602.

Details estimated under the following heads :—

Chief officers belonging to the army according to the establishment.

Divers governors and other chief officers with their retinues in several provinces.

The Earl of Kildare, as Governor of Ophaly.

Auditor Peyton.

Wards in the different provinces.

Divers bands and companies of horse according to the establishment. [*Sets out* the pay in money and apparel for the various companies of 200, 150 and 100 in detail.]

Pensioners and almsmen according to the establishment.

The Surveyor, Comptroller and particular Commissaries of the Musters.

The overseer of the musters at Loughfoyle.

Sundry horse troops and footbands of Irish birth which are not included in the establishment.

Total cost of the army—148,276*l.* 8*s.* 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

Of this 113,349*l.* 3*s.* 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* is paid in money and the rest in apparel.

As against this the Queen saves 15,000*l.* by checks in money and apparel.

This account does not mention the cost of payments by concordatum, bills imprested on account, extraordinaries on the ordnance office and fortification, which in all must come to 150,000*l.*

1602.

Pp. 2½. *Copy. Signed (copies) by Lane and Birchensha. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 37.*

About A RECKONING for one year as well of the sterling as of the
end 320,000*l.* base money to be issued for 16,000 foot and 1,200
Sept. horse in IRELAND.

Assuming :—

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
(1) that the cost of coining those moneys, “being merely base,” is	16,000	0	0
(2) That the sum payable in England for victuals, apparel, &c., is	200,083	18	4
(3) That likewise the issue of these base moneys is for the year	106,011	18	4
Then the whole charge in sterling for the year will be	216,083	18	4
So her Majesty shall save in sterling on the whole year	103,916	1	8*
And she will still have remaining over of the base money for two years more	213,988	1	8†
If the moneys are coined at 3 <i>oz.</i> of sterling fine the cost of coinage, including the sterling in the moneys, will rise to	90,000	0	0
And her Majesty's saving will fall to	29,911	1	8
But she will have remaining for the next two years as before	213,988	1	8
It follows that the charge of each of these two years will (whatever be the fineness at which the base coin is coined) only ..	E.200,083	18	4
The issue of the base moneys will therefore be in each year	106,011	1	8
And yet at the end of these first two years there will remain of either of these base moneys shall be coined	1,964	3	4

The reason why no more can be saved on either of these plots is that all victuals, apparel, and many other necessities are to be provided in England. These cost about 200,083*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* yearly.

The only way to ease much of this charge is to maintain such a strength there as may defend the most fertile parts and the best subjects there. Thereby these people might by their own labour enable many of these provisions to be made there.

If Ireland could raise 50,000*l.* worth of provisions and make 10,000*l.* worth of apparel in a year, base money could be issued to pay for these to the yearly amount of

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
60,000	0	0	

If the army consisted of 4,000 Irish foot and 1,200 Irish horse, and their apparel were

* *i.e.*, the difference between 216,083*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* and 320,000*l.*

† *i.e.*, the difference between 320,000*l.* and 106,011*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

1602.

saved (as "a matter in former service not used towards them"), the yearly saving in sterling would be	l.	s.	d.
And, if the Irish were drawn to victual themselves in Ireland	15,562	0	0
Then, upon this reckoning, the moneys being merely base, there will issue in sterling for that year	27,662	8	9
Together with what is lost in charge of the coinage of sterling that year	96,860	9	7
And of the base moneys [there] will be issued upon this reckoning for that year ..	16,000	0	0
So the whole expense of sterling and base moneys will be for this year	193,674	16	8
And the saving in sterling is for this year ..	306,534	16	8
And yet there remaineth of the base moneys unissued	207,139	10	3
Add to that remainder, to be coined off new	126,323	12	11
The charge of this, the money being really base, will be	261,023	1	3
This will serve for two years more if there be added to it in sterling also to be issued in all	13,051	3	0*
Each of these two years will therefore cost her Majesty in sterling only	193,620	19	2
So she will save in sterling each year ..	103,361	1	8
But, being of moneys of 3oz. sterling fine, the charge will be more in sterling with the charge of coining	216,638	18	3
And so will the yearly charge of each of these two years be in sterling but	73,255	13	3†
And yet her Majesty saves in sterling in each of these two years	133,474	12	2
I have grounded this reckoning on the Lord Treasurer's plot. He knows the charge best. Otherwise I should not have entered on it. It concerns only the charge of the ———.‡	186,323	7	9‡
Pp. 3. <i>Endd. S.P. Ireland</i> 212, 38.			

OCTOBER, 1602.

4 Oct.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have "restrained" the intelligence from Spain to two persons, whom I shall send away in eight days to the Groyne and Ferrall [Ferrol], where forces for Ireland usually collect. "The party whom I send is thus qualified: He is a gentleman of the English Pale of loyal parents who are to answer for his misdemeanours if he commit any in this course. He speaketh the Spanish and

* Fractions of pence not given.

† These numbers are indistinct.

‡ Illegible.

1602.

French languages. His prymire education has been at school, where he hath obtained some insight in the Latin tongue and knoweth to use his pen in two or three manner of hands, and since he left the school he hath run the profession of soldier in Spain "for four or five years, "and came over hither with the Bishop Mattheo, who the last year was sent by the King to Tyrone to confirm him in the faction of Spain. He is of a close and secret carriage, and such one it standeth him upon to be the better to avoid his own danger whilst he liveth amongst them, so as I see no apparent cause to doubt of him in his employment." I have given him 50*l.* in Spanish silver for the first year of his employment and will take order to supply him half yearly afterwards whilst he lives in Spain, if I find his deserts to be answerable.

The other man, who is as well qualified as the first, is not yet returned from Spain, but I have written for him and expect him soon. I mean to settle him at Lisbon, whence he can send news there and from Syvile [Seville]. I hope to have all news by them, and I will send you what I get.

Pray send direction to the Treasurer to pay me over 100*l.*, which I have paid, or shall pay, to these two men. I can, though not without some trouble, get this converted into Spanish silver, but other "quoyne" than Spanish will not serve this turn. In your letter to the Treasurer please give order that this money "may pass by *concordatum* in a title of some extraordinary services committed to me," but not naming the service, so that none but the Lord Deputy and himself may know of it.

P. 4. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 39.*

4 Oct.
Dublin.

THE LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Much money has lately been spent in making platforms and mounting ordnance at Limerick, which is one of the most important places in Munster, and I, the Deputy, put a garrison of 30 men there under Sir Francis Barkeley. He has supported the garrison at his own charge since March 8 last, as I, the Treasurer, had no warrant to pay him and refused to do so without warrant. The establishment was full before the erection of that ward; and we see not what ward can be reduced unless it be that at Enniscorthy. There Sir Henry Wallop was given twenty men to defend him against Donell Spaniahe [Kavanagh] and Feagh McHugh [Byrne's] sons, who are now in obedience. We know Limerick to be an important place, and beg to certify this; and ask that it may be allowed for either by increase of the list or as an extraordinary by *concordatum*, so that I may pay Sir Francis Barkeley for what he has spent already and for the future so long as you please that the garrison there be maintained.

P. 1. *Signed by the Lord Deputy and by Cary, Wingfield, Pelham, Fenton and Bouchier. Add. Endd. Ibid, 40,*

1602.
6 Oct.
Dublin.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

A grievous complaint has been made to us by Sir Tybbott Dillon against Sir Francis Shane "for some slanderous words touching him very near in his credit," written by Shane to Sir Henry Brunckard. We send the complaint. Shane denies having said anything of the kind, and says that if he said it he would have unjustly accused Dillon, whose men were not with Lord Delvin on the occasion in question. We let you know this in justice to Dillon. He begs that you will call Brunckard before you and require him to shew you the said letter; for he fears it was imparted to the Queen or to some of your lordships.

P. 2. Signed by the Lord Deputy and the Lord Chancellor (Archbishop of Dublin), and by Cary, Wingfield, the Bishop of Meath, St. Leger, Pelham, and Fenton. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 41. Enclosing :—

Petition of Sir Theobald Dillon to the Privy Council, shewing that :—

He has been brought up in view of the State since he was a child. Many of his kinsmen, servants and followers were slain in the Queen's service, and many of his castles razed to the ground, and he was banished from the most and best part of his living, before which time he might and did attend the then Lord Deputy to the field with 130 foot and 30 horse without charge to the Queen, as Sir William Russell and other Privy Councillors now here can say. Having refused to listen to Tyrone's offers at his first going into Munster, he was attacked by Tyrone at his brother's house in Westmeath, and his tenants were burnt, spoiled and preyed. Petitioner withstood Tyrone to the utmost of his ability; and suffered more than anyone else at his hands during his march to Munster. Petitioner did other services, as in duty bound, and received many favours from the Queen. Notwithstanding his loyalty and losses he now hears that Sir Francis Shane has written the following words to Sir Henry Brunckard, a gentleman of good worth and reputation at Court :—

"I must impart to you as to my dear friend that I am generally behated here not only of the meaner sort but also of the State, which is for my service at Multyfernarn [Multifarnam], where I had some of my men slain, on my return by my Lord of Delvin's people and Sir Theobald Dillon, both my great enemies, who with their false shewes they both slew and wounded my men."

This is an untrue assertion. Petitioner prays that your lordships will call Shane before you, and, if he cannot deny the charge, that you will punish him and certify the truth of the matter to Sir H. Brunckard in England for petitioner's justification, "and the rather for that your suppliant, being bound to keep the peace unto the said Sir Francis, can seek no other means to be righted for this untrue reproaches."

1602.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Copy. Certified a true copy by Pa[trick] Foxe. S.P. Ireland 212, 41A.*

8 Oct.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have been directed by the President [of Munster] to send you the enclosed. The party escaped is of no importance and can do little mischief to us, for we command the chief castles of his country, and we have very good pledges, which are the best ties of him and his country. He escaped only to save his life, which, he saw, was greatly endangered by his treason; and I hope the Lord Deputy will take proceedings to attain him "whereby would grow to her Majesty a rich escheat of his country, which is large and would yield a great revenue." As the rebellion declines a similar course should be taken with others of his rank and of like degree in treason, which would enable her Majesty to get some return for the huge cost of these wars. If you approve this course the Lord Deputy and Council should be informed at once to avoid delay.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 42. Enclosing :—*

Sir George Carew to Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

Cormock McDermond escaped last night, being in irons and a guard to attend him. His keepers are either negligent or corrupt. This will greatly animate the rebels and give me the harder task in quieting the country. I have pledges from his principal followers, but they have such love for him that I think they will not respect their pledges.

The greatest task I now have is to clear the country about Cork for, as you know, his lands stretch to the gates of it. I have good ties on Cormock, his son in England (who is, I hope, in safe keeping), his wife and his dearest daughter restrained in Cork, and his three best castles, which are Blarney, Kilcrea and Mocrompe [Macroon]. I got the first two into my hands by persuasions and threats and prevented the rebels to whom they were to have been delivered. The last, which had been delivered by his orders to the traitors, was yesterday taken by our forces under Sir Charles Wilmot's command. I have sent the manner of it to the Lord Deputy. These places in a manner clear Muskery, and will make him from the first a woodkerne and unable for any time to keep any large number of men together. Nevertheless I am exceedingly sorry for his escape, for he is the best-followed man in all Munster.*

There is no shipping here, by which I could send to England. Please send this to Mr. Secretary to inform a truth until I may write to him.

P. 1. (Hol.) *Dated, Cork, 30 Sept., 1602. Add. Endd. Ibid, 42A.*

* "got in front of,"

1602.

4 Oct.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

As Mr. Watson is going back I renew my suit for Dunsink. It is of small value, and I hope may pass at some time though the present may seem unseasonable. The whole farm is but 240 acres, and the rent not more than 11*l*. and odd money. It is chargeable with cess and all other country burdens. There is an estate for life out of it, and it "lieth in the highway of oppression by the soldiers, which never was nor will be avoided." I hope the Queen will consider what the profit of it is, and how remote, if I am to enjoy it; but as it is only three or four miles from Dublin it may be profitable to me hereafter to "give help to my hospitality."

The benefit of Clontarf, which was the first and last gift the Queen gave me in recompense for 24 years' service here, is kept from me by a wicked farmer from whom I have not received a penny in rent. He repudiates me as his landlord, and refuses to show me his lease; and as I do not like to take proceedings (for fear of offending the Queen, who gave it me, or you, who recommended me for it) I am driven to press the more for Dunsink, as a help to me to stand in the Queen's service; which I cannot do without it. I have nothing but my salary, whereas all other Councillors here have great additional helps, men in pay, port corn, &c. Dunsink is of such small value that few servitors in this land would even ask for it.

Presses his suit further. Has instructed Mr. Watson to move in it.

P. 1. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 43.*

9 Oct.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SAME.

Lord Courcy has at length brought his matters of right in Munster to some readiness, though at greater expense than his estate can bear. The Lord Deputy and I have digested it in a letter from ourselves and the Council to the Lords in England which will make it clear to you. Lord Courcy attended the Lord Deputy at the siege of Kinsale, and has since continued near in expectation of a fresh invasion from Spain.

I therefore recommend him for favour in his reasonable suits. I have already spoken of his loyalty and need not trouble you by further remarks on it.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 44.*

10 Oct.
Dublin.

SIR GEORGE CARY to SAME.

The bearer, Thomas Watson, arrived after a long and crossed passage. *Details.* He left the treasure at Chester, and I think we shall have spent it before it comes. I have instructed him fully as to the Exchange, both as to the course I propose to pursue here, and as to that which I propose shall be taken in England, subject to the Queen's and your approval.

To settle on a turbulent country a coin which is distasteful, it is necessary that the entrance of it be as plausible as may be,

1602.

and that the ministers thereof get in the beginning the best content that may be. Otherwise [i.e. if I had not done this] I should have perhaps hazarded myself and overthrown the service. I have taken in a good store of money into the Exchange, by which her Majesty is a good saver and gainer; but now that the new coin is well established and dispersed through the country I shall be backward in thus taking in money and giving bills of exchange. The Exchange must be countenanced, yet not so liberally as heretofore. The bearer will speak my mind, and say what I think as to maintaining the banks in England [in a manner] least burdensome and most profitable to the Queen.

The munition has not yet arrived, and we are in great want of pickaxes, spades and shovels. Those we have are spent in the fortifications which the Lord Deputy has taken in hand this summer.

Pray supply us at once. As you led us to believe, we are now free from fear of Spanish invasion for this year; and, this being so, and the garrisons planted as they are, I hope the traitor will be "shortly ruined."

The Lord Deputy will, I think, shortly go to Athlone. I wish a governor were appointed for that place which, I feel sure, would further the Queen's service there. I recommend Sir Oliver Lambert as "a good stirring gent" who will not "forslowe his business" if appointed.

I am glad a Chief Baron is being sent over, and hope he will prove an honest gentleman, fit for the Queen's service, "if this country do not infect him, which he voweth and protesteth utterly to avoid." If so the Queen will reap a good benefit from his service, for, as things now stand, her Majesty has four good servitors in the Exchequer, which I hope may be reduced into a better order. I should like to second John Bingely for the reversion of office of Remembrancer in the Exchequer. He is an honest man, and has served the Queen and me well since I came here. I have instructed Watson to be your suitor herein.

Pp. 3. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 45.

11 Oct.
Dublin.

THE LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

When O'Cane, who is "the greatest uriaight in Ulster," lately submitted one of the conditions of his submission was that he voluntarily passed over part of his country and several of his castles to the Queen for ever, and surrendered the rest to her "to receive it back to him and his heirs males with such limitations and cautions as we should think meet." He has performed the first of these promises by a conveyance under his hand to the Queen, conveying thereby the part of his land which, at his taking in, it was agreed that he should convey, together with, some of his castles which were chosen by Sir Henry Docwra as most fit for her Majesty's service.

He has now sent two persons here to solicit the performance of the other point—the surrender and re-grant; but, having

1602.

no authority from the Queen to make such re-grant, we have given him a *custodium* under the great seal of Ireland of his part of his country till the Queen sends us a warrant to give him a further estate. Please expedite this, as he has fulfilled his part of the agreement. "The example of this man (departing with so large a portion of his country, which never any Irish before him in the knowledge of us that have served longest here hath done) deserveth more than ordinary respect." He promises "to separate himself from all dependency other than to hold merely and absolutely from the Queen and to live of his own, as other subjects do," under the law. Others of the Irish will seek to follow O'Cane's example, but as to these we have no authority from the Queen to act. As this is the way "to cut from them all their Irish tenures" and reduce them to the laws of the realm, we ask that the warrant in O'Cane's case may be drafted in general terms, enabling us to deal with all the Irish who are willing to surrender and take re-grants upon conditions. This course will "divide them from all former Irish dependency," and "bring them into the way of civility with a feeling of the difference between their former manner of life under the tyranny of their superior Irish lords and the easy and clement government of her Majesty." Such warrants have, on previous occasions, been sent here; and we enclose copies. We hope this one will be sent at once.

P.S.—We suggest that you should not put restrictions or particular conditions into the warrant, but leave them to be inserted by us according to the circumstances of each particular case.

Pp. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$. Signed by the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop of Dublin (and Lord Chancellor), and by Cary, Wingfield, Pelham, Harington and Fenton. The *P.S.* signed by the Lord Deputy. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 46.

Also copy of the same without the postscript. Pp. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$. *Endd. Ibid.*, 47.

12 Oct.
Dublin.

The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

Sir Henry Davers, who is going over about his private business, will bring you news of all things here. The North, as I hear from Sir A. Chichester, remains as I left it. Tyrone is on the borders of Fermanaugh [Fermanagh], the only corner we have yet left unspoiled. There he, MacMahowne, Cormack McBaron, and Brian McArt, by living together, do almost as much waste as we should have done. Art McBaron is now here with me, and assures me they are very weak, "and Tyrone despairing in any course he can propound to himself to take, but that there is growing so extreme a famine amongst them that there will be no possibility for them to subsist."

Sir Oliver Lambert has been with me in connection with some matters which I disliked in his government. Tibbott ne Longe was with him, and I have sent them back [to Connaught] with a resolution which I hope will tend to the speedy quieting of that country.

1602.

O'Rorke will, I hear, become a subject. If he do Connaught will be presently in good terms and Tyrone deprived of his chief retreat.

"In all Leinster there is not now one rebel—the Moores are consumed, the O'Connors banished, and but some thirty of them left whose return out of Connaught is all that Leinster fears." The chief effect of our garrisons will not appear till towards the spring. "If there were but little keeps of stone in those garrisons I have planted, and some others, I am confident the country were reduced or the war might be made with very few." I am resolved there is no other security to be taken of this people; and we cannot, without such forts, diminish the army here whilst there is any hope out of Spain. If you could by any means rid this country of 2,000 Irish I would presently cast 2,000 more; but if you cannot I think the best course is to keep the army strong until the spring. Then, if it be kept strong, the Queen may establish her laws where she will. I am so convinced of the necessity of these stone keeps that I have given order to make provision for them against next summer. If you think this will be disliked, pray let me know it.

My private affairs urgently demand that I should go over to England. There is much to do that cannot be done in my absence; and for the service of this kingdom I despair to make myself thoroughly understood by you until I hear you and am heard by you.

This intelligence [enclosed] about O'Donnell is very likely to be true. The letter would hardly have been written unless it were so. "I am sorry to hear that the King of Spain is able to embrace an action against Algiers, because, until he be engaged, it may turn for this."

P.S.—I have directed the President of Munster to waste the country as much as he may on these men's revolts. This is better than merely taking in the Irish, for if the Spaniards do come it is well they should find the country poor.

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 48.
Enclosing :—

A. *Relation of William Floudd, who arrived at Dublin*
11 October, 1602.

Left Dublin about 2 July. Arrived Lisbon about 14 July. About a fortnight after Diego de Brochero went out with about nine ships. He left three others behind for want of mariners. It was said that he went to Bayon [Bayonne] and thence back to Cales [Cadiz], in which journey he lost the St. Andrew, vice-admiral. After his departure only three small ships and three gallies were left in Lisbon.

No "sugars nor Brasill [Brazil] men" came in late, but only a report that all the Brazil men are taken. The West India fleet returned to Civill [Seville].

A great army is at Cales and many gallies bound for the straits. They had not gone at deponent's departure. They muster every day in Lisbon, "but make a very poor parado."

1602.

The two captains retained as pledges at Cork arrived at Lisbon lately.

Three weeks before leaving deponent saw a letter written from Valedelid [Valladolid] that O'Donnell died there about September 10 and was buried in the abbey of Valladolid. It was reported that he should have brought into Ireland 4,000 foot and 200 horse.

Deponent left Lisbon 20 days ago.

P. 1. *Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 48A.*

14 Oct.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE THORNTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

I landed here on 11 October, with eight ships. The ninth, with 100 men, a great part of the arms and some apparel, was driven by very foul weather into Waterford. The men are to come on by land and the provisions by sea. Pray remember my suit for the seven and a half ploughlands late the property of Pierce Lacy, a traitor who was slain in the North, and save me the expense of going over. I have appointed Patrick Crosbie to solicit you in my despatches.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 49.*

14 Oct.

MEMORANDUM on the state of the EXCHANGE.

There has been paid out of the receipt at Westminster to the hands of Sir Thomas Knyvett, Kt., for making of new moneys for Ireland of both sorts and for charges 73,800 0 0
Of this, there has been coined and delivered to the Treasurer of Ireland—

in white moneys	234,000	0	0
in mere copper moneys	21,000	0	0

Total	255,000	0	0
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There has been also paid out of the said receipt for the maintenance of the Exchange since the beginning of the making of the Irish moneys 88,200 0 0

A computation of what the Queen's charge would be in the Exchange, allowing the same only to the army, and allowing the Lord Deputy and provincial governors and company officers their full pay, and allowing to each private soldier 4*l.* a year, shows that such charge would be for a year E.96,897 3 1

[*Details given of pay to the general and provincial officers, warders in the provinces, and to the officers and men of 12 companies of horse and 120 companies of foot.*]

We have allowed for each soldier the sum of 4*l.* per year, but we hold it impossible that each man should save so much. If he is paid 8*d.* a day that amounts to £E.12 3*s.* 4*d.* a year. From this there is deducted 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for apparel furnished from here,

1602.

and 6*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* for victual—for 4*d.* a day is the least that we can expect to deduct for victual. If this be so, his whole profit in a year is 1*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* Now even if every horseman, footman, and warder returns the whole of his balance on to the Exchange, the total amount put on the Exchange will be only £*E.*23,542 15*s.* And so after this rate the charge of the Exchange will only amount to £*E.*66,617 18*s.* 1*d.*, “wherein the Deputy, President, Commissioners, captains, constables, and all their officers of bands have their full pays set down without deduction of any charge towards their maintenance.”

It is also to be remembered that, towards the charge of the Exchange, the benefit of the said sum of £*E.*66,600 at 12*d.* in the 1*l.* will amount to 3,330*l.*

Your lordships have asked what the Queen would save or lose by the merchant in the Exchange if he should be ordered to bring in £60 in sterling in every 100*l.* which he brought to the Exchange. It is impossible to answer this question, for the Treasurer's certificates do not distinguish what bills come from the merchants and what from the army only. If, however, your lordships order the Master of the Exchange to make calculations separately of the bills which come from these two sources and get information from him as to its results, the question which you ask might be answered in the following way. Taking a figure of 100*l.*, the Queen, when she pays anybody 100*l.* in Irish money, saves £*E.*75. If this 100*l.* is brought back to the Exchange and 60*l.* thereof is brought back in sterling money, the Queen loses only 25*l.* in the manner. She receives in money £*E.*60, saves by the exchange 5*l.*, and has in the copper money £*E.*10, all which comes to £*E.*75; so she only loses 25*l.* If, then, over and above the sum returned by the army, the merchants return 40,000*l.* a year into the Exchange, the Queen loses 25 per cent. of that sum.

Pp. 23 $\frac{1}{4}$. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 212, 50.

15 Oct.
Shandon.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I recommend Sir George Bouchier, who is going to England on private business. Pray favour his suits, and let him know that you do so at my request.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid.* 51.

15 Oct.
Cork.

SAME to SAME.

I recommend Captain Francis Kingsmill, who seems to depend wholly on your good opinion. The company which he holds from his sister, the Lady Norreys, had been so much abused by those who had previously been in command of it that, though its nominal strength was 150 it could not number above 100. Since Kingsmill has been in command there has been a great improvement in the company in this respect. Lady Norreys' choice was excellent; and though she might well have been expected to give the company to her brother for particular reasons,

1602.

I approve her choice thoroughly. Captain Kingsmill has served well since he came to Munster.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 52.*

15 Oct.
Cork.

The EARL OF THOMOND to SECRETARY CECIL.

I arrived at Cork on the 6th after a bad passage. Sir George with the soldiers arrived here two days after, having been driven in at Waterford and coming on from thence. I shall send Connaught news when the President can give me leisure to go there.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 53.*

16 Oct.
Cork.

The PRESIDENT and COUNCIL OF MUNSTER to LORD BUCKHURST (Lord High Treasurer), the EARL OF NOTTINGHAM (Lord High Admiral), and SECRETARY CECIL.

The new standard is held in such small account here and the restraint on the Exchange is so rigid that merchants will sell no wares here at less than 100 % profit. All prices are raised in the like unmeasurable proportion, and persons in the Queen's pay cannot live on their salaries. This is so discouraging to captains and officers that many of them daily forsake their posts and go to England. We have now found a merchant, Lewis Clotworthy, who undertakes to supply the army with all necessaries at such profit as a merchant may reasonably expect, "so that [*i.e.* provided that] he may be sure to have his money received into the bank here according to the proclamation, and his bills at reasonable days paid in England by order from your lordships." As a guarantee against imposture he is content that entry be made in the custom house at London or Bristol of such goods as he shall from time to time ship for Ireland, which will make it impossible for him to charge the banks colourably with more than for money so received. As "he is no freeman of the city of Cork, whereby he is subject to be called in question amongst the townsmen for retailing of wares" he offers to be bound not to sell to anybody but to the army if your lordships write letters in his favour to the town and save him from being troubled. If you grant this request the Queen will be better served. The merchants will trade no more here, and have shut up their shops so that necessaries cannot be bought from them to supply the needs of the army, as could formerly be done.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Signed by Sir George Carew, the Earl of Thomond, Sir G. Thornton, Lord Audley, Sir Charles Wilmot, William Saxey, and Gerald Comerford. Add. as in heading. Endd. Ibid, 54.*

16 Oct.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Recapitulates briefly the substance of the foregoing, and recommends Lewis Clotworthy, the person mentioned therein.

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There will soon (the merchants refusing to trade) be an absolute failure of supply here. Asks that the letters to the Corporation of Cork in Clotworthy's favour mentioned in the foregoing may be written.

P. ½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 55.*

17 Oct.
Shandon.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

I recommend Mr. Justice Saxey. His assistance furthered the Queen's service. "He is a man of long continuance and very judicially read in the laws of the realm," and deserves promotion. His attendance here is so chargeable that his fee of 100*l.* does not defray half his expenses. Pray favour his reasonable desires.

P. ½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 56.*

26 Oct.
Dublin.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to SAME.

Sir Rafe Lane has by petition represented to us that he has been at great expense for building a castle in the Dufferin, bordering on Lecale and other Irish countries, and in keeping a strong ward there at his own expense, "being a place of good importance to answer the service both by sea and land and fit to curb the rebels bordering upon it." He has spent himself in it so that he cannot go through with it unless he is helped by the Queen. The petition was referred to [two of] us, the Chief Baron and Secretary, who have sent in our opinion (enclosed) on the question of relieving him. Pray respect his great charges, and send authority hither allowing some help to be given to complete and maintain his place and work.

P. ¾. *Signed by the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop of Dublin, (and Lord Chancellor), and by Cary, Fenton, Pelham (Chief Baron of the Exchequer), St. Leger and Harington. Add. Endd. Ibid, 57. Enclosing :—*

A. *Petition to the Lord Deputy of Sir Rafe Lane, shewing that :—*

He has done much for the Queen in the Dufferin, the last two years, and has employed many men; for which he craves the Queen's bounty and relief. Asks that as the Council is busy on public days with many suits, his petition† may be referred to, and related to the Lord Deputy by, two others of the Council.*

P. ½. *Underwritten with order signed by the Lord Deputy referring the petition to the Chief Baron and Secretary. Endd. Ibid, 57A.*

B. *Further petition of Same to Same, shewing that :—*

Petitioner has long had the interest of the Dufferin in him, but could not, since Tyrone's rebellion, conceive any benefit to be reaped by him out of it till some two years past when the

* This name is spelt in many different ways in this and the next documents.

† This refers to some fuller and longer petition: possibly the following.

1602.

success of the campaign in Ireland “in your lordship’s valorous carriage of the government of it” emboldened him to try and take his footing there. He there built a castle of stonework which is not yet finished to the full, but also has ever since maintained there, at his great charges, a ward of sixteen English and thirty Irish. With these men, and others drawn from different governors, he has done divers good services which are set out in the accompanying certificate and letters. He has not, however, received any profit from the country, and is unlikely to; but, from motives both of interest and loyalty, does not like to leave it. He prays for a grant by concordatum of such a sum of money as shall be proportionate to his charge and for your lordship’s recommendation of the country to the Lord Deputy in regard of its fitness for the Queen’s service and for a plantation and place of refuge for people who “have a desire to be loyal subjects inhabiting in those wild parts.” This can be done by placing a strong ward there against the rebel who is hourly expected to return “for whom by the said country are holden two strong loughs, the one called Lough Gronnushe [Granagh*], the other the Lough Enock [Henney*].” These were taken by the retinue of the Dufferin with the assistance of the two governors adjoining, but, as there is no means to hold them, are eftsoons returned or to be returned to the possession of the grand Rebel. If his request is granted, petitioner promises to make such a plantation as will be greatly to the securing of the Dufferin and the neighbourhood.

Postscript.—Petitioner has just heard from Sir Richard Moryson that John White, the leader of his kerne, has been slain by Brian McArt’s men. These laid an ambush for him as he was going from Rannahady [Ringhaddy*] Castle to a castle which he had built on a neck of land leased to him by petitioner, called Randuffren. This shows how necessary is a system of “daily interchangeable services.”† “If there were strength of men at times to enter the woods, there would be an interchange of heads as current in that part as in any part of Ulster of equal charge” to the Queen.

P. 1, followed by:—

Declaration and petition of Sir Rafe Lane to the Lord Deputy and Council, shewing that:—

In your suppliant’s castle of Ranahady, Bryan McArt held his personal residence, “and had the repair unto him of Scottish barques and others with all manner of provisions, sometimes twenty in a week, lying at rode [road] under the castle wall.” But, hearing of your lordship’s coming into Lecale, he quitted his castle and beat it down to the ground, and withdrew for his refuge over the Bann. Petitioner then appointed Edward Brookes (here present) Seneschal of his country, and caused him at his great charge to re-edify the castle. He put into it a guard of fifteen English and thirty Irish. With these and

* I owe these identifications to Dr. G. Flood.

† Presumably patrols passing daily from fort to fort.

1602.

some troops sent by the Governors of Lecale and Carrickfergus he performed the following services :—

1. In May, 1601, assisted by some 50 of the Lecale garrison he took Lough Gronnush [*Granagh*] in the Dufferin with great store of butter and other victuals. Bryan McArt kept that store there under a guard of six men, and it contained provision for 300 of the bonnaughts for six months.
2. He also took Bryan's stronghold of Lough Enoch [*Henney*], which the Irish garrison surrendered.
- 3 and 4. In August, 1601, Con O'Neale Ustian McDonnell and McAlexander Roe, who had formerly submitted to the Governor of Carrickfergus, went again suddenly into rebellion and possessed themselves of the Dufferin, save only the castle of Ranahady. This they often attempted, but the Seneschal defended it with success. The whole neighbourhood being in rebellion, the Governor of Carrickfergus drew out some troops [to suppress it], and, by chance intercepted a letter written from Ustian McDonnell to Randall McSorley of the Route requesting him to send good store of Scots unto him for that he stood assured of the absolute signory of the Dufferin. Upon this, the Governor himself came [to Ranahady] and carried out some service which the petitioner's seneschal had plotted against Con O'Neale, "and unlooked for surprised the said Con O'Neale on the sudden when he was aslape in the woods, which when Ustian McDonnell (a most desperate rebel) understood, he crossed the Governor's passage and very resolutely came up to the sword, but by a couple of bullets shot out of a pistol he was there fortunately slain." McAlexander Roe, the other rebel, then surrendered upon the Governor's conditions.

In spite of this defeat these rebels broke out again into rebellion on the coming of the Spaniards; and Brian McArt came again into the Dufferin with all his forces and seated himself in the plains of the country, which he had never done before since the petitioner came to it. He possessed himself of a great and strong island there called Lough Clea, where he put most of his provisions and stores of butter, corn, &c., for his relief. When petitioner's seneschal saw this, he realised that the place was one which he could not take by force; yet "for a fourth service he devised by a secret practice with a priest called Patrick McCrossan for the sum of 20*l*. to betray the said island at the time he should say mass; which the said priest undertook and effectually performed at the time of his mass by letting in thirty of your suppliant's men," who took the island and those in it without resistance.

This loss compelled Brian McArt to withdraw to his main fort in Killultagh; and he never more had any footing there. The provisions taken were, by the Governor's

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order, given to the soldiers and kerne in spoil, or divided amongst the ward; but the corn was for the most part given to the followers of the country to continue them there and to sow the land again.

5. The country continued "sometimes in and sometimes out" until your lordship's repassing again over the Blackwater. White, the leader of your petitioner's kerne, killed above 30 rebels, including three or four chiefs, principals of septs. In June last, Debdall, the Constable of Carrickfergus, certified this to Sir Arthur Chichester.

Petitioner sends a copy of a letter from Sir Arthur Chichester in which he certifies these services. Prays for the Queen's bounty in proportion to his great charges.

P. 1½. Copy [?]. In all pp. 2½. S.P. Ireland 212, 57B.

c. Sir Arthur Chichester to Secretary Cecil.

I am asked by Sir Rafe Lane to say what I know of the Dufferin, which is part of my government, and which he has taken to ferme of the owner thereof. I know the country well. It lies between Lough Coane to the eastward and the great woods of the Dufferin, Kilwarlin, Kenelerto and Killulto [Killultagh] on the west. The lough itself is full of islands and is entered by the river of Strangford. It has during all this rebellion been a great support to the rebels "by a frequent trade into it of Scottish barques with munition, cloth, wine and aqua vitæ, often supplying the rebel." The haven is large enough to contain the largest fleet of ships of burden or gallies which any Prince has, and there is timber growing hard aboard to build other ships or gallies. "To the landward the said country is bordered in every quarter of it with the woodmen of the woods above specified, who are never honest in peace nor war, and from hence daily incursions may be made upon them."

Sir Rafe Lane has, with his experience, realised the value of such a "plot of earth," either in war or peace. He wishes to make an English plantation and defensible town there. I think this plan deserves all favour and that he has [good] reason to ask, as he does, for a company.

P. ¾. Copy. Dated, Dublin, 12 May, 1602. Copy overwritten as in heading. Ibid, 57C.

d. William Debdall, Constable of Rannahady, to [Sir Geoffrey Fenton].

Thirty of my kerne went out under my orders to deal with some loose knaves who lay in the woods of Ranahaddy and spoilt the poor tenants who went for wood. They brought in one head and four prisoners. I informed the Governor of Knockfergus of this; and he was pleased [&c., see enclosed]. I set up the head on the top of the castle to stand "as a sentinel for the terrifying of other knaves." The prisoners I kept here pending the Governor's decision, but as one of them leapt

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over the wall and escaped while my men were busy in beating off a night attack "I took better order for the rest, and for their safe keeping hanged them presently according the Governor's order." Some of the fellows were of note, and cows to the value of 500*l.* were offered as ransom for one of them. This being done, I am now taking action against Brian McArt's creats, hoping of as good success. If they are brought in they will not escape, for I have made the castle strong enough to prevent this.

P. 1 $\frac{1}{10}$. Copy. Dated, 31 May, 1602. S.P. Ireland 212, 57D. Enclosing :—

D*. Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir William Debdall.

I am glad of the good services done by your advice and furtherance. They will help to obtain for Sir Rafe Lane the force which he desires to have allowed for that place. As Brian McGill and Patrick O'Kelly are taken with four others of the "Slutt Henry Hyughes"* and in custody with you I would have them kept safe till I send a convoy for them in a few days, or let them be hanged if there is danger in keeping of them. I will have your expenses paid with recompence by my Lord Deputy.

P.S.—Captain Jephson is now in the Ards, coming hitherward with 500 or 600 foot. If you can send the prisoners to him he can bring them here. If not, I will send for them. Since writing the above, I have your letters directed to Sir Fulke Conway and Captain Lankford. As touching the four "Slutt Henry Hiuhes" I am content you keep one for a pledge and hang the others if you cannot keep them.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. Ibid, 57D*.

E. Report by Sir Edmund Pelham and Sir Goeffrey Fenton on the petition of Sir Rafe Lane,

They recommended that it be granted and that he be given 1. by concordatum. His expenses there have been incurred more for the Queen's service than his own benefit; and if the concordatum be [expressly] grounded on these considerations, it can, we think, give no offence. Otherwise, your lordship may write favourably to Secretary Cecil on behalf of Lane's cause, mentioning the importance of the Dufferin if the petitioner should receive some assistance from her Majesty.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. Signed by Pelham and Fenton. Dated, 12 Oct., 1602. Ibid, 57E.

31 Oct. RETURN shewing the SUMS† due by her MAJESTY in the three Exchanges of ENGLAND for bills sent from the four Exchanges of IRELAND.

						<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
London	..	..	..	..	..	38,162	2	1
Chester	..	..	..	..	..	8,349	10	1
Bristol	..	..	..	..	..	11,600	4	3

*Dr. Flood says 'the tribe of Henry the Blind, a branch of the Clandeboy O'Neills.'

† Fractions of pence are omitted.

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Details given under each head shew the particular sums due to various classes of creditors, *i.e.*, English merchants, Irish merchants, merchant strangers, captains, lieutenants, gentlemen, mariners and Commissaries of Victuals. In some cases sums not yet fallen due are inserted.

P. 1. *Endd.* with date. *S.P. Ireland* 212, 58.

Oct.

MEMORANDUM shewing why OFFICERS should be numbered with the bands with which they serve.

In the English forces which the Queen has from time to time kept in Normandy, Brittany and other parts of France, the officers of the bands have been always part of the bands and reckoned to make up the number of the list. In Ireland the list consists of the common soldiers only, and the officers are numbered apart. If the Irish list was assimilated to those abroad the Queen would yearly save 13,592*l.*; and the bands would be kept more complete rather than weakened; for, in a company of 100 when the officers are part of the 100 the captain hath less occasion to diminish his number, and it is a comfort to the soldier to have officers accounted in the company with them and not reckoned a number severally and apart, which is a hindrance to the check.

In the Low Countries there is an allowance of ten dead-pays to every 100; in Ireland only of six. This is an additional reason why the officers there should be of the band.

If this were so, then, whenever the Queen reduces her army in Ireland, the list shall be kept higher with greater reputation to the army, and yet the charge not increased.

For example, if this order be established and the list be kept at 12,000, her Majesty's charge will be as if it were 11,000. By this means, too, you will retain more captains and officers which are men of service and strengthen the army, "who also grow discontented when they are cassed, having no other means to live."

The captains cannot object to this course, and when it is desired to increase the army this can be done without increasing the list; and it is well known that the companies in Ireland are never complete.

P. $\frac{1}{3}$. *Endd.* with date. *Ibid.*, 59.

NOVEMBER, 1602.

Sir GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

1 Nov.
Shandon.

I recommend Sir Gerrard Harvey, who is going to England on urgent private business. He is a good soldier, and has never from his infancy been a truant in the school of war. He has some business to do in the matter of lands which came to him by his wife, and I beg you to favour him in the matter of the exchange

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of certain moneys which grew due to him for the most part whilst he remained in England.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 60.

[4 Nov.] MEMORANDUM on the ABUSES of the English Merchants, committed in her Majesty's Exchange.

The following merchants of London have returned by bills to her Majesty's Exchange divers old debts for wares of divers kinds delivered to merchants of Ireland on credit long before the erection of the Exchange. It should be considered whether the Queen will satisfy these bills or not.

Mathias Springham, mercer, confesses, in writing, that he delivered wares to Irish merchants long before the erection of the Exchange.	For	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
these he returned bills for .. ..	..	298	13	7
John Gilbert, grocer, the same .. ..	..	1,961	10	8
Martin Smith, haberdasher, the same .. ..	..	908	0	0
Michael Butler, linen draper, the same .. ..	..	388	11	9
Edward Erby, haberdasher, the same .. ..	..	290	0	0
Edward Keen, grocer .. ..	..	290	19	7
John Wright, mercer .. ..	..	2,395	12	0
Francis White, grocer .. ..	..	1,101	3	4
Robert Churchman, draper .. ..	..	822	13	9
John Churchman, draper .. ..	..	1,108	18	6
Randall Dye, dyer .. ..	..	151	6	10
Total .. ..	..	9,717	9	8

Before their abuse was discovered, these merchants received out of the Exchange 4,842*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*, which, [it] is supposed, was merely their old debts. Since the discovery bills belonging to these merchants have been staid in London by your lordship's order to the value of 5,734 10 0

Since the erection of the Exchange these merchants have delivered on credit to the merchants of Ireland [goods to] the sum of 11,229 8 9

It is supposed that as this sum is repaid [in Ireland] by the Irish merchants it will be brought to the Exchange; and your lordships have told the English merchants aforesaid that this will be allowed as the goods for which the sums are due were delivered before the erection of the Exchange. This will, however, not be burthensome to the Exchange as the Lords have made an "honourable provision" in the late proclamation providing that every merchant who brings in 100*l.* to the Exchange must bring in 60*l.* of it in English sterling.

As, however, those merchants have received 4,842*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* by exchange, formerly parcel of their old debts which cannot now be realised, and as there is yet 5,733*l.* 10*s.* unsatisfied (in all which there was little or no sterling money given, unless Mr. Treasurer by good husbandry exacted the same by reason it

1602.

it fell within the course of the first proclamation) your lordships may please to protest those bills to that sum and assign them to receive those moneys again from Mr. Treasurer, so that they may convert them into commodities of the country and not burden the Exchange therewith; or your lordships may take some reasonable time for the payment thereof, since the said debts were in a manner desperate before the base moneys were established.

Divers merchants, in order to disguise their dealings, deal in the names of other men. Thus Richard Martin, of Cheapside, a goldsmith, procured a bill of exchange at Cork for 100*l.* of the new money and caused the bill to be made in the name of one Arnold, of Ludgate Hill, a haberdasher. Martin asked Arnold to give his acquittance to the said bill for receipt of the money, but Arnold refused and protested that the money was none of his. It is supposed Martin sold some plate in Cork, which, being prohibited by the Queen's laws, [he] would not be seen to have the bill in his name for fear of detection.

One Ridley, a lieutenant of Sir Oliver Loftus, combined himself at Dublin with one Parkins, a factor of Mr. Cutts, to abuse the Treasurer himself. Ridley took 50*l.* of Parkins in the new standard, brought it to Mr. Treasurer and told him Sir Oliver had left the said money with him to be exchanged, so that he might go to Chester and make some speedy provisions of necessities for Sir Oliver and his company. Having got this bill on so reasonable an excuse, Ridley gave it to Parkins, who gave him 40*s.* for his pains. Parkins' device was to avoid having to pay 12*l.* *E.* 10*s.*, which he would have had to pay if he had presented the money at the Exchange. One Spike and one Huntley, of London, were assigned to receive the money of Thomas Watson who, on demand thereof, told them of the abuse committed, at which they broke out in very bitter terms against her Majesty's proceedings in the Exchange.

These and like abuses could not have been discovered unless Mr. Treasurer and his ministers had had power to take men's oaths when they exchanged their moneys. Hitherto this was not permitted.

Two London merchants, Gunter and Bowling, have of late transported divers commodities into Ireland which have been sold at excessive prices and returned to the Exchange. They have also shipped many tons of "white *aqua vitæ*, which cost 2*s.* 8*d.* the gallon in London, and have transported it to Carrickfergus, where by the help of one Moyses Hill, of the Island of Magee, they have coloured the same yellowish with little cost like the Irish usquebaff, and have sold the same to the rebels, as is supposed, or at least to the Irish subject, by whose means it hath come to the rebels' hands." They have sold it to them at 10*s.* the gallon and the money so gained they have converted to the Queen's Exchange. What they have put over formerly in other men's names is not discovered, but they are owed 500*l.* at the Exchange at this moment.

The carriage of *aqua vitæ* in the present large quantities should be restrained "the same being one of the principal provisions

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which the rebels accustom themselves to carry and doth give them more relief and comfort than any other liquor. Our English nation cannot devour such quantities as have been sent, for it is known they do not much accustom to drink thereof."

The merchants of Chester, Bristol and those parts have been greatly encouraged to trade on the Exchange by reason of her Majesty's princely care to perform her word in her Highness's proclamation. This has proved a better traffic for them than any which they could have carried on to foreign parts notwithstanding such current payment. They have slandered the Exchange "devulging" in Ireland falsely that their bills of exchange would not be paid, and that therefore they had to sell all the things which they had carried over there at three times what they cost them "because they might raise their benefit out of the true value of the moneys if they should remolte them; whereby they punished the army with excessive prices and encouraged the army and the Irish nation in many places to distaste the moneys."

It appears that in the compass of the last year the Exchange at Bristol and Chester have devoured 45,000*l.* which hath been paid wholly to those merchants, except 8,000*l.* which has been paid to the army; and there is yet owing at these Exchanges about 20,000*l.* whereof 16,300*l.* is owing to the merchant and the rest to the army. The debt to the merchants is for beer, corn and other victuals, and the merchandize carried over and sold at most excessive rates, so as they have returned both stock and profit to the Exchange.

The merchants say that they have sold these provisions wholly to the army. This is not the case, for, during that time, the Queen has sent over provisions and clothes to the value, respectively, of 89,000*l.* and 46,000*l.* The army has been supplied in such abundant manner that there is no certificate to show that nearly all the provisions sent have been consumed. The 16,200 men in her Majesty's army there have had no means to buy these. They have been apparelled from hence; and 4*d.* a day has been defalked for their victual. The mass of commodity sent over by the merchants must, therefore, have been consumed by the Irish subjects or rebels. This has certainly prolonged the rebellion, and has much burdened the Exchange.

Your lordships should consider steps for preventing the deceit of the merchants hereafter, and relieve the Exchange from their unjust claims "either by some composition from the richest sort or else by stalling* the payment within some large time." For her Majesty shall by these payments lose much to them who have done her no service.

The merchants of Chester and Bristol, if questioned by your lordships as to who the people are to whom they have sold their victuals, would probably confess what is now conjectured. Any of them who have certificates from the provincial governors and State there, shewing that their victuals were converted to the relief of the Queen's army or that they were sold to the subject

* Note the use of the word—pigeon-holing the payment and paying it off gradually.

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for 30*l.* per cent. profit—a sufficient gain for forty days' venture—may in your wisdoms be provided for. You will find that of all those that make those demands not two have brought in any manner of certificate or will yield any account what became of the commodities they carried. Had a merchant delivered any manner of relief for the army he would have desired some favourable certificate for his own credit and the furtherance of his payment in England.

The merchants of Cork, Galway, Kilmallock, Youghal and the West of Ireland who usually embark at Bristol have received 20,000*l.* out of the above Exchanges. It is supposed they should have bestowed this in England in commodity and merchandize, for the London merchants give no credit to those merchants, being poor and dwelling far remote. Probably they have secretly carried over that money in specie to Ireland, which is contrary to the express provisions of her Majesty's proclamation. Thereby they make a further trade of the Exchange, for it is said that with £.E.100 they have bought £.Ir.200, and with £.E.40 they have brought the said £.200 to the Exchange, by which buying up of the money they have "infrenged" the proclamation, made a great profit and plotted to gather up the moneys of the new standard as they were issued. By this device they have prevented the free circulation of the moneys.

A principal reason why it is conceived that their moneys have been thus conveyed into Ireland in specie is that the Queen has not, during all the time of the Exchange, profited 20*l.* in the customs at Bristol by the goods of the Irish nation sent from Bristol to any part of Ireland.

The merchants of those parts have now to receive at London about 8,000*l.* Before this is paid it were well that your lordships should take some effective course to restrain the secret transporting of sterling money into Ireland, and enjoin those merchants to spend on merchandize in England the money which they "usually" receive at the Exchanges in England, whereby the money delivered to them will be kept in the country, trade improved in England, the customs benefitted, and the abuse of transporting sterling stopped. This restriction will drain Ireland of sterling in a short time, and this will weaken the rebellion and end the exchange naturally without dishonour to her Highness, for the merchants will have no sterling to deliver in to the exchange with their money of the new standard.

One Smith, Commissary of the Victuals at Galway, has sent over to the several Exchanges about 1,000*l.* in bills, which Thomas Watson has forborne to pay. Smith's motives in sending over sterling should be discovered by your lordships by examination of his assignee Baynard.

Pp. 5½. *Endd.* generally and with date. *S.P. Ireland* 212, 61.

5 Nov.
Dublin.

SIR CHRISTOPHER ST. LAWRENCE to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have often asked the Lord Deputy for leave to go for England "for the repairing of my reputation which, I hear, is there taxed"

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and for my private affairs; and, though promised leave, have never obtained it. Pray write on my behalf in this matter. I have various points on which to inform you.

I shall return the next day, and willingly, if you desire it. Pray grant my suit by this bearer whom I have sent over on purpose to obtain leave.

P.S.—I have no suits, but only to speak with your honour.

P. 3. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 62.

9 Nov.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Since my last Captain Flower has burnt all the O'Magher's corn in Carbery and that of other rebels. He has slain some weaponed men and many others. Sir Richard Percy is now in the O'Crowlie's country, which is part of Carbery, burning there. I am sure he, and Captain Harvey and Sir Charles Wilmot are not idle, though I have not heard from them. Between these garrisons there will be little left for the enemy to live upon. I hope Captain Edny will give you satisfaction.

The Lord Deputy writes that he thinks Tyrone will come into Munster. If he be so mad I will make this province his grave; but I do not think he will come to a strange country where he is not allied and will not be obeyed. I would be glad to hear of my leave into England.

P. 1. (Hol.) Add. Endd. Ibid, 63.

10 Nov.
Dublin.

THE LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

We received her Majesty's letters of 9 October* in which she lays down rules for our government here, and, after conference on these, we offer certain opinions and comments on them which we ask you to submit to her Majesty.

As to the reduction of the army suggested by the Queen on account of the diminution of the fear of invasion from Spain, no doubt that prospect has diminished. But it has not disappeared, and the principal rebels, who have not yet submitted, use it to keep their followers in heart. They would once more be encouraged if, while the hope is not dead, the Queen's army here were largely reduced; and the end of the rebellion, now well in prospect, might be long deferred. The pride of the rebels is not yet pulled down; but we hope it will be so when "the late plantations of Ulster shall have had time to work more upon them," but we are doubtful about reducing the army except in proportion as the danger of rebellion gets less; and think that we cannot reduce the present force by more than 1,000 men. If, however, you order us to proceed to further abatement, your orders will be obeyed.

As to her Majesty's point that many officers and ministers here are superfluous†: we think that this surmise may have been

* For these see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1907), Vol. III., 225 *sq.*

† See Fynes Moryson, *ubi supra*, pp. 226, 227. The substance of the Queen's remarks on this head are set out here.

1602.

engendered by some whispers set about to "pull on some private suit" rather than to serve the public interest. During the campaign at Kinsale, I, the Deputy was driven, with the consent of the Council, to raise some officers of the field, without whose ministry the service could not have been carried on; but they were paid for no longer than their services were required; and by those erections I did not much exceed the establishment.

As to lack in managing sundry possessions escheated to her Highness and gathering and answering of former duties:—

We cannot answer on this point as we do not know the particulars charged against us, but can only say that, in this turbulent time, we have done our best so far as we could extend our authority.

Touching the clause in her Majesty's letters concerning the Exchange, I, the Treasurer, whom this matter chiefly concerns, have to offer the following answer:—

It is true that I told your lordships that upon the alteration of the coin the Queen would, in reuttering the new money, save the silver coinage and half the portage. Since the beginning of this new money I have re-issued at least 120,000*l.* over and besides the sums brought out of England; and in these the Queen has saved as much as I affirmed. At the beginning of so important a change the burden on the Exchange must necessarily be heavy; but it will be found upon account that her Majesty is a great gainer. In addition to her profit aforesaid, I have issued 20,000*l.* worth of the copper pence, and have sent £*E.*20,000 into England to maintain the bank; "for if at the first I should not have given a plausible entrance upon the alteration of the coin, but have taken exceptions to any that brought their moneys into the banks, in such a turbulent kingdom as this hath been, I should have hazarded that which (perhaps) I could not have answered but with the loss of my head, [*i.e.*] to have varied from her Majesty's first proclamation, which gave scope of exchange to all men without exception." But when I saw that merchants and others sought to obtain the benefit of the proclamation without observing its true meaning in bringing into the Exchange their sterling moneys, I refused to exchange for merchants or others who were not of the army unless they exchanged some sterling money with her Majesty, and "put the same into the Exchange as new moneys without any allowance given unto them therefor."*

I also refused to accept into the Exchange any of the copper pence that have been sent out of England. I formerly gave only eight day bills, but as some of your lordships did not approve this I now give bills at three or four months. At first, in order to give content, I used to give out bills for 700*l.* at one time to one man, but now I never give out bills for more than 200*l.* to one person. This compels the merchants to buy up Irish goods with their money. These are not very plentiful, and yet those hides which were usually sold for 4*s.* the piece are now sold for

* This seems to mean "unless they brought in sterling with their debased coin I gave them bills on England only in proportion to the true value of the metal in the debased coins which they brought in."

1602.

8s. or 9s. the piece, and a pack of yarn which used to sell at 15*l.* or 16*l.* now costs 28*l.* or 30*l.*

At the commencement of the currency of the new coinage I had to be generous in the giving out of bills; and if I had been so strict as I now am, and had at all varied from her Majesty's proclamation I might have utterly overthrown her service. I have done my best to introduce the new currency with success, and the Lord Deputy and State have supported me.

I cannot excuse my ministers. I have often written to reprove them; but they live in remote places and the provincial governors demand many things at their hands at the request of local merchants which they should not obey. I hope they will be more careful in the future.

We, the rest of the Council, must add to what Mr. Treasurer has said that he has endeavoured to circulate the new standard and to give it currency throughout the realm. He had many difficulties, for the people were not inclined to digest such an innovation, but his industry has done much to get it "brook'd and allowed" when men get used to it and the State becomes more settled. But the only way to have the new standard readily accepted by the people is to have the Exchange more really borne up than heretofore it hath been.

The lack of this has caused the clamours of the people and "crossed the traffic and entercourse of foreign nations whereby the subjects here are mightily impoverished. But also it works in the hearts of some of them many murmuring cogitations savouring of discontentment, for that they find for want of use of the Exchange their private fortunes to be greatly diminished and in effect their whole estates abandoned to want unless they seek about for some other way to live." Pray therefore remedy this evil by keeping the Exchange up.

Touching Athlone:—It is seated in the very centre of the kingdom and from thence service may be done most quickly wherever required. We are therefore all of opinion that the Deputy should sometimes reside there. It should not, however, be the permanent residence of the government. Much building would be necessary to make the place "capable of the Council, and so many members of judicial courts as must follow them and the records to be removed so far into the realm so near many fickle and rebellious Irish bordering upon Athlone" and the change would be more dangerous than advantageous. It would also ruin Dublin, an ancient trading town, and very commodiously situated for news out of England.

At the conclusion of her Majesty's letter* she states her objections to giving terms to Tyrone, whose treason has caused so much bloodshed. He has been ungrateful to a Sovereign who raised him from the dust and turned traitor after several pardons. Her Majesty also thinks that if she were to show him favour now it might be taken as a sign of weakness. We think that Tyrone deserves no favour, and that he should be punished with the utmost severity as an example to all other

* Fynes Moryson, *ut supra*, pp. 230-231.

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traitors ; and we do not desire for a moment to move for mercy towards him. " But considering her Majesty's resolute commandment we do all yield to the contrary and as we have done so we will strain our wits how to have him suppressed and utterly brought to such chastisement as his monstrous treasons have deserved. Nevertheless, knowing him as we do to be a most deep and politic rebel as ever rose up in this land and how pestilent an instrument he might prove both against England and this realm, being employed by a foreign powerful Prince, we make bold only to put your lordships in mind that it is a matter of serious consideration (if he should ship out of this kingdom and find favour with Spain) how far he might endanger both the realms by such projects as he is able to lay down to annoy them, having too much knowledge and insight in the properties and conditions of both the kingdoms. We have reason to be timorous to wade much in this argument considering her Majesty's firm inclination expressed to have him prosecuted to the uttermost, and no peace at all to be yielded to him. But when we foresee how dangerously he is compounded to do mischief if he escape cutting off and should work himself into the favours and means of Spain we are bold in discharge of our duty to propose to your lordships as a matter very considerable in this conspiring time whether it be not better to have him stayed for a time upon some temperate conditions than if he should get away to leave him to the harms he may procure both against England and Ireland, being extremely poisoned with malice against both." We leave it to God to put it into the Queen's heart to take the course which she thinks best for her people, " and as much as may be not to leave any hole open for a foreign enemy to break in to disturb them."

Several of his men, in Ulster and elsewhere, who have surrendered have asked that, in addition to their pedges put in, they may have a grant from the Queen of the lands which they had at the time of their defection, or such portion of them as the State thinks convenient, at such rents and under such limitations and reservations as is thought best for the Queen and for tying them to their loyalty in future. We gather that, under these offers, they intend " to separate themselves from all jurisdiction of their superior Irish lords and to cast themselves wholly upon the dependency of her Majesty, which we are drawn to believe the more out of a consideration that, through the long tyranny they have suffered under their Irish chieftains and the chastisements they have found by her Majesty's sword, they will be made more apt to embrace her Majesty's easy and sweet government hereafter." Therefore please lay their request before her Majesty, and, if she approves, send us a warrant to pass to them " such estates of their lands or such competent portion thereof as we think meet upon such cautions and conditions as we shall think requisite for her Majesty's honour and profit ; wherein we will be especially careful as much as we can to make convenient reservation of such portions as lie upon any port or maritime parts and that stand upon streights " which will be useful to the Queen on all occasions of service.

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Sir Henry Davers, the bearer, has served long and well here and been often wounded. Pray recommend him to the Queen. We press for the warrants mentioned above.

Pp. 6½. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop of Dublin, and Cary, Pelham, Walsh, St. Leger, Bouchier, Fenton and Stafford. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 64.

10 Nov.
Dublin Castle.

The LORD DEPUTY to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Sir George Bouchier is about to go to England for his own purposes and to escort Lord Ormond's daughter. Sir George has been on all my journeys since I came to Ireland, and therein has shewn extraordinary care in the Queen's service. Pray favour any suit he may have to you.

P. ½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 65.

11 Nov.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

The joint letter from the Council discussed the question of Tyrone's treatment. It is equally dangerous to let him "walk as he doeth in Ulster," whether he uses his liberty to continue a rebel here or to recover Spain, where neither minds nor means are wanting to make an invasion of her Majesty's dominions. "I know not how to wade in this argument" since her Majesty's last letters have pronounced against granting him any terms whatever, and I know that his monstrous ingratitude has deserved no less, "so as to nourish so much as a cogitation to have him taken to favour were wilfully to transgress her Majesty's commandment and to commit sin against mine own knowledge. Yet by your permission (to use my wonted plainness to your honour) now that this long hateful rebellion is drawing to an upshot and that the end of every work is the crown of the work, if this deep subtle traitor be left standing (whether in Ireland or out of Ireland it is indifferent), I see that the veins of effusion of more blood are left open and the humours that draw that way not corrected but prepared to work more dangerous operations.

It is not to be doubted but that the wisdom and councils of kingdoms come from above and from thence they distend upon the Sovereign Prince, who divideth them to the people, as the sinews are distributed through the whole body, having their foundation in the head. To your lordship, upon whom her Majesty hath divided the consideration and insight into her most weighty affairs, it belongeth to put her Majesty in mind how dangerously this pestilent traitor is compounded to disturb the good estate of both her realms when he seeth himself desperately abandoned and all place of favour stopped against him. Moreover, it is to be weighed what dangerous impressions he hath made in the hearts of the people and how apt they are to stagger, specially when they see that, by the continuation of a new war, they shall live under the cross of fresh calamities, which how far it may carry away wavering and corrupt minds

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already poisoned with a contrary religion and still looking for the restoration thereof, may be easily gathered by such as know them in their natural colour; besides even those his confederates who have lately upon submission separated themselves from him, will still continue nursing instruments to send food unto him and to furnish him with all advertisements and intelligence of the purposes and doings of the State." When they find a fit time they will return to and be a stronger party than before; for they will carry with them all their creaghts and goods which have been preserved by their submissions. Lastly, so long as Tyrone is on foot, whether in Ireland or abroad, her Majesty will have to keep up a perpetual army in Ireland for the defence of the realm, and the settlement of Ireland will be as far off as ever.

"I make bold to submit these considerations to your honour alone, humbly desiring that they may not be further disclosed to my hurt."

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 66.**

14 Nov.
Cork.

SIR EDWARD WINGFIELD to SECRETARY CECIL.

I hear you have asked the Queen to make me governor of the fort of Haylboline, and that it will not be granted me. I am grateful and hope that time will work the "mallise" out of the hearts of my enemies and that one day I shall be held worthy of as good a place as Haylboline is. My wounds and my service may be forgotten; but so long as I continue in your favour I will not despair of my fortune.

P. ¾. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid, 67.*

16 Nov.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SAME.

My last letters have been much delayed by easterly winds and will be of old date when they reach you. Since my latest Sir Charles Wilmot, having intelligence that the Knight of Kerry lodged in a strong wood within six miles of him "procured means to be drawn round him in the night and gave upon his quarter; but, as it is supposed, the Knight had some knowledge of his coming for he quitted his lodging at the instant." He saved himself "and all his weaponed men but six," whom ours killed, He, however, lost all his 400 cows and 150 garrons, many arms and two months provision of meal and butter, which he had in store for his men; "besides the most of his poor people past the fury of the soldier, who spared neither sex nor age."

This small defeat has "blown up the poor Knight and makes him in equal fortune with the Knight of the Valley, who is little better than a vagabond." Tyrrell since his late defeat is very anxious to leave Munster, and his wife, remembering her late peril, importunes him to do so. If he were gone this province

* An interesting letter. Fenton is the best writer in Ireland at this time, which is my reason for giving his letters so much *in extenso*.

1602.

would be instantly quiet, and the chief rebels pass into Spain, which is their last refuge. To persuade him to stay, Owen McEigan, the priest who brought the last treasure from Spain, threatens his conscience with excommunication, and to write and tell the King of Spain that his quitting of Munster is the only overthrow of the action there; and O'Sullivan offers him 1,000 cows and 1,500*l.* in Spanish money if he will wait but three months longer. You will judge what influence this offer will have on a "needy companion." He lives in a very strong place in Desmond called Glanfliske. This twelvemonth (for so long he has been in Munster) he has not taken one prey from the subject and dare not come out of "that den of Desmond," which has supported him and his rogues. It should be wasted. I had rather be rid of him, for his presence supports the rebellion in Munster.

Sir Richard Percy and Captains Flower and Harvey have burned all the rebels' corn between Kinsale and Bantry, the first two burning from Kinsale to Ross, and Harvey thence to Bantry. This will cause famine there next year. Sir Charles [Wilmot] is directed to lie in garrison at Dunkerron, O'Sullivan More's house and close to Beare, which is O'Sullivan's land. When he is lodged there Captain Harvey will be settled at Bantry and victualled by sea from Baltimore. These two garrisons, between them, will ruin O'Sullivan. If Tyrrell were gone, my task would be immediately finished. The co. Kerry is wholly quitted by the rebels, and neither McMaurice nor the Knight dare look into it, but live in Desmond with Tyrrell. McMaurice has two castles of little strength in Kerry which are kept by his guards; but Sir Charles thinks them not worth taking as the guards themselves will, in time, be glad to quit them. The guards are too weak to come out, and when Wilmot returns from Desmond we can easily take them.

There is a rumour among the rebels that a Spanish ship coming to Ireland was sunk by an English ship; and that Conogher O'Drischall, Sir Fynin's son, perished in her. This report "doth much appawle them," being uncertain what to think of Spanish aids. I should be glad to know if this were true, and, if it is true, to use it.

Pp. 2. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 68.

18 Nov.
Dublin.

THE LORD DEPUTY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

I am starting for Connaught with peace in one hand and war in the other, and provide as well as I can for both. I have set the garrisons in the North to root out what remains of the rebels there. "Where they are planted they make good the country all about them; but to follow such a movable enemy, that hath little to lose and can do hurt on all places that are not defended is subject to many difficulties in this country." The weather here is very bad and the floods constantly interrupt operations; but unless unavoidably prevented I think they will very soon finish their work in the North.

1602.

All that are of any power in Connaught have sent to me for mercy : but all alike refuse to deal with the Governor owing to some prejudice they have against him of his being "cunning." I think him very well fitted to ruin rebels, but not, perhaps, so well qualified to reduce them to obedience. I wish the work could have been done without me, for travel, at all times painful in this country, is almost intolerable in the winter time, where the best lodging is only a camp.

The submittees come daily to me asking to have their lands passed to them from the Queen. I beg that we may speedily receive authority to do this which will greatly assure and content them ; and the authority given us should be general for Ulster, Connaught and Leinster.

I know none that will require it but Phelim McPheauh and Donell Spaniah ; but I think that, unless you find it inconvenient, it should be done for all Ireland ; for we should labour to settle things in another current this winter and before the revival of hope out of Spain. Nothing will tie them more surely than the security of their living. "If nothing else, my desire to end my task and to have a *quietus est* would make me call all my spirits together to leave this country well established to a successor ; for God knoweth my mind and body are both tired with wrastling with this crooked generation."

I should like to speak with you before there are any new expeditions from Spain. It is no doubt better that Spain should fight us here than in England ; but if she fights here and the war here is not well provided for I have many reasons to think it would be very dangerous for both kingdoms. I have diminished the list by 1,000, and will continue to reduce it by slow degrees unless I am otherwise directed. If you send me peremptory letters from the Queen directing me to cast all wards that are not held directly of her Majesty I will use her letters to diminish her charges, but I cannot cast them all ; for some which we cannot give up are owned by officers so poor that they cannot be kept up otherwise [*i.e.* unless on the list]. If you desire to say anything to me and the Council which you do not want publicly known, please put it in a private despatch to me and not in one of the public despatches to me and the Council ; otherwise I cannot guarantee secrecy.

Sir Henry Poore desires my recommendation. I owe much to all who served the Queen on that happy day at Kinsale ; and he there led the first body of foot. Pray recommend me to the Queen.

Pp. 3. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 69.

18 Nov.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Recommends Lord Courcy, who is going to Court and is too poor to afford long delay in the matter of his suits. Prays that these may be speedily despatched for him.

P. 1. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 70.

1602.

20 Nov.
Waterford.

THOMAS, EARL OF ORMOND AND OSSORY to the QUEEN.

I have heard from the Principal Secretary to your Majesty that you are pleased, for the continuance of my house, that my daughter and my nephew Theobald Butler shall be matched, and "that your sacred Majesty in regard thereof and of your Highness's desire (to your immortal fame) to continue ancient houses is pleased to enable him both in blood and honour to succeed me." For these your favours, shewn to your "old and faithful servant Lucas," I pray "upon the knees of my heart" for your Majesty's long and happy reign and the confusion of all your foreign enemies.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 71.*

Same.

SAME to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have sent over my niece to be matched to Theobald Butler according to the Queen's desire. Theobald cannot be restored in blood till the next Parliament held here. Pray therefore allow such assurance by letters patents from the Queen to be obtained as will in the meantime give assurance to my nephew and others of my house. The bearer, my agent Mr. Robert Rothe, will give whatever particulars are desired. He is trustworthy, and I am also sending over my servant Henry Sherwood, whom you commended, to attend in the matter. By arranging this matter you will make my posterity grateful to you.
Polite messages.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 72.*

[20 Nov.]

ABSTRACT shewing how the HORSE and FOOT in HER MAJESTY'S ARMY in IRELAND is distributed, as appeared by the list thereof in October, 1602.

Place.			Commander.		No.
Horse :—					
Munster	..	..	The Lord President	..	375
Connaught	..	..	Sir O. Lambert	..	151
Newry	..	..	Sir Francis Stafford	..	50
Dungannon	..	..	Sir Henry Davers	..	20
Mountjoy	..	..	Sir William Godolphin and Sir Richard Graeme	..	100
Monaghan	}	..	..	Sir Christopher St. Lawrence	75
Ruske					
Leinster	and	Border	of		
Pale	..	..			299
Lecale	..	..	Sir Richard Moryson	..	25
Carrickfergus	..	..	Sir Arthur Chichester	..	100
Ballyshannon	..	..	Sir Henry Folyote	..	50
Loughfoyle	..	..	Sir Henry Docwra	..	100
Agher	..	..	Sir Henry Davers	..	80
Total			..	..	1,425

1602.

<i>Place.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>No.</i>
<i>Foot :—</i>		
Munster	Lord President and 23 captains	4,030
Connaught	Sir Oliver Lambert and 14 captains	1,850
Newry	Sir Francis Stafford	200
Mountnorris	Three captains	450
Armagh	Two captains	250
Blackwater	Two captains	250
Charlemont	Two captains	250
Dungannon	Sir Henry Davers	150
Mountjoy	Eight captains	1,100
Arbow	Captain Edward Morrice	100
Monaghan Ruske	Sir Christopher St. Lawrence and seven captains	950
Leinster and Borders of		
Pale	Sixteen captains	2,120
Lecale	Sir Richard Moryson	150
Dundalk	Captain Ferd. Freecleton	100
Carrickfergus and thereabouts	Sir A. Chichester	1,050
Balleshennon [Ballyshannon]	Sir H. Follyott and two others	400
Belleek	Five captains	600
Loughfoyle and thereabouts	Sir H. Docwra and 14 others	1,850
Agher	Captain Hansard and two others	400
Total foot		16,200

P. 1. *Endd.* with date. *S.P., Ireland* 212, 73.

LIST of the QUEEN'S ARMY on 20 November, 1602.

<i>Place.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>No.</i>
<i>Horse :—</i>		
Baltimore & Haleboling	The Lord President	100
Kilmallock	Earl of Thomond	100
Kerry and Desmond	Sir Anthony Cooke	50
Muskerry	Captain Taaffe	50
Crome	Sir Samuel Bagnall	50
Kerry and Desmond	Sir Charles Wilmot	25
Total		375
<i>Foot :—</i>		
Cork, Haleboling, and Blarney	Lord President	200
Muskerry and Mallow	Earl of Thomond	200
Kerry and Desmond	{ Sir Anthony Cooke	100
	{ Sir Charles Wilmot	150

1602.

<i>Place.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>No.</i>
<i>Foot :—</i>		
McCrome [Macroom] and the borders of Desmond	Sir Samuel Bagnall	150
Baltimore	Lord Barry ..	100
Limerick	Lord Audley ..	150
Baltimore	Captain Roger Harvey ..	150
Muskerry	{ Captain George Flower ..	150
	{ Captain William Saxie ..	100
Baltimore	{ Captain Francis Slingsby ..	100
	{ Captain Skipwith ..	100
Kilmallock	Sir George Thornton ..	100
Kerry and Desmond ..	Sir Jarrard Harvey ..	150
Askeyton	Sir Francis Barkeley ..	150
Kinsale	Sir Richard Percy ..	150
McCrome [Macroom] and borders of Desmond ..	Sir John Dowdall ..	100
Muskerry and Mallo[w]	{ Captain Francis Kingsmill	150
	{ Captain George Kingsmill	100
Baltimore	Sir George Cary, Treasurer	100
McCrome	Captain William Power ..	100
McCrome and Desmond	{ Captain John Bostock ..	100
	{ The White Knight ..	100
Baltimore	{ Captain Gawin Harvey ..	100
	{ Captain William Stafford	100
	{ Sir Alexander Clifford ..	100
	{ Captain Edward Dodington	100
McCrome and Desmond	{ Captain Raphe Sidley ..	100
	{ Captain Thomas Boyce ..	100
	{ Sir A. Savage ..	150
	{ Sir H. Harington ..	100
Muskerry* and Mallo[w]	Captain Charles Coote ..	100
Limerick Castle ..	Sir Francis Barkley. A ward of	30
Scattered	Earl of Desmond ..	100
Total foot in Munster ..		4,030

Connaught.

<i>Horse :—</i>		
Athlone	Sir Oliver Lambert ..	25
In Clanricarde	Earl of Clanricarde ..	50
Athlone with the Governor	{ Sir Oliver St. John ..	25
	{ Captain George Graeme	14
Athlone	Captain Edward Waynman	12
Sligo	Sir Henry Harington ..	25
<i>Foot :—</i>		
Athlone	Sir Oliver Lambert ..	150
Clanricarde	Earl of Clanricarde ..	150
Galway	{ Sir Oliver St. John ..	200
	{ Captain Henry Clare ..	150

* Sometimes spelt "Muskery."

1602.

<i>Place.</i>			<i>Commander.</i>	<i>No.</i>
<i>Foot:—</i>				
Ballyshannon,	late	at		
Sligo	..	..	Captain Thomas Bourke ..	100
Sligo	..	..	Captain Lionel Ghesté ..	150
In co. Mayo	..	..	Captain Theobald Bourke	100
Roscommon	..	..	Captain Henry Malbie ..	150
Sligo	..	..	Captain Thomas Roper ..	150
New fort at	}	..	Captain Thos. Rotheram	150
Galway				
Galway	..	..	{ Captain Jeffrey Holcrofte	100
			{ Captain William May ..	100
Athlone, or going thence				
with the Governor	..	..	Sir Theobald Dillon ..	100
With the Governor	..	..	Sir Edward Herbert ..	100
Ulster.*				
Newry	..	..	{ Sir Francis Stafford (<i>h.</i>) ..	50
			{ Sir Francis Stafford (<i>f.</i>) ..	200
Mountnorris	..	..	Captains Edward Blaney,	
			Atherton, Ellis Jones,	
			each (<i>f.</i>)	150
Armagh	..	..	{ Captain Josias Bodley (<i>f.</i>)	150
			{ Captain John Robarts (<i>f.</i>)	100
Blackwater	..	..	{ Captain Thos. Williams (<i>f.</i>)	150
			{ Captain Antony Ersfield (<i>f.</i>)	100
Charlemont Fort	..	..	{ Captain Tobias Calfield (<i>f.</i>)	150
			{ Captain John Ousley (<i>f.</i>) ..	100
Dungannon	..	..	{ Sir Henry Davers (<i>h.</i>) ..	20
			{ Sir Henry Davers (<i>f.</i>) ..	150
			Sir William Godolphin (<i>f.</i>)	50
			Sir Richard Graeme (<i>h.</i>) ..	50
			Sir Benjamin Berry (<i>f.</i>) ..	150
			Captain Francis Roe (<i>f.</i>) ..	150
Mountjoy fort	..	..	Sir William Fortescue (<i>f.</i>)	150
			Captain Symon Killebrew (<i>f.</i>)	100
			Captain John Masterson (<i>f.</i>)	150
			Captain James Blunt (<i>f.</i>) ..	100
			Captain Trevor (<i>f.</i>) ..	100
			Sir John Barkley (<i>f.</i>) ..	200
Arbowe	..	..	Captain Edward Morrice	100
			Sir Christopher St.	
			Lawrence (<i>h.</i>)	25
			Earl of Kildare (<i>h.</i>) ..	50
			Sir Christopher St.	
Monaghan Ruske	..	..	Lawrence (<i>f.</i>)	150
			Captain Lawrence Esmond	
			(<i>f.</i>)	150
			Sir Edward Fitzgerald (<i>f.</i>)	100
			Captain Robert Collam (<i>f.</i>)	100

* The horse and foot are put together in the Ulster table according to locality: (*h.*)=horse, and (*f.*)=foot.

1602.

<i>Place.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Monaghan Ruske ..	(Sir Thomas Loftus (<i>f.</i>) ..	100
	Sir James Fitzpieree (<i>f.</i>) ..	150
	Lord Delvin (<i>f.</i>) ..	150
	Captain Dennis Dale (<i>f.</i>) ..	50

Leinster.

Horse :—

Attending the Deputy ..	Lord Deputy ..	100
Leix	The Marshal ..	50
Ophaly	Sir Edward Herbert ..	12
In Ophaly at Castle Jordan	Sir Francis Ruishe ..	12
In the North	Captain Garrett Fleming..	25
Kells and the Brenny ..	Sir Garrett Moore..	50
Kilkenny and thereabouts.. ..	Earl of Ormond ..	50
Total		299

Foot :—

Always in Dublin ..	Lord Deputy's Guard ..	200
Ophaly	Earl of Kildare ..	150
The Navan	Captain Henry Barkeley..	150
Ballinasloe	Sir Thomas Bourke (his town) ..	150
Stradbally in Leix ..	Captain Thomas Cooch (in his house) ..	150
Fercale	Captain Mulrony O'Caroll	100
Rebane and Athie [Athy]	The Marshal ..	150
Castle Jordan and thereabouts	Sir Francis Ruishe ..	150
Kells	Sir Garrott Moore..	100
Gallwey [<i>sic</i>]	Sir Francis Shane ..	100
Dingen in Ophaly ..	Sir George Bouchier ..	100
Leax fort	Sir Henry Power ..	150
Following the army as pyoners	Captain Richard Henslow	200
Kilkenny	Earl of Ormond ..	150
Dispersed in castles for wards	Sir Henry Warren ..	100
Enniscorthy	Sir H. Wallop (ward at his house) ..	20
Total foot in Munster ..		2,120

Carrickfergus.*

Lecale	Sir Richard Moryson of Captain Jephson's troop (<i>h.</i>) ..	25
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* Carrickfergus is treated as a separate military district or command; and here again horse and foot are set out together according to locality.

1602.

<i>Place.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>No.</i>
In Lecale	Sir Richard Moryson (<i>f.</i>) ..	150
Dundalk	Captain F. Freckleton (<i>f.</i>) ..	100
At Carrickfergus to attend the Governor ..	{ Sir Arthur Chichester (<i>h.</i>) ..	25
	{ Captain John Jephson (<i>h.</i>) ..	75
Belfast	Sir Fulke Conway (<i>f.</i>) ..	150
Massereene	Captain Henry Seckford (<i>f.</i>) ..	100
Carrickfergus	Captain Gregory Norton (<i>f.</i>) ..	100
Enniskillick	Captain Langford (<i>f.</i>) ..	150
Towne [Toome?] fort ..	Captain Thomas Phillips (<i>f.</i>) ..	150
	{ Captain Edward Fisher (<i>f.</i>) ..	100
Carrickfergus	{ Captain Raphe Constable (<i>f.</i>) ..	100
	{ Sir H. Follyott (<i>h.</i>) ..	50
	{ Sir H. Follyott (<i>f.</i>) ..	150
Ballyshannon	Captain William Windsor (<i>f.</i>) ..	150
	{ Captain Edward Bassett (<i>f.</i>) ..	100
Belleek and dispersed ..	Captain Roger Orme (<i>f.</i>) ..	100
	{ Captain Paul Gore (<i>f.</i>) ..	150
About the side of Lough Erne	{ Captain Abry Yorke (<i>f.</i>) ..	100
	{ Captain Farmor (<i>f.</i>) ..	150
	{ Captain Harrison (<i>f.</i>) ..	100

Loughfoyle.

Horse :—

Anna, the Liffer and Omey [Omagh] ..	Sir H. Dockwray ..	100
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Foot :—

The Dirry [Derry] ..	Sir H. Dockwray ..	200
Anna	Captain Yarde ..	100
Coleraine	Captain John Sydney ..	100
Dungevin in O'Cane's country	Captain Lewis Orrell ..	150
Dunalonge	{ Captain Ellis Lloyd ..	150
	{ Captain Thomas Badby ..	150
Culmore and Augher ..	Captain Henry Harte ..	100
Culmackatreene [Kilmacrenan ?] and Berte ..	Captain John Vaughan ..	100
	{ Captain Edward Leigh ..	100
	{ Captain Thomas Wood ..	100
The Ome [Omagh] ..	{ Captain Basill Brooke ..	100
	{ Captain Nicholas Pynner ..	100
Liffer [Lifford] and the Ome [Omagh] ..	Captain Nicholas Pynner ..	100
Ramullen	Captain Raphe Bingley ..	150
Newtown	Captain Roger Atkinson ..	100
The Ome [Omagh] ..	Captain Edward Digges ..	100

Total foot at Loughfoyle .. 1,850

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				Sir H. Davers (<i>h.</i>).. ..	80
				Captain Richard Handsard	
				(<i>f.</i>)	200
Agher	Captain George Blundell	
				and Francis Hobbye,	
				each (<i>f.</i>)	100
Total					480

Total of the army as it stood on November 20, 1602 :—Horse, 1425 ; Foot, 16,250 ; or, in all, 17,675.

Pp. 7½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 74.

[21 Nov.] DRAFT of WARRANT by the PRIVY COUNCIL to the LORD TREASURER.

By the Queen's Privy Seal to your lordship and the Chamberlain of the Exchequer, dated 23 April, 1600, you were authorised to pay to Sir George Cary, Master of the Exchange in Ireland or his deputies, all such money as by warrant under our hand [*details*] you should be required to pay for the maintenance of the Exchange. Sir George Cary says that 25,000*l.* is necessary for that purpose. Pay this sum to Cary or his sufficient assignees, to be employed by him for the use of the Exchange according to the indenture between the Queen and him.

P. 1. *Endd. with date. Ibid,* 75.

24 Nov. The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY
Dublin. COUNCIL.

We have again considered the question of the reuniting of Thomond or Clare to Munster, our former reasons against it, and the Earl of Thomond's comments thereon. There seems to be no matter of record or antiquity shewing why Clare was first withdrawn from Munster and annexed to Connaught, and we see no reason why it should not be reunited to Munster. The Earl [of Thomond]'s great services provide a strong motive for doing as he desires ; and therefore for the present, and until we hear from the Queen, we have thought it well to exempt Thomond from the government of Connaught and made the Earl governor of it, who, we are sure, will govern it well. He has promised to answer any demand we may make on his county for defence of Connaught or Munster, and to "minister the ordinary helps of rising-out and other duties for the aid of Connaught upon occasions, the same to be prescribed and directed by the State and not by the Governor of Connaught." For civil government we will appoint the best men we can find to hold sessions from time to time at Limerick, or, when occasion shall require, further into the co. Clare ; so that good subjects may easily have justice. If the step now taken leads to any inconveniences it will be easy to go back to the old arrangement.

P. 3. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor, and by Stafford, Walsh, Wingfield, and Fenton. *Add. Endd. Ibid,* 76.

1602.

24 Nov.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

"My duty used." Since the Earl of Thomond returned this term the question of re-joining Clare to Munster has again come up, and the State have now, after a conference, again sent to the Lords [of the Privy Council in England] their opinion on that alteration. So far as I can find, that county was separated from Munster at first only by pretence of a supposed letter from Sir Nicholas Malbey, then Governor of Connaught, as it seems, in his own favour. This, with submission, is a weak ground for separating Clare from Munster, to which province it has been joined for centuries. The preservation of this arrangement is advocated only by a governor [of Connaught], who does not wish to have the area of his government diminished. It can be easily arranged that poor Connaught men, if wronged by Thomond men, may have some easy course of justice in Munster, and if the Earl of Thomond will undertake for this (and I think he will) I see no peril in the alteration. To do as the Earl desires in this matter would be a proper reward for his excellent services. He is devoted to you.

P. 3. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 77.

24 Nov.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Refers to letters received from Cecil up to 4 November, which he has answered. *Proceeds* :—Besides O'Donnell, Archer the Jesuit is, I hear, dead. Patrick Arthur has been seen in irons at Bilbao and is charged, by a fugitive from Munster, with being a spy sent by me to Spain. The enclosed confirms this, and I have sent for the witness who deposed to it to see if I can obtain fuller information from him. A Youghal ship from Bordeaux lately arrived at Youghal bringing with her one Jordan Roche who was taken in Spain last winter to be pilot for the Spanish fleet which then came to Castlehaven, and was constrained to pilot the vessel which last summer brought Spanish treasure to Ireland. The poor man came simply to me and protests that if he could have stolen away sooner he would have done so; yet his entertainment was good. At Bordeaux he told everyone he was coming for Ireland which makes me have a better opinion of him. *Details*. I send his news so far as I think it valuable.

A Dunkerquer lately took two Englishmen into the Groyne. She was pursuing a ship under Lieutenant Edney, lieutenant to Captain Harvie, and the two men went off from Edney's ship in a cockboat to shew the Dunkerquer's captain passes which I had given to Edney in English, French, and Spanish. The cock-boat sank whilst the passes were reading and the Dunkerquer, not wishing to meddle with a small ship bound for Spain, or else despising so small a prize, went for the Groyne, while Edney bore for Bilbao. The two English sailors, after examination, were released. *Details*. The witness also saw some men taken by the same man-of-war in a ship belonging to one Weston of Dublin; and from one of these heard of Arthur's being in irons and fearing every day to be sent to the Court. "God deliver him out of their hands"; but I am sure Edney will be well used and expect his return soon.

1602.

I have good news from all the garrisons who, by sword and halter, cut off many loose rogues. Tyrrell is still in the mountains of Desmond. I have sent a good party to rouse him and hope to be able to send good news of them soon. *Details.*

If you do not send a workman to direct the work in the quarry at least send me a note of skantlings for length, breadth and height you would have the stories to be raised "for [so that] I do see that they rise in what sort you would desire." I have now workmen upon it, and the deeper they dig the larger the stones rise, and the better coloured. The red and white are far more perfect than the pattern I sent your honour.

I have lately had from the Lord Deputy and Council a copy of the letter written to them by the Privy Council of England in favour of Sir Henry Poore for the reversion of the constableness of the fort of Lease [Leix] to be granted presently under the Seal, and that he might redeem the mortgage which is in Captain Fisher's hands and thereby have possession of the fort, and so hold it for ever unless I should redeem the mortgage out of his hands within one year. I thank you for the favour of allowing me to redeem from Poore and will redeem rather than allow my cousin german (for Philip Harvie's father was my mother's brother) to be wrung out of an office which is his only support. I will not forget to do Poore as good a turn if it lie in my fortune to do it. I beg that Poore may not pass a grant in reversion, "for that done neither Poore will give anything more to Harvie than the bare mortgage which Fisher had nor no man else will give a groat for it," so that my poor cousin will be undone. Sir Henry Poore is now going to England to obtain a grant of the reversion. Harvie's father grew old in the Queen's service and was a valiant man, but was not able to leave anything to his son except this constableness; and, though the son has been unthrifty, I never heard of so sharp a course taken against an innocent man as that suggested. *Details.* I wonder why more exception is taken against Fisher to be Vice-Constable than against Sir Gerault More, who is Constable of the fort in Ophaly and is the son of an Englishman born in Ireland. My kinsman (Harvie) I have never seen, but he is my kinsman and, whilst I can stop it, I will not permit my kin and friends to be "overborne by extort power." If Poore would give Harvie as much as the constableness is worth over and above the mortgage we should deal reasonably with him. The office, to him who lives there, is worth 200*l.* a year. It is only mortgaged for 350*l.*; and Poore hopes to get the office by paying only that sum. It is said that the service requires that the constableness should be joined to the lieutenancy; and under that colour Poore has prevailed as he has done. The lieutenancy is a needless charge to the Queen, being so near the State, and a constable would suffice to govern the country. Crosby was born in Lease; and I beg you to hear him speak. Pray commiserate my poor relation for whom I cannot but write passionately. He is starving and so are his wife and children.

Pp. 4. (Hol.) *S.P. Ireland* 212, 78. *Enclosing* :—

1602.

A. *Extract from the deposition of Jordan Roche of Kinsale taken before the President of Munster at Cork, 19 November, 1602.*

Deponent, James Iveybree, John White and Patrick Brennock, all of Waterford, had entertainment of 4s. a piece per day as pilots to conduct the Spanish fleet to Ireland and remain [remained ?] at the Groyne until, of late, deponent stole away thence and came to his own country. If ever the Spaniards return to Ireland they have resolved to arrive at Limerick. This he knows by a conversation between the Conde of Caracena, Sir Iago [Seriago] and O'Donnell at the Groyne, when O'Donnell was despatched from the King of Spain with a grant of aids for Ireland. Deponent and the other three pilots were summoned to give their opinions, and Brennock then voluntarily delivered to the Conde de Caracena a plot and colours of the haven and river of Limerick.

Deponent does not think that the Spaniards will ever return. In general they curse Ireland and the Irish, but, if they come, he is sure that they will come so strongly as not to trust any more to Irish aids. Deponent heard Sir Iago [Seriago] and Caracena agree on the point and speak of an army 20,000 strong.

Caracena has at his house the sons of O'Sullivan Beare, the Knight of the Valley, Oliver Hussey of Kerry (two sons, but these are at school at St. Jago de Compostella) and Donough McConnougher O'Driscoble of Castlehaven. He has also Dermot McConnougher, O'Driscoble's brother, his two sons, and Connougher O'Driscoble's son. "But O'Sullivan Beare's is as tenderly nourished by the Conde as if he were his own, and is very costly appparelled, and calls the Conde, Father, and his lady, Mother."

The Irishmen who went with Connougher O'Driscoble forth of Ulster are all in the King's wages, put into companies and remain at the Groyne; and the Irish of Munster which went with Don Juan into Spain are dispersed into sundry companies and went to the sea with Sir Jago [Seriago].

About 15 August last, when deponent left the Groyne, he left there O'Donnell and Redmond Bourke much discontented. Bourke swore he would never draw his sword for the King of Spain but was determined to go to France and try to serve there.

O'Sullivan Beare wrote to Caracena on this to get supplies from the King or else to send a barque by which he (O'Sullivan Beare) and his wife and family might escape to Spain, "for he was daily afraid to be delivered by Tirrell and his buonyes into the President's hands." O'Sullivan is more esteemed of in Spain than any man whatsoever.

P. 1½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 78A.*

28 Nov.
Dublin.

THE LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

I see no reason either for or against re-uniting Clare to Munster, and my experience here warns me not to found judgments on the informations of other men. I and the Council make it a rule

1602.

not to change what has been arranged by our predecessors unless necessary ; but this [the uniting of Clare to Connaught] was done without any deliberation and may now be undone without inconvenience ; and we may advise further on the subject in future. I do not, it is true, think that Thomond should now be under the command of Connaught, or at least the Earl under the command that now is [there]. The Earl's noble service and conduct deserve a greater favour than this, for if we yield to his desire, we shall do no harm to the service. If required, I may be better able to deliver an opinion on the matter than I am at present, as it is likely that I shall soon see those parts and understand the country better.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 79.

28 Nov.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

The letters received through you from the Queen I have delivered to the Lord Deputy and Mr. Treasurer. So far as they concern the exchange, it will be an occasion to have a further consultation on it to redress some errors that have run too long, and consider further remedies for carrying the Exchange hereafter more to the general contentment (if possible) and less offensively to the Queen. The Council will settle something within two days, for then the Lord Deputy leaves for Connaught. He means to reside there some time, so as to be able to "manage the provincial rebels either by force or mercy as he shall find them apt to either." My own opinion is that as soon as he enters the province O'Rourke, Rory O'Donnell, O'Connor Sligo and all the rest of the capital rebels will come to submission. Some of them have already written to prepare for this ; and if they submit I hope that Tyrone will be expelled from Connaught, and driven back again with his creaghts to Tyrone. There the garrisons lie for them, and, in reason, if all do their duty, he cannot but fall into one of their laps.

Touching Spain I send you letters from the Mayor of Galway. The postscript is the most important part of them, speaking as it does of a force sent by the French King to assist Count Maurice. A barque which arrived on the 24th from Bilbo [Bilbao] confirms the news of O'Donnell's death and brings news that he died of poison ; also that the Jesuit Archer is dead and that all the Irish fugitives are commanded from the Court to the Groyne. They seem to be very discomforted there and have given up hope that Spain will ever again send an army to Ireland ; but it is thought that the King of Spain will occasionally send money and munition to help to sustain the war here. This was the course with which he first began.

P. 5. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 80.

Enclosing :—

James Dorsey, Mayor of Galway, to Sir Jeffrey Fenton.

A French barque has arrived here with wine. She left St. Malo on the 10th of this month and arrived here on the 17th. The

1602.

Hollanders, her crew hear, lately met six Spanish galliases, or principal galleys, off the coast of France and chased them very manfully. The fight lasted a long time very hot, and in the end the Hollanders had the victory. Two of the galliases were taken, two choackt [put out of action] and the other two with great difficulty got into Callice [Calais]. They also say that the conspirators of the late treason against the King of France were beheaded, and their heads sent to the place where the treason was prepared; "yet nevertheless the fountain from whence the treason came, for some worldly profit or other considerations known to his Majesty it is tolerated."*

P.S.—*The King of France has sent 10,000 men to assist our forces and "Grand Morisse"† against the Cardinal and the rest of the enemy, so as our forces are now stronger, in the field than theirs. Sir Samuel Bagnall is here with his regiment of 1,000 men besides boys. Victuals are very scarce. Some of the Queen's ships were in the fight aforesaid, and, notwithstanding our former news the Irish still have great hopes of further trouble from Spain by the 15th of next month.*

In all p. 1. Dated, Galway, 18 November, 1602. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 80A.

DECEMBER, 1602.

4 Dec.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW TO SECRETARY CECIL.

The dromler [transport‡] sent here under the command of Captain Maryday has been of so good use for the service in these parts that had not her provision been spent and no means here to supply her I should have been very sorry to have sent her back. I am much favoured by the choice of so meet a vessel and the appointment of so diligent an officer to command her; and hope she and he may be at work here next summer. I strongly recommend Captain Maryday. I keep Captain Fleming and his pinnace here for some time longer and cannot dispense with his services. I will revictual her out of the store or otherwise.

I have sent by Captain Maryday some marble stones of the same quarry as the specimen I sent last summer. No workman here can make it appear of what goodness the stone is; so as the opinion I have comes from thence. I send a list showing the size of each stone sent. If they turn out to be of any use let me know your pleasure touching a further supply.

P.S.—Sir Edward Wingfield, who took the toil of raising the stones out of the quarry and shipped them, has sent accurate measurements, to which I refer you. The stone will rise to a greater height and breadth than we can ship, as we want "both engines and ingenious men." Captain Maryday guesses them to be near 30 tons weight by the number of boats which brought them to his ship.

* See Murray's *New English Dictionary*, s.v. "choke" for this use of the word.

† Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange.

‡ See Murray's *New English Dictionary*, s.v. "drumbler."

1602.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$, the *p.s.* in Carew's hand. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 81. *Enclosing* :—

A. *Note of the marble stones mentioned in the covering letter.*

In all 47 stones. The height, width and thickness of each is mentioned. The stones are mostly from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 feet long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet broad, and 6 in. or 8 in. thick.

P. 2., with note in Sir Edward Wingfield's hand. *Dated, Cork, 4 December, 1602. Endd. Ibid, 81A.*

12 Dec. MEMORIAL to the PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND on behalf of the TREASURER AT WARS in IRELAND by THOMAS WATSON, his agent.

He asks :—

That your lordships will consider the Irish exchange. 60*l.* in the 100*l.* is thought by the Council of Ireland to be too great a burden to the merchants. They desire that it may be reduced to 25*l.* in the 100*l.* Your lordships should also consider whether it is meet that the Exchanges at Bristol and Chester be continued and to write your resolution thereon. The State in Ireland forbear to publish the late proclamation until they know your further pleasures therein.

That your lordships will procure the Queen's warrant for bringing hither Mr. Treasurer's accounts, for the year ended 31 March, 1602. These are the first year's accounts of base money, which are now in readiness in Dublin, and will shew what the Queen has gained by the issue and return of the base money.

Note in margin.—The Queen to be moved. Done.

That your lordships will have sent over divers materials and cordages required by the Deputy for furnishing here longboats, barges, &c., built in Ulster and on the Shannon, as per schedule.* There is great want of these.

Note in margin.—The "scedule" to be perused.

That your lordships will procure the renewal of two commissions sent over with the now Lord Deputy for leasing of lands and stalling of debts. Sir Robert Napper having been inscribed by name in those commissions Sir Edward Pelham (now Chief Justice) cannot act in the matter. This is inconvenient.

Note in margin.—New commissions to be drawn.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Endd. Ibid, 82.*

13 Dec. The EARL OF THOMOND to SECRETARY CECIL.
Cork.

Discusses the re-uniting of Thomond to Munster :—The Lord Deputy and Council, on receiving the letters which I submitted, gave an answer approving my reasons. My only object is to augment the Queen's revenues and to bring quiet and prosperity to her subjects and to "recall the tenants to reinhabit that country, which hath of a long time lain waste." Pray order the Deputy and Council to re-annex Thomond to Munster. At my last being in England I asked you that Sir Terlogh O'Brien might be sent

* Missing.

1602.

over where I am to charge him for doing the Queen ill services in joining himself "in action though not in person" [with her enemies]. "His guilty conscience, being touched, hath driven him to shonne himself out of this land, his treasons being known." A suit has long been pending between him and me, and is now at an issue. If, when he comes over, he makes any charges against me I will answer him before the Lord Deputy and Council.

P. ¾. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 83.*

17 Dec.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

*Refers to the Lord Deputy and Council's letters of 27 November which have been received and forwarded to the Lord Deputy at Athlone. Proceeds:—*In Munster the President continues "a sharp prosecution" against Tyrrell and the O'Sulivans, and will, I think, bring the traitor to reason. Tyrrell is anxious to leave Munster and, to cover his escape, makes a semblance to come to submission; but I hope the Lord President, who knows him well, will beware how he deals with one of that perfidious humour. Many times before, under such dissembled treaties, he has broken with the State.

In Leinster things get more quiet. The Mores and Connors are in effect worn out, and do no harm but for occasional nightly stealths "from which those frontiers have not been free even in peaceable times." The Cavanoughs and Byrnes, having been pardoned, stand firm and are in no case to raise new stirs "unless they be eftsoons puffed up with some fresh imaginary hopes of the coming of Spaniards."

Out of Ulster little is written but much is expected, for the Archtraitor is now come again into Tyrone "and walketh in the fastness of Glancumkyne and Killoughtrie." Sir Arthur Chichester has summoned the garrisons to rise and has given them a rendezvous. "I think they are at their work before now; from whom I look within few days to have good news of this war; for, the garrisons being divided into several parties and put into the fastness by several ways, he cannot stand long before them." I think, as I wrote before, that he will try to escape out of the realm "either at the river of Bann or some other creek near Dunluce where the Scot may give him a favour in his passage." I have lately written of this to Sir Arthur, who I know will be provident to prevent his escape; and either take him or cut off his head. Sir Arthur, according to a message sent me yesternight, has "laid for his head" and if he gets it the wars of Ireland will be at an end. So long as he lives, either here or abroad, he will be a constant head of new revolts and will continually cause the Queen expense. In haste, &c.

P. 1¼. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 84.*

18 Dec.
Dublin.

SAME to SAME.

Enclosed* was brought to me this morning from a ship arriving then out of Spain. It is the first fruits of the intelligencers whom

* Missing.

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I employ there; and I am sure that his next will carry more ample matter of advertisement. The letter was brought me by the son of a merchant of this town, who left Bilbo [Bilbao] about 20 days ago, and told me that the intelligencer was gone up into the country ten or twelve days before. The messenger also says that he hears of no preparation in Spain or what is become of the army that went for Algiers, except that he heard that Seriago and Don Diego were returned to Lisbon with about 60 or 70 ships, being part of the fleet that went for Algiers. He says that half of these ships were to be sent, under Seriago's command, to waft home the Indian fleet, and the other half, under Don Diego, were to lie off and on the coasts of Spain for the defence thereof. The party has this only by hearsay: and I doubt it, for the intelligencer says nothing of it in his letters. But it may be that this news did not reach Bilbo till after the intelligencer had left it.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 85.

Latest
date,
20 Dec.

NOTE on the DISCHARGES from the IRISH ARMY in November and December, 1602.

1. Captains who were cashed in November, 1602:—

Leinster.—Captains Mulrony O'Carroll and Richard Hensloe each with 100 men.

Mountjoy and Monaghan.—Captain John Roberts with 100 men; Captains Masterson and Sir James Fitzpiers, each with 50 men.

Loughfoyle.—Captains Lancelot Alford and Edward Digges, each with 100 men.

Ballyshannon.—Captain Farmer, 150; Captain Pole Gore, 50.

Connaught.—Captain Henry Clare, 150; Captain William May, 100.

Munster.—Lord Barry and the White Knight, each 100.

2. Horse and foot to be discharged on 20 December, 1602.

These are to be discharged as they may have warning.

Horse.—The President, 50; the Earl of Thomond, 50; Sir Henry Davers, 100; the Earl of Ormond, 50; the Earl of Kildare, 50; Sir Samuel Bagnall, 50; Sir Garrett Moore, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence and Sir Charles Wilmot, each 25.

Loughfoyle.—Sir Henry Docwra has orders to discharge the following quickly and to fill the other bands with them:—

Captains Orrell, Flood, Badbye, Bingley and Sir Henry Docwra himself, each 50. Captains Atkinson, Blundell and Hobby, each 100.

Ballyshannon.—Sir Henry Follyott has orders to discharge the following and to fill the other bands with them:—

Ballyshannon.—Captains Gower and Power, Sir John Dowdall and Sir John Harrington, each 100; Captain Phillips, 50.

Knockfergus.—Sir Arthur Chichester has the same orders with regard to Captain Norton (100) and Captains Lankford

1602.

and Phillips (each 50), and also [?]* Captains Killigrew, Lane and Masterson (each 100) at Mountjoy, and Captain Legge (50) at Dungannon.

The following are to be cast and warrant now sent to the office which, I pray you Mr. Treasurer, give special charge to them to put speedily in execution :—

Charlemont.—Colonel Owsley, 100.

Blackwater.—Captain Earsfield, 100.

Monaghan.—Captains Cullum and Lester, each 300.

Connaught.—Captain Malby, 50 ; Sir Alexander Clifford, 100.

King's County.—Sir Henry Warren, 100.

Munster.—Captain Ro[ger] Harvie, 150 ; Captains Slingsby and Saxey and Sir Antony Cooke, each 100 ; Captain Flower, 50.

In all 2,700 foot and 425 horse.

Total reduction at both these dates, 3,950 foot and 425 horse.

Pp. 3. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 86.

22 Dec. COPY of TYRONE'S SUBMISSION.

"Right honble. and my very good lord,

I am given to understand that you have rejected my last letter of submission sent to you, and therefore have caused the same to be sent to me again because you perceive I did not make therein an absolute submission. I am sorry your lordship did mistake my meaning for that which I did write did proceed from a penitent heart for offences by me committed and from an earnest desire to obtain her Majesty's mercy. And to that end I do again make bold to send to your lordship, bearing her Majesty's place, whose merciful nature I know though I am not worthy to crave for mercy. And therefore without standing upon any terms or conditions I do hereby both simply and absolutely submit myself to her Majesty's mercy and will be ready to perform either such conditions as were offered me by the Lord of Ormond or any other her Majesty shall think fit, so as I may recover her Majesty's favour ; for the obtaining whereof I humbly pray your lordship to be a means as before I did write, that I be not driven into utter despair and forced either to flee or to seek to any other prince. And in so doing I will become a new man and will pray for her Majesty's prosperity and will truly serve her the rest of my life."

P. ½. *with note signed by Sir Arthur Chichester* : "This is as it came inclosed in the letters to me." *Endd. Ibid.* 87.

23 Dec. SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.
Cork.

The merchants of Waterford made serious complaints against Sir John Brocket ; but, he tells me, the charges were investigated before the Lord Deputy and Council in Dublin and very little was proved, and he is now going over and bringing letters from

* The document does not make it certain that Sir A. Chichester controlled the forces at Mountjoy and Dungannon as well as those at Knockfergus.

1602.

the Lord Deputy which prove this. As the complaints made by the merchants remain unanswered in England, I ask you to show him your favour. *Recommends* Brocket strongly.

P.S. (Hol.)—Sir John has been very kind in serving me since I came here; and I think that he has been wronged.

P. ¾. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 88.

24 Dec. DRAFT of the QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL touching the Exchange and enclosing a proclamation.

[For letter and proclamation see Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, Vol. III, p. 260 sq.]

About pp. 15½ with amendments. *Ibid*, 89.

20 Dec. THE LORD DEPUTY to SIR GEORGE CARY.

Athlone.

I find things in Connaught not so ill-handled by Sir Oliver [Lambert] as was reported, and the country likely to be wholly reduced. "O'Rourke doth carry himself in such sort as it is not fit for the honour of the Estate to do [*sic*] deal favourably with him." I shall take a course to ruin him, as [I did for] Macguire, who is now "clear out of his country." Rory O'Donell has submitted absolutely. I will endeavour to give him the more contentment, for there may be more use made of him. I continue my weary task, which makes me "break my sleep" and hurry back to Dublin to discuss and despatch with you the multitude of business recommended to us by my Lords [of the English Privy Council]. "Farewell, noble Mr. Treasurer, in more haste than I can well write reason. Your true friend,

MOUNTJOY."

P. 1. (Hol.) Add. Endd. Ibid, 90.

30 Dec. SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SECRETARY CECIL.

Dublin.

I send advertisements* from one of my spies in Spain. He dates from Cales [Cadiz], though I assigned Civell [Seville] or its neighbourhood as the place for him to live; and has explained through the messenger that he moved to Cadiz when he heard the Indian fleet had come in there to see how it would be disposed and dispersed, having acquaintance with a captain in Sibiero's [Cubiaur's] fleet. I think this was a wise step, for all those ships are, according to him, kept together and not so much as a man is discharged. In great haste &c.

P. ½. Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid, 91.

ADDENDA, 1602.

MEMORANDUM of gentlemen of good rank and competitors of great titles in this province [Munster] who are pensioners of the KING OF SPAIN.

O'Sulevan Beare.

Conor Oghe, son to Sir Fynin O'Driskoll.

* Missing.

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Dermod McAwlyc.

Morris Fitz-john Desmond, the pretender for the earldom.

Dermod McConogher of Glanberraghane.

John Fitz-thomas Desmond, brother of the late titular Earl.

Teige McDonell ny Countye.

Dermod Moel, McCartye's son and heir.

Ellyne ny Donoghow, wife to Dermod.

Each of these has many dependants in Spain and more friends at home.

The following are gentlemen of this province that are discontent and competitors of titles here and "do now live in continual action of war under the Archduke, and are captains of companies."

Walter Butler, son of the Lord of Dunboyne.

Barrett of Bally-na-colly.

Donogh Moell McCarty.

John Barry Oge.

Priests of this province that preach nothing but alteration :

Fathers Leynagh, Dr. White, Wale [?], Mulrony, Robt.

Myagh, Roch, Arthur, Archibald Kearney [?], John

Fitzdavid, James Kearney, Quynlan, Molample.

These still remain in the province and have continual intercourse with those beyond seas.

The following have been formally branded and are now suspected in our province :—

David Condon.

Tibbott Roch.

James Fitzwilliam Barry.

Piers Poer Fitzrichard.

John Fitzgarrett of Ballenegarrogh.

Cormack McDonough Carty of Dowally.

Donell McCarty More.

Garrett Fitzjames of Moccollopy.

O'Connor Kyerry.

The Lord of Lixnawe.

Donell O'Sullivan More's son.

Owen en loghy McSwyne [?].

Thomas Fitzgibbon of Bangibbon.

Baron Loughmoe.

Moel Muo O'Mahowny.

Donogh Keogh McCarty.

P. 14. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 92.

CLAUSE OF INDENTURE between the QUEEN and SIR GEORGE CARY, the Master of the Exchange.

For his pains in carrying over money to Ireland the Queen further, for her heirs &c. agrees to allow him £17.20 for every 1,000*l.* of the new money now or hereafter imported into Ireland, and £20 marks for every 1,000*l.* by tale which shall be delivered to him out of the Exchange, for maintaining the Exchange in England, and so proportionably for all such moneys &c. These

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moneys are to be granted to him only so long as he remains in his present office, and shall be deducted from him out of the sums taken out of the Exchequer and handed to him for maintenance of the Exchange in England. The Queen will take the risk of loss of any of her money which is sent from England to Ireland by wreck or violence of enemies. Sir George Cary shall take special care for the safe transport of such money. *Details.*

P. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. *Undated. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 93.*

MEMORANDUM (prepared by SIR HENRY DOCWRA) on the REASONS which make him think that pledges should be taken to secure the loyalty of NEALE GARVE.

1. By his own confession Neale Garve has received one messenger from Tyrone with generous offers if he (Neale) would do service on us. Neale let the messenger go without telling me of his going or coming. This he confessed when charged with it by me. God only knows what answer he sent by that messenger. I hear that others have come to him in like manner ; but this he denies.

2. He will not endure to hear me speak of taking pledges of anyone in all Tyrconnell ; but he will take them all himself, and, being possessed of all the creattes, he will not suffer any one cow to feed within our reach, nor a grain of corn to be seen except it be as far from us as possible.

3. He will not give leave to any of his people to work or do any kind of service amongst us for money. "And more than that, when some of them being pinched with extreme misery have entertained themselves under us to labour for such wages as they had agreed upon, he hath most maliciously and violently taken them away with threatening to hang them and many spiteful and iniurious words." He says the same to any guides whom we get from the country, and we find it very hard to keep them.

4. He got leave for his sister Rose to go into Ballyshannon to spy what they did there. An Irishman whom she did not suspect was sent with her. When talking there with her husband, Toole McO'Degan, she said that her brother would not stay among the English for he could not abide their government. They talked of much else which he could not overhear, and now she has declared herself by stealing away, though Neale Garve was always surety for her.

5. His people lurk in the woods at the passage between Liffer and Derry, where they spoil and take whom and what they can, whereof when he is admonished and willed to bring them in he makes excuses and pretends he cannot do it unless I give them my word to do them no hurt.

6. Many of his men commit offences and then "fly out and stand upon a word before they come in again," and yet in the meantime the Queen must maintain them in her pay.

7. He refuses to muster and show his men, or, having promised to do it, still delays it.

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8. He has 100 horse in pay, and receives allowance therefor at the same rate as English captains : but he is not able to shew five to do service. He has his checks remitted so far as there is any just colour to require it, which, nevertheless, he takes as thankfully as though twice as much had been taken from him.

9. He is "on a word with all them of Sleught Art," which he could not deny when I charged him with it. I am sure, though he denies it, he is the same with Maguire.

10. He claimed all the corn in the island under Ballyshannon, and was bitterly disappointed when I would not let him take it. He demands the like of that in the very castle itself.

11. He has 4,000 cows, and these he refuses to bring under the safeguard of our garrisons, though I have often asked him to do so, and though there is, as everybody knows, the feeding, which is better there than where they are. "Yet they now begin to drop away from him, and he pretends they are taken by stealths, when it is apparent he might keep them from stealing if he would."

12. He is irreconcilably offended at the smallest disorder on the part of our soldiers, "and of his own men the most obstinate boulderer in all things that ever was known ; insomuch that when the soldiers of Liffer [Lifford] had taken up a garron of his in the field and killed and eat it, he would not be pacified with less punishment than hanging of the men, and yet was not ashamed to ask beside 12*l.* for the garron, which was not worth above 20*s.* ; and this so importunately as it will be incredible till it be confirmed by the testimony of so many witnesses as know it." He sets the like rates in many things ; "and yet for any offence, be it never no notorious and plain, that his own men commit, he will as well endure his skin to be fleade [flayed] as they to be punished if he could choose."

13. He labours by all means possible to reconcile himself to O'Dougherty and Hugh Boye, "and to have them 'fast' (as they call it) upon his council." If he could do this to the prejudice of the Queen's service he would undoubtedly do so.

14. He has "earnestly laboured to marry Sir Arthur O'Neale's widow, which done Maguire were wholly his, who is yet only half, and the greatest part of Tyrone would also depend upon him (the traitor O'Neale, that now is, being put down) in respect of the love and affection they bear unto her son ; and to Sleught Art, which is a great part of Tyrone, and never reckoned any member of Tyrconnell, he sticks not to lay open claim." This shows his ambition.

15. He has of late, in spite of many opportunities, done no service ; and his excuse is that I do not give him victuals out of the store, and therefore he cannot keep his men together. It is true I have not done so since the first of January, because we agreed he should have no more after that date, as I can shew under his hand. His creattes are sufficient for him to live upon.

16. As to his charge of parcimonious treatment, I have, to begin with, given him 300*l.*, some out of my own purse, besides all his entertainments. This is more than he deserves. "Let the whole cause of his discontent lie worthily upon me, and all

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this within the compass of one half year, and at least 100 marks more which I have given his brothers and sister amongst them."

17. He has also, I observe, taken every possible means to accumulate arms in his possession, begging them of the Lord Deputy or me, borrowing among the captains, and buying among the soldiers. He really wants these to further the rebels, "for it is a common thing with this people to send away a sword, a caliver or whatsoever else, for a token to their friends that are out in rebellion, and of those he hath with him, for all the helps he hath got amongst us, not one half are half armed. He does the like with munition, to get what he can under one colour or another by irresistible importunity, spend as sparingly thereof as is possible, and never part with any that he scrapes into his fingers, but rather beg and importune still more and more."

18. He will believe no report that makes with the furtherance or prosperity of the Queen's service, but of anything to the contrary he is the most credulous.

19. He admits that priests have often "laboured him to revolt from the Queen," but will not reveal their names or banish them from about him.

20. At the last being at Liffer [Lifford] he took away all his goods, including several trunks containing apparel and household stuff. He has no need for this where he is going. He also compelled his sister Joan to leave the town, but that I prevented her from going; for had she gone, and had his goods been all gone at so dangerous a time, I do not know what hold I should have had on him if he had revolted: for he cares little for his pledges, although they are near to him.

21. He will not give his sister *1d.*, but thrust her and divers of his kinswomen on me, "who amongst them have not less than 100 persons, of churls, women and children, depending upon them." All of these he has often importuned me to feed out of the store, and is very angry when I refuse to do so.

22. I have many other causes and testimony to suspect him, but as it was important to keep him at a doubtful time I have not set these things down, though I have perhaps trusted him too far; "neither can I execute in any matter justice or authority in all the country of Tyrconnell where he hath to do but with manifest hazard of putting him out into present rebellion."

Pp. 5. *Endd.* in Sir H. Docwra's hand, and the last few lines in same. *S.P. Ireland* 212, 94.

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[Draft of the LORD DEPUTY to O'NEALE.]

"The speech I had with thy man was reasonable, and required such pledges as, in duty, thou oughtest to deliver if her Majesty may be moved in her great goodness to forgive thee thy disloyalty. But thou, hardened in thy ill proceedings, maintainest the ways of thy rebellion in all insolent deeds, and thinkest to escape the curse of God and man by dissembled shews of messages and letters."

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“To the contents of thy letter :—Thou sayest thou seekest a peace, a proud word to thy Sovereign, wherein thou art as false as foolish. The conditions of peace are to be propounded between equals. From thee the proposition to be made is to ask forgiveness upon thy knees, which as thou dost not dutifully crave it argues thy meaning to be treacherous. And as the phrase wanteth duty so it signifieth thou hast as little wit as honesty. To be short :—Her Majesty has committed to me the charge of this kingdom, to cherish the dutiful and correct the lewd, of which number thou art the ringleader : wherefore my duty bindeth me to reduce thee and the rest to her Majesty's will. Assure thyself therefore I will pursue both thee and them, from vengeance whereof all thy Popish shovelings shall not absolve thee, God ever destroying the counsels of the wicked taken against his anointed.”

P. ¾. *S.P. Ireland* 212, 95.

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Answers to certain ARTICLES of RICHARD COMBUS.

To the point wherein you desire that what has passed between us be kept from the Council of Ireland :—You may be sure that only the Deputy shall know it. The Queen has entrusted him with the kingdom and trusts him.

To the second :—It is well liked that the Governor of Carrickfergus be made privy to it. He is a wise gentleman and commands those places which lie most convenient for that enterprise. Letters shall be written to him and all other her Majesty's commanders to receive the party into their protection till advertisement be sent hither.

To the third :—The Queen will not consent that her letters be written to MacDonnell beforehand.

To the fourth :—If you wish me to write to him or to give you an assurance by bond—if you will send me a draft of either I will sign it if I like it. If not I will draw what I think right, whereon you may proceed if you like it.

I think not fit to deal on the two following points :—You ask that Donnell Gorran may have leave to pass into Tyrone with any numbers. If this is permitted everybody will wonder at it who does not know the cause : and if it should fall out that he does not perform this [*i.e.* some promise of loyal service to England] the idea, whether right or wrong, that strength had been added to the traitor would be used to discredit me.* As I would be the person responsible for such a course being taken, a failure (which is possible even if Donnell Gorran be never so well disposed) would bring discredit on me, [and the same would be the case] if Donnell were let go [into Tyrone] with any forces and, when there, turned on to the other side or showed that he never meant but to serve some other turn.

You do not say whether he desires to go into Tyrone privately or with numbers, and whether the Queen's letters were desired

* This and the following passages are very obscure and are written and re-written with corrections. The sense tendered in the text is the best I can make of them.

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to afford him protection in the first case if he retreat, or to prevent him from being molested by her forces in the second. Pray assure me on this point in your next certificate. In these* respects I think it right to let you know that if he can go in without her Majesty's leave, the granting whereof would be sure to give rise to a number of different comments [he may do so], but if he is going [into Tyrone] in force, and cannot pass without the Queen's toleration, then let them be very few. As therefore I shall hear from you you shall have a letter to the Governor of Carrickfergus. This will be sent privately to him by some trusty person; and there may be then some course taken for his safety and no one know but that he is coming in against his will. This much I tell you because the Governor must presently be acquainted with the reason if he cannot pass without his toleration, where otherwise no man should need to know it in Ireland till it had been done, and then he might have had about him such a letter as should have been sufficient to have procured him a welcome and a safe retreat when the enterprise was passed, and yet he should not have feared that he would be discovered, seeing nobody could tell it but myself.

The other thing I wish to say is that when the proclamation was made the Traitor was in his pride, and then 3,000*l.* would have been well spent to have saved 300,000*l.*; but now that his heart is broken and he is almost a wood kerne, for me to engage for more than was offered would shew a want of discretion; for be you assured of this, that I think it lawful to deal for the death of a proscribed and assured rebel and that whatever I give my word for I will perform, though I have to sell the shirt off my back. Therefore proceed in the matter as you please, and, for the proclamation, do not much build upon it, for much time is passed since it was divulged; "but be you assured of this that if by this draught Tyrone be slain or taken there shall be paid to your disposition 5,000 English angels." I am anxious to do my country service and save the effusion of Christian blood, and will perform all promises which I make to you or others.

Pp. 21½. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 212, 96.

[INTERROGATORIES] for SIR RICHARD MAISTERSON.

1. Let it be asked first whether Sir Richard, being a man detected of treason or several treasons of Walter Reagh and Pheagh McHugh, was committed to Dublin Castle for several of the same and there kept till he procured a pardon.

2. Whether Sir Richard's living does not lie in the Kinselaghs, being out of the five English baronies in the co. Wexford and a place which hath altogether yielded itself to the obedience of the traitor Donell Spaniogh and the voluntary relieving of his bonaghts; where[as] the said Sir Richard can have nothing [there] but at the knowledge of the said rebels.

* See last note. The corrections make it most difficult to get at the writer's true meaning.

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3. Whether Sir Richard does not travel there or in other Irish countries having only in his company two or three, and these either suspected or known traitors, at such times and in such places where no man can safely go unattended.

4. Whether he does not usually countenance or maintain persons who in this rebellion are either known to be rebels or relievers of them rather than loyal subjects.

5. Whether he does not use his diligence and authority to procure preys which are brought from the rebel by the subject here to be restored to the said rebel; and whether he labours to have any restitution of goods taken from the subject to be made to them.

6. Whether he is constable of her Majesty's jail in the co. Wexford and justice of the peace and gaol delivery in the same; and commits divers of her Majesty's true English subjects to such gaol without shewing any cause of their committal, "and, being their judge and gaoler, keepeth them prisoners there until they yield to any his requests; and whether by colour of the same authority he hath set at liberty divers notorious traitors committed to that jail for several treasons since the beginning of the rebellion" without taking any assurance for their "forthcoming to law," and that contrary to the orders expressly set down in the Book of Gaol Delivery by the Justices. Whether divers of these traitors so by him dismissed are at this day in open action against her Majesty, and whether they are of great account among the rebels.

6. "Whether he is greatly allied to sundry rebels and divers of the principal of them by divers bastards begotten by him upon sundry kinswomen of the said rebels, also by marrying the said bastards and withal by fostering sundry of his children with the Irishry."

7. Whether he has had 150 soldiers in pay from the Queen since August last, and ten warders for Ferns and ten at Wexford Castle, and whether he had not 150 more men in pay till the coming of Lord Mountjoy, and whether during all that time he has done any service in killing or taking one boy or man of the rebels, or not.

P. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$, in the hand of the Bishop of Meath [?]. *Endd.* : "Sir Richard Masterson." *S.P. Ireland* 212, 97.

LIST OF VICEROYS &c. of IRELAND from Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, and Reymond le Gros (1174) to Charles, Lord Mountjoy.

Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{8}$. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 98.

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THOMAS HAYES to SECRETARY CECIL.

Our action for the alteration of the coinage here, which has done much good to the state and ruined the rebels, is chiefly due to your recommending it to the Lord Treasurer. We have further employed our endeavours in a "inginarie" work for coining, which is now finished and effected, and have with

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patience long respected [respited] our considerations for our travels and charges undergone : as also forborne to be anyway troublesome till a fit opportunity may be occasioned. I and my kinsman, who is employed for Ireland, hope that your favour will do us much good. He should be better off than he is, being "furnished to do his country service either for civil or martial causes." I wish he were your creature.

P.S.—The plan for the alteration of the coinage was mine, and my brother and I and my kinsman were joined together to execute it. I am, as I began it, ready to "add my talent" to help anything that may further the service. I have drawn a plot for the purpose which I am ready to show your honour.

P. ¾. (Hol.) Add. S.P. Ireland 212, 99.

NOTE of Military Expenditure.

Estimates the annual cost of fifty-five horsemen at 12*d.* a-piece a day, and 165 footmen at 8*d.* a day.

P ½. Endd. Ibid, 100.

PROPOSALS for a change in the IRISH COINAGE.*

This change will enable her Majesty to meet her charges in Ireland without allowing an Exchange, and yet with reasonable profit and better content to the subject than now is.

The Queen should ordain a new silver standard of 9oz. fine and 3oz. alloy, to be current in Ireland only. Coins from shillings down to threepence of this fineness should be coined. Coins from 3*d.* down to ¼*d.* should be merely of copper, "which may serve for common bartering and increase of charity, and the other for hoarding."

This done, the Queen shall pay every 20*s.* of her debt with 15*s.* of new silver and 5*s.* in small copper; "so that all charges deducted for silver, copper and coinage it shall be undertaken to make her Majesty clear gainer in every 20*s.* Irish so issued 7*s.*, which equals the profit got in the mixed moneys now current of 2oz. 18*dwt.*, or rather shall outstrip the same, considering they go with an exchange, to answer 19*s.* sterling for every 20*s.* of them brought in, as also are subject for counterfeiters to work upon, from either of which this course is free."

A note adds: The more of these moneys the Queen issues the greater benefit. The army being paid their full pay therein, it shall not only increase their profit, but also make them the more willing to embrace them and the course propounded.

The copper coins already current may still go current, for the new copper coins will be similar to them in weight and stamp. [*A note adds:* The first offer may be settled before the old mixed moneys be decayed, or notice given of any such purpose, "and then the same may follow the better and with less distaste because it is likely that of themselves they will fall but to the value of the silver in them or to the account of the new mixed

* Possibly enclosed in last but one.

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standard.”] But those which are commixt of 2oz. 18dwt. fine silver and 9oz. 2dwt. of alloy are to be decied and to be brought into her Majesty’s mint hereafter spoken of. For every 20s. thereof they shall receive 3s. in the moneys of the new mixed standard of 9oz. fine ; and 2s. 4d. in the mere copper moneys, which in all is 5s. 4d. for every 20s. so brought in of old mixed moneys : in which the Queen’s profit will be further increased by 2s. 6d. *net* in every 20s. so brought in. This may rise to 4,000*l.* and more if all the old mixed money current in Ireland is brought in.

A mint for this purpose should be settled in Dublin, and the engines devised by the Hayeses should be put up, and more such engines afterwards. The Queen should allow them 3,000*l.* sterling to overcome these charges.

They will undertake to raise the benefit herein spoken of to the Queen.

A note adds : Our engines will be proved so good in this coinage that hereafter all the moneys of England shall be wrought thereby.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 212, 101.

MEMORANDUM shewing how the EXCHANGE may be maintained in England and Ireland, without loss to either, and to the QUEEN’S profit.

First, to pacify the clamour which is risen for want of due exchange for those debts that are already due, there would be two places appointed, one in England and the other in Ireland, to keep a register in, [shewing] what English merchants there are that have debts due to them in Ireland, how much, how long and by whom it is owing, and there to have it registered, that so it may be seen that no more is brought to the receipt in Ireland than is owing to the merchants of England.

Secondly, if ever hereafter any English merchant sell any commodity to any Irish merchant, he, and two or three of his servants, shall take their corporal oaths before the register in England to what value and to whom he hath sold them and then have it registered.

Thirdly, that the Irish merchant at his return into Ireland carrying with him a certificate from the register in England to the register in Ireland, shall have it registered there likewise, that, on the day of reckoning, it may be seen how much the Irish merchant has to pay the English merchant ; so that he shall have no exchange except up to the value of goods exported from England.

Fourthly, by this means the Queen will not easily be deceived, and it is not likely that any other nation will counterfeit the Irish coin : for if any person who is not a merchant brings such coin to the Exchange, he can be detected by reference to the Register, and should be examined as to how he came by such money, and punished as thought fit.

Fifthly, the customs that the Queen used to have will be doubled, both out of Ireland into England and out of England into

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Ireland; and I doubt not but, whereas English merchants are not allowed to carry any commodities to divers parts beyond the seas, the Irish merchants will be suffered, if you think meet; or, if not, by this means you may stint them with commodity; so that I cannot see but that it must needs be very beneficial to the Commonwealth.

The maintenance of this register will not cost the Queen a penny, for it may be kept up here by levying a small charge on every merchant who exports goods to Ireland, and, in Ireland, by similar payments to be made by the Irish merchants, which they will readily make. By these means you may "maintain the bank with all honour and keep the people in due obedience."

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Add. S.P. Ireland* 212, 102.

MEMORANDUM on the EXCHANGE.

The exchange is accompanied by many difficulties, and does not so much to ease her Majesty's charge as was supposed unless she fails in the promises which were placed in her proclamation. The question is whether, by the dissolving of the Exchange, some other course might be taken as great, or near as great, to ease her Majesty's charge and yet not subject to so much hazard of her honour.

It may be thought necessary to "continue the army at the small number" in the last establishment, vizt. 14,000 foot and 1,200 horse. This cost the Queen 255,773*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.** : of which 167,987*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* has to be sent in cash for paying officers and men their lendings, the apparelling continuing as it does [in the hands of contractors].

In the issuing of this sum it was hoped that the Queen would have saved half-in-half, as has been formerly shewed to your honour, if the exchange could have been so ordered that there had not been above one fourth part returned, which was hoped and partly promised at the enacting of it. This was the utmost gain hoped for.

It may be considered whether that advantage may not be secured for the Queen in either of the two following ways with more contentment to her subjects of Ireland.

1. The Queen to coin money of another standard, vizt. of 6oz. fine, and the piece of 12*d.* to have in it 6*d.* [worth] of silver, and other smaller pieces after the same rate; that piece of 12*d.* (which is but 6*d.* in silver) "to be current in Ireland for 12*d.*, and the same moneys to be current in England for so much only as they are worth in true value, and no exchange to be used." By this means her Majesty shall save—and with more certainty—half-in-half, deducting only the charge of coinage and portage. Toward this, again, she shall save the entertainment of the officers of the Exchange, which amounts to about 2,000*l.* a year, and the allowance which Mr. Treasurer now has upon the re-uttering of moneys returned to the Exchange, which is 10*l.* on the 1,000*l.*

* Fractions of pence omitted.

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The army will perhaps not be so content with this way : but every man must bear part in a public necessity. The merchant will be better than now he is, "for the money being current here, though but for half so much as it is in Ireland, he will help himself by making his price in Ireland hereafter, which, though he make double, yet shall it be more easy for the people than now, or as easy, for now they are sold more than double ; and then they may justly be stinted by public authority according to the rate of moneys, not to exceed the double of what they cost in England."

If this is thought good the moneys current there must be cried down to the same proportion or brought into a mint to be there erected, or brought hither to be melted down and re-coined according to that standard.

The second course is as follows :—That the Queen should revive again the old moneys used in Ireland, of "harpers," which were of sterling fineness, but held in them only 9*d.* worth of silver, but were, and so may be, current for 12*d.*, and so to be reckoned by the Queen in making payments. The Queen will thus save one-third* in her payment of 167,980*l.* 7*s.* 0*d.* Then towards one other third part, to make the saving to be half-in-half, the Queen may pay her soldiers only for 9 months out of 12, which is better payment than many Princes use to make in long wars, or make the months of forty days, as the Hollanders do. To satisfy the captain he may be trusted with the payment of his company, as has formerly been the case ; care being taken to have strict musters and to punish faulty captains.

The same money must also be current in England (for so much as it is worth) to the end there shall need no Exchange, but the English money to be no ways current in Ireland under severe penalties.

This course would be more agreeable to the nobility, gentry and merchants than the present course. They would still have silver, and their utmost discommodity would be to have the merchandize brought from hence somewhat dearer by one-third part more than they cost, which is not much. The standard being then of silver, and the odds certainly known, the state there may justly tax the prices of all things, specially of victuals, at a rate certain.

It is very likely also that by having a money of silver they shall have traffic in such reasonable sort, and that much victual may be spared of being sent from thence, which is her Majesty's greatest loss.

Some apparel may also be provided there, which would be an economy.

Pp. 3. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 212. Also other copies of parts of this document, pp. 2 and pp. 1½. *Ibid.* 103, 104, 105.

MEMORANDUM on the gain of MERCHANTS who trade in IRELAND.

If a merchant employ 100*l.* in commodities in England and transport and sell them in Ireland, there "after the rate of the

* *Sic*,

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inward value of that coin," that is one to four, and bring his money into the Exchange "after 40*l.* sterling in the 100*l.*," if he be forced to buy the sterling money there after 30*s.* Irish for the 20*s.* sterling, will make of his stock of 100*l.* 260*l.*

The proof is this :—he makes of his stock 400*l.* in Irish money. In buying sterling with this 400*l.* he loses at the rate of 30*s.* Irish for 20*s.* sterling. Besides he is to allow for exchange money according to the proclamation 20*l.* Irish. Accordingly he will obtain a bill of exchange (these losses deducted) for 300*l.*—that is for 160*l.* sterling and 140*l.* Irish.

If the merchant sells his commodities but at the double value of what they cost him in England, his gain will be 130*l.*

The proof is this :—[*Similar* calculations follow, shewing the gain in selling merchandize, loss on re-purchasing sterling, and ultimate result].

P. 1. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 106.

PROJECT [presented to the PRIVY COUNCIL] concerning the
IRISH COINAGE.

The new coin is much disliked in Ireland. It was instituted as a measure of necessity in time of war. It should be considered now whether that course of exchange (which was established at the first jointly with the institution of the standard for ease of her subjects) may not now be altered and some other way taken which will cost the Queen less and bring some relief to those who have suffered from the long continuance of the war.

When the coin of 30*z.* fine was proclaimed current in Ireland all other moneys were of necessity prohibited to give the new standard the better passage. The right to exchange had to be conceded to the merchants as otherwise they could not have made a profit, and nothing but profit invites them to adventure. In spite of this the prices of commodities are daily raised treble and quadruple there, "and the Queen more exhausted here than this Crown can bear without extreme prejudice."

Your lordships should therefore consider this proposition that where the standard of Ireland is now at 30*z.* fine (or 3*l.* sterling in every Irish shilling) and so in all moneys rateably, it may now by a new proclamation be ordered "that no man shall take any coin of that standard for more than double the inward value of sterling silver; whereby that piece which had three parts copper and one part silver shall now have half silver." Thus all who dwell in Ireland and use no exchange (that is, the majority) shall have money "double the richness to that it was before." And so [it should be provided that] all moneys from henceforth that are to be coined pass for no more than double their value.

(A note in margin adds :—*Quære* whether the next coin shall be altered on the inward value or remain as it is now, 30*z.* fine, but valued only at so much more.)

In order to assure the merchant that, if he does not find Irish commodities to buy with the money which he receives for his

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goods in Ireland when exported there, he may make use of such money, it should be arranged that, on bringing it into the Exchange, he may receive a bill for so much sterling as is contained in the Irish money which he pays in, and that such bill be forthwith satisfied.

I think that some more copper coins, not exceeding 1*d.*, should be issued in Ireland. It may serve the poor people for commutation, and her Majesty will make a great profit on whatever is coined at first. It should be ordered that this coin may in no ways be used for rents or debts above one-fourth part, "and in no degree to be received for any of her Majesty's duties of rents, customs or otherwise."

It is further moved that the Queen should proclaim "twelve-pence gain or two shillings in every £*E.*1 that shall be brought into the Exchange." Although she may lose by this *prima facie* she will gain greatly when she re-coins into coins of the new standard.

If there were copper money also current in England, though differing from that in Ireland, great commodity might be raised to the Queen, especially at this present; and it might serve for many uses to the subject. All other kingdoms give us an example of this. Such small coins "make charity come easier," and enable the poor to buy victuals in small quantities. Whoever considers the fineness of our standard in England will find it very difficult in the case of such small coins as are issued in England to maintain the standard of fineness without great waste of silver. Moreover, it is subject to loss owing to its being so small, "for avoiding of which inconvenience experience teacheth us that on the borders of Scotland the Scottish copper coin is current among the people, and where there is none they make tokens of lead for their private use."

Incommodities raised by this project to the Queen:—

1. Of those Irish moneys which the Queen has already in bank every 20*l.* shall become but 10*l.*

Answer: The Treasurer has little store remaining and therefore little loss. He may be directed to issue it now aforehand if he have any at the former rate.

2. From henceforward all those moneys which heretofore were uttered at 20*s.* when they had but 5*s.* silver must now be issued at not more than 10*s.*

Answer: This [loss] would be far less than the burden of the Exchange, though it would be managed as we would have it. I fear me no man now shall ever see it. And it may not be convenient to leave the management of so great an affair to one man when he must use subordinate ministers.

Incommodities arising to the subject:—

1. Many men who have to make payments will now have to double their stock.

Answer: Those who receive profit as much as those who pay lose; and there must always be a community of suffering for the public good. This [*i.e.* the introduction of the new standard] could, however, be introduced after a rent day, which would diminish the inconvenience.

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As it is her Majesty is said to save half on all the moneys uttered in Ireland, including payment of old debts and dispersing of copper moneys, "but what dishonour her Majesty hath sustained through being forced to disavow the Exchange (though good and wise men led by discourse of reason will judge it to have proceeded in respect of frauds used contrary to the meaning of the proclamation), yet the greater part (which is the worse) make other scandalous interpretation of the same. And above all things this is most certain that it filleth other countries with this opinion that either her Majesty is in great lack, or taketh small care to preserve her edicts. For the people there, what is more common than murmur, and what is more generally avowed here than that the excess of all prices in that kingdom is far beyond the memory of any age."

Pp. 3½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 107.

Also copy of a portion of the above. P. 1¾. *Endd. Ibid.*, 108.

Note on DEBASEMENT in times past of the IRISH COINAGE.

In 36 Hen. VIII base money was coined and afterwards in 5 Edw. VI was cried down from 12*d.* to 9*d.* and later to 6*d.*

In 2 Eliz. the testons, which were coined for 12*d.*, were decreed first to 6*d.* and afterwards by proclamation to 4½*d.* (the best sort marked with the portcullis) to 2½*d.*, (the second sort marked with the greyhound), and the worst sort (unmarked) to nothing. Afterwards all these were called into the mint and sterling money coined.

Groats and twopences were also decreed to 2*d.* and 1*d.*

P. ¾. *Endd. Ibid.*, 109.

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1 Jan. State of the ARMY in IRELAND on 1 Jan., 1603.

In Munster.

Horse :—The Lord President, the Earl of Thomond, Sir Anthony Cooke and Captain William Taaffe, each 50*l.* 200*l.*

Foot :—The Lord President 200, the Earl of Thomond 200, the Earl of Desmond 100, Lord Audelaie 150, Sir George Cary 100, Sir Charles Willmott 150, Sir Richard Percy 150, Sir Francis Barkeley 150, Sir Jerrard Harvey 150, Sir George Thornton 100, Sir Edward Wingfield 200, Captain William Stafford 100, Captain Ralph Sidley 100, Captain Francis Kingsmill 150, and Captains George Kingsmill, George Flower, John Bostock, Henry Skipwith, Charles Coote, Gavin Harvey, Dorrington and Thomas Boyce, each 100.

Similar lists follow shewing the horse and foot in Connaught, at Loughfoyle, at Carrickfergus, Mountjoy and Dungannon, at Ballyshannon, the other garrisons in Ulster, and in Leinster, or with the Lord Deputy or at the borders of the Pale.

The total is 1,000 horse and 12,370 foot.

Pp. 7¼. *Endd. Ibid.*, 110.

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7 Jan.
Dublin.

The MAYOR and SHERIFFS OF DUBLIN to SECRETARY CECIL.

All victuals, and especially grain, are extremely scarce here ; so much so that we have petitioned the Lord Deputy and Council to recommend to you and the Privy Council our petition asking for a licence [to us] to provide some grain there, and for the Queen's order that it be paid for [out of the Exchequer] in silver coin of England, we paying Sir George Cary a similar amount [in face value] of the new Irish coin together with 20*l.* per cent. of the same. Without this we cannot live, for foreign trade is stopped and no commodities can be had in this kingdom but at 50 per cent. increase of price ; so that all trade is quite gone and we thereby grow to poverty. In this difficulty we miss greatly "your honoured father, our good lord and best favourer," and yet are pleased to be able to look to you and cleave to you "as to our anker." Pray favour "this poor incorporation."

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. Signed by John Tirrell, Mayor, and by H. Stephens and Pe. Dermonde, Sheriffs. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 111.

8 Jan.
Athlone.

The LORD DEPUTY to SAME.

The Council's letters of 27 Nov. make me hasten back to Dublin sooner than I had intended to attend the arrival of the Commissioners and consult with the Council on many matters on which their lordships [the Privy Council] desire information. On all these matters I have tried to do something. I have meantime, as the Queen desired, diminished the list and will try to reduce the charge as much as I can consistently with the success of this great work. It would be a great pity not to push for a sound conclusion now that we are so near it. I think that, with these numbers, we may "go on to the perfect establishment of this kingdom ; and, I hope, ere it be long with a less proportion if we be no more troubled with foreign forces" ; but the reduction of our forces may cause a revival of eruptions which, if once thoroughly suppressed, would hardly have revived. O'Rourke, for instance, has for a long time been anxious to become a subject. He had made preparations to build a fair castle in a place where it could not have been kept save by a good subject ; but on hearing of this cast, which I began from near myself, he suddenly fell from his resolution and has now "betaken himself to an obstinate defence." There are many who will use every occasion to stir up this people to continue the war, "which for fear of a severe reformation in religion I am most assured is by the tories and most of the nobility desired to be continued, and as I have some light, which I will further search into." O'Rourke's change was due to some information which he received from Dublin.

I have sent you* a letter recently sent me by Tyrone. The messenger who brought it—one Bartholomew Owen—fell sick by the way and I have not spoken with him, but he sent me word that he had much to deliver to me by word of mouth. I tell everyone that the Queen is resolved never to pardon him.

* Enclosed.

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I proceed with all things that can be done for his prosecution, and though I tell him that I will be a humble suitor for him to the Queen I tell him too that "I will cut his throat in the meantime if I can. What were fittest to do with him I am loath to advise. I presume I could make him set his hand to any submission that should be sent him. He hath a shrewd head if he kept it, and except it be by good fortune I think it will be hard to come by it. I do hear he is exceedingly distressed and pent up in a corner of Cancumkyne, which is out of his own country," so that O'Rurke is now the only lord who is in rebellion and lives in his own country. Sir Oliver Lambert has taken great pains to reduce this province; and industry is very precious in Ireland, where I find that all men weary of their extreme labours. If the Queen establishes him here I believe he will push on the war as well as anybody, but if he miscarries he may afterwards be removed.

As to Ulster, if the Queen suppresses Tyrone I think it imperative that it should be made a province, and be placed under the government of a competent governor. I have licensed the bearer [to go to England] for a short time for his private affairs. I think he is as well able to serve the Queen as anyone of his profession. He is a man of few words, but I think will give a good account of anything you require of him. I told him to give you my opinion of Neale Garve and Rory O'Donell.

Pp. 3. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 112. *Enclosing* :—

A. *The Earl of Tyrone to the Lord Deputy.*

I understand you have rejected my last letter of submission because it contained conditions. It proceeded from a penitent heart and a true desire to have mercy; and, knowing her Majesty's merciful heart, "without standing upon any terms or conditions I do hereby both simply and absolutely submit myself to her Majesty's mercy," and will be ready to perform the conditions offered me by the Earl of Ormond or any others which her Majesty shall think fit, so as I may obtain the favour for which I beg you to be a means for me that I be not "driven into utter despair and forced either to fly or to seek to any other Prince."

P. ½. *Signed, Hugh Tirone. Add. Endd. Ibid,* 112A.

8 Jan.

SIR HENRY WALLOP to SECRETARY CECIL.

I hear that some of "my back friends in Ireland" are seeking to obtain the withdrawal of the ward which I have for my castle of Enniscorthy in the co. Wexford, which would injure me and the common good of the county. I hope this ward may not be discharged until I have had an opportunity of justifying its being kept there, and the work of fortification there. I crave "protection under the shadow of your wings."

P.S.—Though the reports from Ireland speak of general tranquillity yet "that base companion Donnell Spanneagh, bearing out himself upon some conveniency or other politic

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toleration, suffereth us to enjoy nothing in the parts to him adjoining." He takes our cattle, mows our meadows, spoils our houses, kills our people, and in all ways much disquiets the poor county of Wexford.

P. 1, the postscript holograph. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 113.

9 Jan.
Athlone.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCILLORS at Athlone to the
ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

After taking steps to quiet the other three provinces of this kingdom I thought it very requisite to repair into Connaught, both to take an order with the rebels in action, who before had sent to me in Dublin their willingness to conform themselves to their duty, and also to view the town of Galway and see how it might be defended in case of a foreign descent. I brought with me the Bishop of Meath and the Marshal. Before this Sir Oliver Lambert, making a painful journey with the forces allotted to him, had quite banished out of Mayo the pretended MacWilliam, and had prepared O'Connor Sligo and Rory, brother of the traitor O'Donnell who died in Spain, to come to us at Athlone. These are two of the most powerful rebels in the province. The first made excuses about being taken and imprisoned by O'Donnell and submitted himself to the Queen's mercy. The other, though he has all his brother's forces, followers and creaghts at his command, submitted without any conditions, offered to give pledges, to evacuate all such castles (as Ballymote) as are in his possession in the co. Sligo. He said that his father and grandfather had been true servitors, that himself, with the privity of Sir Coniers Clifford, had made a resolution to serve against his brother, but that, his purpose having been discovered, he was kept in irons. This we know to be true. He offered his service, if he might be received, either here or beyond the seas wherever the Queen should please to employ him. This "manner of carriage proceeding from a man of good spirit, active and wise," induced me, the Deputy, to receive him. We rather pitied his case in that he had not submitted* before, and because we foresee how notable an instrument he may be made to bridle Sir Neal Garvagh, whose insolence has grown intolerable, of whom we think he will be the best curb that can be devised. We have therefore resolved when we come to Dublin to send for Sir Neale and this competitor, and consider seriously how to provide for and dispose of them both. We intend, whilst giving effect to her Majesty's promise to Sir Neale, to settle this gentleman in a considerable part of Tyrconnell; and ask that we may have a warrant from the Queen authorising such an arrangement as the full Council, after due consideration, may think proper.

Proceeding in our journey to Galway we received there the submission of the Flaherties, the MacDermotts of the Curlews, Connor Roe and divers others: and so for the present this

* i.e. that he had been prevented from submitting.

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province is brought to quietness. "Only the proud, insolent, and faithless rebel, Bryan O'Rourke, notwithstanding his former humble messages sent to me, the Deputy, of his desire to be received to mercy, absents himself, and, having drawn unto himself Tyrone's Maguire (whom for his deceitful and treacherous dealing we have banished out of Fermanagh and exposed to prosecution), and the traitor Tyrrell out of Munster, trusting to the fastness of his country, he [*sic*] persists in his rebellion." So, though we see the many difficulties which will be involved in his prosecution, we think it right to take steps to scourge him several ways before the spring and before his foreign hopes give him any further encouragement, having for that end appointed a proportion of victuals and other necessities to be presently brought from Limerick to Athlone to furnish Sir Oliver Lambert with an army to surprise his house of Leetrim and take it. Sir Henry Folliott, supported by Rory O'Donnell, who has already done service against O'Rourke, will enter from Sligo and those parts into his country, and we intend presently to raise a third army to invade him through the co. Longford to annoy him. In this way we are sure he will not long subsist in his pride and contempt.

The town of Galway is very important, and we have decided to order the completion of the fort there to defend it in case of invasion. It has been well devised and commands the haven.

In this journey I, the Deputy,—. *Proceeds* as in Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (ed. 1907, Vol. III, p. 258 *sq.*).

In all pp. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$; the part calendared pp. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy, the Bishop of Meath and the Marshal [Wingfield]. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 114.

10 Jan.
Athlone.

THE LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

Sir Christopher St. Lawrence is anxious to serve in some other country, to which I think he would carry many of the Irish sword-men. I am willing to recommend him for this purpose "because I know how much it would avail* the establishment of peace here to rid away some good number of these idle men." If we could but get rid of 2,000 Irish we should save the Queen 100,000*l.*

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.* 115.

Same.

SIR OLIVER LAMBERT to [SAME.]

The Lord Deputy, who is leaving the province, commands me to prosecute O'Rourke to his utter ruin. He sought my favour, but refused to submit when it came to the point. With the force left me by the Lord Deputy I hope either to turn him out of that fast country or utterly to confound both him and all those head traitors that are fled from other places "and are now destined, I hope, to end their fortunes with him, and this tedious war with themselves."

Tyrone is so straightened that he can neither stand to these parts nor they to him, nor [*is*] either able to stand. As the

* Note use of the word "avail."

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Lord Deputy has largely advertised you of the state of this province I ask your pardon for saying nothing more about it; and I hope the Queen will think me worthy to rest in this government after 25 years service perpetually in her wars, "the loss of much blood and half my limbs decayed." *Assurances of loyal service.* I am loyal, though I may be backbitten; but *exitus acta probat.*

P. 1. *Signed.* S.P. Ireland 212, 116.

14 Jan.
Loughfoyle.

State of the QUEEN'S forces at LOUGHFOYLE according to a Muster taken on 14 January, 1602.

Officers.	In List.	Captains and Officers.	Able and present.	Sick and absent.	Preachers and Canoniers.	Dead-pays.	Deficient.
Horse :—							
Sir H. Docwra	100	3	82	7	2	6	3
Foot :—							
Sir H. Docwra	150	8	116	22	3	9	0
„ M. Morgan	100	6	76	24	3	9	38
Capt. R. Bingley	100	6	86	6	2	6	0
„ Thomas Badby	100	6	84	8	2	6	0
„ Edward Leigh	100	6	74	18	2	6	0
„ Richard Hansard	200	9	134	28	4	12	22
„ Basill Brooke	100	6	66	14	2	6	12
„ Nicholas Pynner	100	6	75	17	2	6	0
„ Lewis Orrell	100	6	67	11	2	6	14
„ Ellis Lloyd	100	6	68	14	2	6	10
„ John Vaughan	100	6	66	24	2	6	2
„ John Sidney	100	6	74	13	2	6	5
„ Henry Harte	100	6	58	18	2	6	16
	1500	85	1044	217	30	99	119

It is noted that 84 Irish are comprehended in the titles of able men.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Examined* by Anthony Reynolds. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 117.

20 Jan.
Trim.

The LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

Though I shall be soon at Dublin, where, after consulting with my fellows, I may write more fully of the state of all things, I must now write on some things that require more speedy resolution. I have ever told the ministers of the victuals to inform you of the state thereof and of our wants. I hope they have done so, and will only say myself in general that no

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garrisons in this country can subsist unless victuals be sent them from England. If they are not sent all our work will be undone and I expect we shall all starve, for the country is reduced to great scarcity and there may be a famine. Of this we will all taste, but none more than the rebels and those who have been rebels. In future, perhaps, arrangements may be made for supplying the army in Ireland and the charge be reduced, but this cannot be done at present; for everybody is very poor and let no man persuade you to the contrary.

We have reduced the list to 12,000 foot and 1,000 horse. Pray move her Majesty that we be not so strictly tied to an establishment thereof that the Treasurer may not have warrant to exceed it for a small matter; for, to great purposes, we may see reason to continue two or three more companies for a time, and especially of the Irish, which, I pray Sir, believe me, must not be discharged on a sudden, and of whom we may, in their kind, make as great use as of any. I lately, in my great cast, selected two companies [for casting] which Sir Arthur Chichester had just put into a garrison and provisioned them for ten weeks, from whence without an army, we cannot yet remove them. Another reason for my desiring to have a certain latitude in the matter of the establishment is that when many of the horse are paid but 12*d.* a day they cannot live on this either in service or in garrison. We might as well cast them all as allow them only this sum. We must do that which is necessary for the service and no more, for that is what is best for the service. I think it very inconvenient for the state here to be too precisely restrained, and it never was so before the Earl of Essex's time. He had need of more than ever any had "and, in effect, had less than the meanest justices that ever governed here." These things, "believe me, Sir, by the Eternal God," I do not write for any private ends of my own; but certain restraint in so uncertain a business must be wrong.

One thing more must be considered. I hear that in my absence the Lord Chancellor and Council [in Dublin] have imprisoned divers for religion, and amongst them six or seven Aldermen of Dublin. "I am loth to contradict any of their proceedings in matters of religion, for fear I may be esteemed backward in a reformation, but I am persuaded that a violent course therein will do little good to win men's consciences; but, howsoever, it is too soon to begin it; and it is most sure that it will breed a new war and, as I believe, make all the towns and nobility solicit Spanish aids. The bringing in of the Inquisition did lose the King the Low Countries, and when the Estates* were almost possessed of all the provinces they had almost lost all with their too much violence in prosecuting the contrary religion. I am of opinion that all religions do grow under persecution. It is truly good doctrine and example that must prevail.† But whatsoever shall be thought best it is fit for me

* The States General of the Netherlands.

† A remarkable passage, shewing the Lord Deputy to be, in this matter, generations ahead of his time.

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to let you know that if this matter be not discreetly handled you must look for a new war, the which I am afraid too many would be glad of, but I beseech God deliver us from it.

"Yours, Sir, most assured to do you service,

MOUNTJOY."

Pp. 3. (*Hol.*) *Add. S.P. Ireland* 212, 118.

20 Jan.
Loughfoyle.

ANTHONY REYNOLDS to SECRETARY CECIL.

The list of this army is now reduced to 1,500, the present state whereof (having been lately supplied with the cassed companies). I send a state of it. I lately sent you a brief of my last year's labours, and hope they were pleasing to you. I cannot now send you the same checks as I did formerly, but all that industry can do will be done. My father has died since I have been here, and "a little poor living fallen unto me"; I therefore ask for a pass for two or three months that I may go to England and settle the same.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd.*, the seal shewing a running fox surrounded with the motto: *Arte et marte. Ibid*, 119. *Enclosing* :—

A. *State of the force at Loughfoyle as mustered on 14 January, 160 $\frac{3}{4}$.*

This has been given above, p. 555.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Endd. Ibid*, 119A.

22 Jan.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

For this see *Calendar of S.P. Carew*, 1601-3, p. 403, where a copy of the original has been calendared. A postscript here adds :—I send an inventory of the arms and apparel sent over by Sir George Thornton on his bringing over the late supplies and delivered by him to the several inquisitors thereof. I send it that the proportions there contained may be charged as appertaineth.

Pp. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd.* with Carew's seal, bearing shield and crest as before. *Ibid*, 120.

Same.

SAME to SECRETARY CECIL.

After I had delivered my packet to Captain Taaffe some few papers of Owen McEgan's, the Pope's Nuntio, were brought to me, but none that appertained to matters of state but the enclosed copies. These I thought meet to send to your honour, whereby you may perceive what a number of rebels joined in a letter to the King of Spain, whose names I will endeavour to know, and also that you may see how evil Florence McCartie was to the Crown of England when he, with the rest, subscribed a letter to the Pope. By Captain Taaffe's man I had information as to where Owen McEgan's books [were], and [they] were locked in a chest, trunk and portmanteau. The chest and trunk were broken open before the sub-sheriff (whom I employed in the

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business) came unto them. All the writings and the letters and portmanteau were taken away. The books are brought to me, but not yet in my possession. I am, however, sure to have them to-morrow. I hope to apprehend the party that has these papers and letters. If I can discover them many foul treasons will appear.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 121. Enclosing :—

A. Notes entitled : “The Spanish letter” and “The Latin letter.”

1. *The Latin letter.*

They tell the Pope of their success in freeing themselves from the English yoke, which has so long oppressed their land and religion, and that they were induced to fight “because otherwise their estates would have been worse than the Christians under the Turks.”

They address themselves to the Pope for his assistance, that their kingdom should fall no more into the hands of the English, but be reduced by his means to the faith of St. Patrick.

They desire to that purpose that some bishops might be sent there, and that those priests might be confirmed which the Bishops of Cork and Cluan [Cloyne] have instituted, and that the Pope will renew the Bull of Excommunication against the Queen as Pius V and Gregory XIII did.

They commend themselves and their country to his protection, on whom, next to God, they depend.

The particulars of their successes in the war they refer to their messengers to be verbally related.

2. *The Spanish letter.*

Dermod O'Driscoll presents this letter to the King of Spain for himself and for the sixteen gentlemen of Munster that subscribed to a letter to his Majesty and who yielded “themselves” to his General Sebure [Cubiaur] and the Veedor Lopez, with all their ports and castles to the King's disposition, desiring him to command his captains to maintain and keep them. They do not yield themselves to the accord which Don Juan del Aquila hath made with the Queen of England, but may defend them, as hitherto, against the Queen's forces and according as his captains have sworn unto them in his Majesty's behalf.

And though matters cannot be so quickly reduced as they would wish, yet they are confident that his Majesty will not forsake them in their great necessity, but will hold his word unto them; and the rather because by upholding them he shall deliver the Queen's forces from being wholly employed against himself.

That it will be requisite for the King to write favourable letters to the Catholic gentlemen to animate them in the service of God and his Majesty: for that otherwise the Queen will endeavour to gain and divert them to herself.

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That, in addition to those letters, the King must supply them with arms and ammunition and send them some proportion of money to entertain 4,000 men, with which they will be able to defend themselves against the Queen till the King's forces and fleet arrive. The King should also send forthwith a sufficient Veedor to distribute that money and to maintain them in his obedience.

They desire that this may be done with all expedition.

They recommend the services of Sebure [Gubiaur] and his company.

In all p. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$. Endd: "Contents of the rebels' letters to the Pope and King of Spain after Don Juan's departure." *S.P. Ireland* 212, 121A.

26 Jan.
Dublin.

THE LORD DEPUTY AND PRIVY COUNCILLORS in DUBLIN to the
ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

The Queen's last letter, with the new proclamation for matters of the Exchange, arrived here no sooner than the 14th of this month. We, of the Council here, sent it on to the Lord Deputy, who was at Arbraccan [Ardraccan], near the border of the Brenny. On the 19th I, the Treasurer, who brought him these despatches, returned with them. We have since taken time to consider this subject, which is of great importance. The Lord Deputy and Council from Trim sent us their advice touching some points, and we ourselves likewise conferred thoroughly thereupon; and as we all realise that her Majesty wishes to have such a settled order in the course of the Exchange "as her Highness' royal purpose might at full appear to her people to be to give them all due satisfaction in the proceedings or at least not to leave them any just cause of mormure [murmur] or discontentment." We, who, as her Majesty's ministers here, think that we should take such steps as are necessary to prevent the inconveniences which may arise from the execution of this proclamation, "through their natural aptness to take advantages to misinterpret her Majesty's princely meaning, wherein we have been bold (to hold a due and sincere correspondence with the intention of this proclamation) in some few points to draw the sense thereof to answer this purpose, not to alter or insinuate anything to the increase of her Majesty's charges, but to carry an indifferency and certainty to the contentment of all parties as near as we could" and to try to stop inconveniences, or at least diminish them so far as we could.

"Out of these considerations we have ventured to stray somewhat from the letter of the proclamation, yet with such caution" that the army and others who might, form "hard conceipts and grudge[s]" of our action, will not do so; for these grudges and complaints might have grown to "a greater moment in the State" than we should wish. The Queen's proclamation prescribes a particular manner of exchange to such as serve her Majesty in the wars and to all officers of government, of justice, and her Highness' revenues, and to other persons who are in the

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establishment—*i.e.* that he may exchange all his salary into English sterling, paying only 12*d.* in the 1*l.* This may seem to be a gracious provision made for the Army and the civil servants, in that it gives them an advantage not allowed to the merchants; “yet out of our experience and observation we saw reason to be fearful that without some qualification this course would have been found to be of very hard digestion both to the officers of the army and other servitors comprehended within the establishment. For as we assure ourselves that neither the one nor the other of these can save anything or very little of their yearly wages and pay allowed by her Majesty, but are driven still to send into England for provisions of all natures, both for housekeeping and otherwise, such is the exceeding and extreme dearth and scarcity of all things in this country, far beyond the example of all former times, so we foresaw that if they were not in some measure relieved touching the strictness of that clause it might have grown to a greater mormure and discontentment, specially in the army and other servitors, than were requisite in this bad estate of time; and so consequently there might have ensued some distemperatures in the government of far greater moment to her Majesty than any charge which we see doth grow to her Majesty thereby. And therefore we were bold, by way of addition, to temper that clause in the proclamation in this manner, vizt.”: that all military and civil officers who come to have their money exchanged into England shall bring to the Master of the Exchange a warrant from the Lord Deputy and Council setting forth the sums for which such officer is to be allowed his exchange in England, with a provision that the sums so to be exchanged shall not exceed their yearly pay from the Queen, and that no officer bring other men’s moneys to the Exchange as his own, and that all officers give their corporal oath to obey this restriction in order that the banks may not be overburdened. Without this help neither the military nor the civil officers can support themselves, prices having risen to thrice the height at which they have stood at any time in the memory of the Queen’s oldest servants here. We have put these qualifications into the proclamation in order to satisfy these officers and yet prevent the banks from being overburdened by multiplicity or abuse of bills, and submit them for your consideration.

We must again remind you of the lamentable state and general poverty of this country, both in the Irish parts and in the Pale, the towns and Dublin. Corn, victuals, cloth and iron have become so dear that the people cannot buy them, nor the better sort of the servitors without the help of their own means beside the entertainment which they receive of the Queen, which may lead to a famine and its attendant evils. The chief cause is the backwardness of merchants, who will not, as things stand, import goods from abroad, alleging “their slack payment of their bills of exchange whereby they are not able to hold traffic” with England or foreign countries. I, the Treasurer, have communed with some of the best of them and find that they are ready to raise up their trade again if they may be assured that their bills will be paid

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at the rate and limitations specified in the proclamation, "wherein (if it . . . please your lordships to allow of that course) I, the Exchange Master, will foresee that by the payment of their bills in this manner from henceforth the Bank shall not be charged by a third part with so much as it was."

We add this, that, since the traders of Chester-water, Wales and Lancashire are driven by the tenor of this proclamation to seek payment of their bills of exchange in London and will rather give over their Irish trade than go so far for exchange, your lordships, on behalf of us who look to these merchants for the necessities of life, will take some order for the getting them a means of exchange nearer home—*i.e.* at Chester. The sums which they will exchange will not be great, and without this, we shall be greatly prejudiced here.

Pp. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Meath, and Cary, Walsh, Pelham, St. Leger and Fenton. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 122.

28 Jan.
Trim.

THE LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

I recommend William Fitzharris. Sent by you with letters, he has continually followed the service here, but there has been no opportunity to favour him as you desired. He was dangerously wounded at Kinsale.

P. $\frac{1}{4}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.* 123.

SIR GEORGE CARY to SAME.

28 Jan.
Dublin.

I have attended the Lord Deputy and have received his orders to put up munitions, money and victuals at convenient places. His lordship has also sent for 1,000 men and victuals to be sent from Munster to Limerick and Ballyshannon. The enclosed packet from his lordship will inform you as to the state of the country and rebels, and of his lordship's intentions. Three ships with victuals have lately arrived, and very opportunely, on this coast, one at Dublin, one at Carlingford and the third at Carrickfergus. I hear a fourth has gone to Galway. Thomas Watson has told me how much I owe you, for which may God reward you; and I am deeply grateful for the Queen's favour; otherwise I should hold it most unfortunate to be unpopular on account of the matter of the Exchange. Some of the Commissaries give out that I have deceived the Queen, which severely touches my credit. I have now sent over all my accounts, both of the war and the Exchange. A perusal of these will shew whether the Queen is a gainer or a loser. Now I have settled the new moneys and broken the ice I should deem it a favour if I was relieved of this office, and Sir Robert Gardener appointed. He understands the business and has leisure.

I lately sent 10,000*l.* to Munster, so that province is provided till after Easter. So is Loughfoyle, but we have none at all here, and can hardly borrow more than when sterling was in circulation here. All the moneys that have been brought into the Exchange

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have been re-uttered in the service, and her Majesty has re-uttered these new moneys twice and paid but once.

I pray for you, and wish the clog and burden of accounting was off my shoulders, and that I could serve the Queen in England in the meanest service.

Pp. 2½. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 124. Enclosing :—

The Lord Deputy to Sir George Cary.

To-day the Marshal and Sir William Godolphin are going towards the Cavan with a great proportion of victuals, as much as they can get garrons to bear. I have, with much difficulty, got the country to furnish a supply of victuals for the Annaly for three weeks if this extreme weather do not let it. By this time Sir Oliver Lambert is a-foot and the forces of Sligo. "I hear that Captain Winsor, with O'Connor Roe Maguire is now come into McGawran's country, which is the next part of O'Rourke to the Brenny, so that I hope in God ere it be long we shall go near to bring O'Rourke on his knees." If that were done and our victuals in our garrisons I have a plot to draw the most part of our forces upon Tyrone, "and never to leave hunting him till I have driven him into the sea." I think to keep about the borders till I have set all things a-work and till the Commissioners do come; with them, when I have despatched, I hope to draw to the North, "though I live myself upon biscuit and kill all my horses.

"I perceive you at Dublin do not mean that we shall want work; for if this restraint of the Exchange and this violent proceeding in matters of religion do not set all Ireland out again I will believe that nothing will do it. I am as desirous to have religion reformed as any, but I think this course that is taken and at this time is the next way to make us unable to do it, and a ready course to put the Queen to the expense of a million of treasure."

I hope you are all as anxious to have the war over as I am, and therefore I have at your earnest desire signed a warrant for Sir Geoffrey Fenton for 100l. [for payment of spies], although as you remember he had a concordatum for 100l. from us very lately for such occasions. "I pray God his intelligence be worth it, for by God I would not give three farthings for any I received by his means since I came into Ireland. You at Dublin are so idle that I think you have stirred in this matter so hotly because you would have somewhat to do. If you did but walk up and down in the cold with us you would not be so warm in your religion.

"Well, my man here tells me that all things grow so unreasonable dear that he sees no possibility for me to hold out any longer and bringeth me such accounts of my charge as I am more afraid to look on them than on the rebels. I have no way to help myself but by the Exchange to make my provisions in England, and yet I am afraid that will not serve neither. I pray take order that I may have a bill of 500l. exchanged

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over, and that I may have it speedily paid, or else I must live this Lent upon poor John. I will write to my Lord Treasurer to help me in the exchange of most part o' my entertainment, or else I am undone.

"Farewell, noble Mr. Treasurer, and God send you happily to Cockington and me to Beerferris,* and much good may the shortness of this country do our successors."

Pp. 2. (Hol.) Dated, Trim, 25 Jan. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 124A.

30 Jan.
Barry Court.

DAVID [BARRY, VISCOUNT] BUTTEVANT to SECRETARY CECIL.

In the late rebellion my country was burnt and spoiled by the traitor, and now the soldiers daily take from my poor people what was left them and cess on my poor tenants, so that some are driven to escape to other parts of the country or to France or other places abroad. My land is wasted, and I can scarce live, yet "to avoid the gross and ill-bringing-up of this country" I have sent my second son thither to be educated with my elder son. These are my only sons. For their maintenance I have delivered money to the paymaster of this province, who has remitted it to the Treasurer in Dublin. Pray further the payment of it [by exchange to England]. *Details.* As this part of this province is now quiet pray give me leave to come over.

P.S.—My foot company was cast last year by the Lord Deputy. P. ½. Signed. Add. Endd. *Ibid*, 125.

31 Jan.

ESTIMATE of the receipts, issues, and remains of the Victuals, sent into MUNSTER by CAPTAIN JOHN WOOD.

Contains details as to the amount on the one hand of Wood's contract, value of [victuals] received from other victuallers before his time [and credited to him?], and, on the other, of the value of the victuals which he has sent over (some of which have been lost by sea or decay). The items of the first account come to 72,925*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*, and the second to 71,717*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* The accountant says that the victuals sent or to be sent by Mr. Wood since the last of September must balance this account.

P. 1. Endd. as in title. *Ibid*, 126.

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RELATION how far [I.] the TREASURER, have varied from the first PROCLAMATION for new MONEYS.

The first proclamation of the new moneys was published on 10 June, 1601. This gave liberty to all persons to exchange. Afterwards, when I saw that the merchants and others sought only to take the benefit of the exchange and not to bring in any sterling money, I refused then to take in any money into the Exchange unless they in the like case [?] brought in some sterling money, allowing them 2*s.* in the 1*l.* for the Exchange according to the proclamation. Thereafter, to give a stop and bridle to the Exchange, that the same should not be too much oppressed, and that her Majesty's benefit might be the more

* Cockington and Beer-ferris, both in Devonshire.

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advanced, I refused to exchange any money with the merchant except he brought in some quantity of sterling money with his new moneys without any such allowance of 2s. in the 1*l*. as was formerly made. The proportion of sterling to new money varied according as I was able to persuade the merchants to bring in more or less. In their bills of exchange I did not expressly state that so much of the money which they had paid in was paid in in sterling, as the proclamation did not warrant me to do so; but I have duly sent into England all the sterling which I have so received to support the banks there, and my books will prove in detail what I have received from any person.*

To advance the Queen's profit I further refused to accept into the Exchange copper pence and halfpence; and the better to ease her Majesty in payment I first gave bills due in seven days, but afterwards made them payable only in two, three or four months after the date at which they were drawn.

For her Majesty's profit I have varied thus far from her proclamation without her warrant.

The second proclamation was issued on ——.† This provided that the merchants and others (servitors excepted) should bring in a fifth part of sterling with their new moneys and receive 2s. profit for every 1*l*. of sterling and without any abatement in England for the same. Finding this to be too burdensome to her Majesty I refused to hold that course any longer, but caused them to pass the fifth part in sterling with their new moneys without any allowance, and so saved her Majesty 2s. in every 1*l*. of sterling so exchanged and gained her Highness 12*d*. in the payment of every 1*l*. of sterling in England.

Since Michaelmas last very few merchants have had any bills of exchange; for now the protectees being come in who have received caution from the Lord Deputy to receive her Majesty's new coin, I have advised the merchants to traffic with them and buy their commodities; and so to disburse the money into many men's hands; so as now it grows somewhat scarce. Pray send us some more. I dare presume to your lordships that her Majesty in the Exchange [has profited] a full third part or more.

Pp. 2½. *Endd.* as in title. *S.P. Ireland* 212, 127.

About
Jan.

Memorandum on the STATE of the EXCHANGE in IRELAND, with the differences of the PROCLAMATIONS.

States the grounds for the setting up of a debased standard in Ireland as stated in previous documents. *Proceeds*:—The first proclamation rendered it punishable by imprisonment and fine to take the sterling coin in payment and authorised magistrates to seize any sterling moneys offered in payment to the Queen's use, giving half the sum to the informer.

In the first and second proclamations the places appointed to have Exchanges were Bristol, Chester, London, Dublin, Cork,

* It seems as if Sir George Cary were here defending himself against a charge of peculation. That these were made is shewn by his last letter at 28 January (*above*, pp. 561-2).

† A break in the MS.

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Galway and Carrickfergus. Owing to certain abuses all the general Exchanges were suppressed by the third proclamation except those of London and Dublin, but a bank was also established at Cork payable at London; and for the use of passengers and soldiers that come over from Ireland into England there is an Exchange allowed at Bristol and Chester, so as no soldier's or passenger's bill do amount to above 4*l*. The Exchange was thrown open to all persons, subjects of the Queen or those in amity with her, though not to everyone upon the same conditions.

States in detail the effect of the first and second proclamations, as set out above, and of the third proclamation. [For the last of these *see* below at 11 Feb.]

Two copies. Pp. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ and pp. 3. *Both endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 212, 128, 129.

6 Feb.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SECRETARY CECIL.

Recommends Captain George Kingsmill. He was wounded at Dunboy and wants leave to go to England to be cured if possible.

P. $\frac{1}{4}$. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid*, 130.

9 Feb.
Youghal.

SAME to SAME.

Recommends Lieutenant William Geffrey, lieutenant to the foot company under Captain Stafford. He was shot through the body at Glencarruff [Glengarriff] and received other wounds in service in Munster. Prays that his suit may be favoured so as to save him long attendance at Court.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid*, 131.

11 Feb.
Dublin.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON to SAME.

I have suddenly fallen ill of the "disease of this country, which for three or four days hath followed me in an extraordinary manner." I am not able to write, but send you some of the proclamations touching matters of the Exchange "which the State here have now digested and are to be published the next market day in this city."

P. $\frac{1}{4}$. *Signed.* *Add.* *Endd.* *Ibid*, 132. *Enclosing* :—

A. *Copy of the proclamation touching the Exchange, of 24 January, 1603.*

For this *see* *Calendar of S.P. Carew, 1601–3*, pp. 409–414, and Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1907), Vol. III, p. 260 *sq.*.*]

Printed. One long sheet torn in two. *Underwritten*, as the copy in the *Carew Calendar*. *Endd.* in hand of a contemporary clerk. *Ibid*, 132A.

22 Feb.
Dublin.

The LORD DEPUTY to SAME.

The supplies sent over under the bearer, Captain Richard Adderton, arrived in better sort than any which have hitherto

* Moryson misdates the proclamation at 24 Dec., 1602.

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been employed. I should have been glad to give him some further employment, but my orders to reduce the forces prevent me from doing so. I recommend him strongly now that he is going back.

P. ½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 133.*

23 Feb.
Derry.

SIR HENRY DOCWRA to the PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

I send this by a private ship hired to go to Chester. Since Captain Brookes went over there has been no change here except that the rebellious people of Sleught Arte by a journey which I made into their country have been fully pacified and appeased. They have delivered in their best people as pledges and the rest have taken the most solemn oaths to remain in obedience. As Cormack McBaron was so nearly allied to the arch-traitor I urged him to give a like increase of pledges, and he gave them. Besides this there were also some forty kerne that had betaken themselves to a castle of Henry Ovington's standing in Iland McHugh. The chief commander was an old fugitive from me, and an offender so notorious that he could not hope for pardon; and his situation enabled him to do much harm to people that carelessly travelled between the Newtown and Omev, without keeping together in company. I attacked it by making a fort beside it which blocked it up, and the garrison surrendered, handing over their arms and munition, and keeping their lives and goods. There were 20 small barrels of powder and much match in the castle; the match excellent and much needed. The result is that except for Tyrone himself and those who adhere to him in the Glynns and a party of fifty or sixty kerne who live in woods and subsist only by preying on subject and rebel, there is no one in open action in the whole area of my charge. Our garrisons at Dungevin and Urickloes have made several raids upon Tyrone, and have carried off corn (which he had piled up in different corners of the wood) and castle. He is now removed towards the bottom of the Glynne about Toome and has nothing to live on but "the creaghts which he hath about him and underhand relief of the country, which by no means he can be prevented of; yet shifting his own lodging both day and night that no man knows in certainty at any time where to find him; so as to do further service upon him (except he break of himself as there is some likelihood he should do ere long) before the time of year be somewhat advanced and sufficient numbers of men drawn together to prosecute him at least three or four ways together at once it is utterly impossible."

The miseries of this place increase daily. I and others suffer greatly from want. This place does not afford any of the necessities of life, being different from other places in that respect. Everything has to be brought from England and, except provision for the private soldiers, we have had nothing imported from England for six months.

P. 1¼. *Signed, with seal. Add. Endd. Ibid, 134.*

1603.
24 Feb.
Dublin.

THE LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

On receiving (on the 18th) yours of the 13th containing directions about the new coin we held a Council. The question is of great importance, and we considered it with the utmost care.

The state of this country is still "unstead and wavering," and we think the first thing to attain is the preventing of new "alterations," to which the people are naturally inclined. Those who have borne the sufferings and loss involved by the war have done so in the belief that, after it was over, their condition would be improved. If therefore any new proposition is put forward which seems to them likely to interfere with the expected improvement "it will be an occasion to them to nourish other impressions and happily run into some courses that may endanger the whole estate." From our long experience we are convinced that this is no mere conjecture but a certainty. We have therefore done our utmost to keep these people firm and upright and give them no cause for discontent. We have also done our utmost to diminish and restrain expenditure here and, as we say, to keep the people contented. If this last direction for the coin is made known to them we see reason to fear that it would cause them to be utterly discontented, for the reasons which we have set down by way of apostyles to the particular articles of the project.* We have asked the President of Munster, who thoroughly understands how the people may be discontented by this new order, and who has been present at our consultation, to give you further explanations, particularly with regard to the soldiers. Their condition was poor and miserable before, and will be much worse [under the proposed scheme], and they will be unable to provide themselves with necessities. The greatest and best part of them have to supplement the apparel and food which are sent over to them, "and . . . many parts of this kingdom are so obstinate to receive this coin and even the better parts that are best furnished of beeves, corn and other victuals will hold from the soldier all their commodities; besides that, in the Pale itself, all things are grown to such an extremity of dearth and want as nothing is to be had for this money, specially when they see no provision is made to relieve them by this project by way of exchange." It is fearful to think that soldiers who have borne the toil and danger of the war may, by this alteration, be tempted to mutiny or to leave the service altogether, and their officers, gentlemen of worth, to quit their places. You may easily see how such a result will hazard the ruin of the army.

All other servitors and ministers about the State are in the same position—unable to buy anything with the coin in which they are paid. The people do not hesitate to say that, after so many directions and orders published by command from England, they thought that some course would at length be taken to ease and favour them, and some settled plan touching the coin would

* See enclosure.

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be concluded; and they will be gravely discontented if nothing is done for them. We could say much more on these dangers, but we think it better to consider how they may be met and to leave the means thereof to your wisdom. In the meantime we have published the last proclamation, which was ready to be printed on the day when your last despatch arrived, some copies of it having been sent before into some parts of Ireland. We think that by that proclamation "the inconveniences and dangers that may grow to the Government by the use of the other will be greatly broken and the evil consequences that may ensue thereof not a little staid." But all our efforts and all your skill will be useless unless it may please her Majesty to give order that the exchange may be more really borne up and speedier payment made of the bills that are to pass from hence to the bank there, for until that or some other course to be sought out whereby some ease may be given to her Majesty's excessive charges for a time, it will be but to keep open the sore still and increase the ill accidents that from time to time will break out thereof.

Sir George Carew is here, having been drawn hither by us with a meaning to send him over to inform you on the state of Munster and on the general insecurity of all Ireland. He is also charged by us to speak plainly on the question of the coinage "and humbly to advise with your lordships how this still raging canker of rebellion may be thoroughly cured or at least stayed from farther festering till it may please God to give a fit time to cut it off altogether." Sir George will have suggestions to offer on these matters, and he has had long experience in Ireland at large and in Munster, and we are glad that we have so efficient an instrument to send you, and hope to have prompt directions from you as to what to do. We have also instructed him to consult with you as to some means by which a traffic of corn may be established for the relief of the officials and the corporate towns here, and to that end some favourable regard to be had in the exchange of such as shall be thought meet to be licensed to that trade; for we are bold to assure your lordships that without such help the public officers will be actually distressed through want of grain. We have often told you of the evils which would ensue "from the multitude of idle swordmen if they should be suffered still to continue here and not converted to foreign employment," and we have required Sir George to reopen the matter. The number of those "unprofitable kerne" increases daily owing to the coming in of the Irish who were in rebellion, and we are sure that many of them would be willing to serve abroad, especially if they were placed under some well-chosen commander such as they do affect. This would rid the country of many hands which if there should be occasion will readily turn to rebellion. The people in this country of all sorts still expect that the Spaniards will invade again, and we are therefore asking Sir George to obtain authority for me, the Deputy, to raise companies when necessary and for me, the Treasurer, to pay them.

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“In the last part of your lordships’ last letter, speaking to us of the Council touching the Ecclesiastical Commission and our proceedings with some few aldermen of the city of Dublin, it pleased your lordships to put us in mind of a mild course to be held with them by way of connivancy until it might please God to give a more commodious time for the countenancing of the commission. It is true that we moved the Lord Deputy to revive that Commission, after so long time of discontinuance, not thereby to strive with her Majesty’s subjects in matters of their conscience, but to see what we could do in the re-edifying and reformation of their own churches and to win them to their outward obedience to come to the church as all good subjects ought to do by the laws; and to that end, considering that to deal first with some of the heads and leading men of this city would be a mean to draw on the multitude, we convened at several times some five or six aldermen to whom we proposed only the matter of coming to church on the Sabbath day to hear the sermons and to have conference, without touching any question of their conscience, which was the mildest course we could hold with them; but they insisting stiffly upon their wonted obstinacy and making shews that they would rather suffer any extremities than come to the church or to admit conference, we committed them to an easy imprisonment, hoping that by time they would become more conformable in the point of their outward obedience that way; and yet upon suit made for them we consented to a course to set them at liberty upon bonds two or three days before the coming of your lordships’ last letter, wherein some of them have yielded and the rest stand wilful and obstinate. And, touching the example which your lordships wish were used by some of the chief bishops in God’s church, to seek to win the people rather by the preaching and teaching of good doctrine than by other courses, we do humbly assure your lordships that in this city of Dublin there is as great plenty of preaching the word in the several parishes of the city on the Sabbath days (besides a public lecture once every week in each of the two cathedral churches) as in any city of England of like quality.” There is no want of that holy exercise here, and we hope the ministry will not be in any default. In the meantime we shall observe the directions which your lordships have prescribed for this Commission, and shall do so rather as a grace from ourselves than by your order, so that they may not “take occasion to insult the more.”

We are exceedingly pressed by several servitors and officers to pass them bills of exchange to have their money at the bank at London, “whose demands we cannot deny to be just and their necessities as great; and yet to avoid the overburdening of the bank we have taken a course to moderate their payments as much as we could for easing the bank; and likewise we have foreseen as much as we can to avoid all frauds in the exchange and that they shall not colour other men’s moneys.” The multiplicity of bills which may grow hereafter are, to a great extent, due either to captains, officers and servitors that are

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discharged, or to noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland "to answer the exhibition* of their children and kinsfolks remaining in England at study, and other services."

Pp. 6. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop of Dublin (and Lord Chancellor), and by Wingfield, Harington, St. Leger, Stafford, Cary, Pelham and Fenton. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 135. *Enclosing* :—

An answer to the particular articles of their lordships' project touching the new coin.

The alteration of the standard of moneys from sterling to the present mixed moneys hath from the beginning been very grievous and distasteful to the subjects of this kingdom. Their only contentment was that they hoped and expected an exchange, and that the same should be duly answered according to the several proclamations. If any project is devised the effect of which would be to take away the hope of such exchange, this money continuing, we cannot but think that it will cause grave discontent.

Proceeds to give details of the project out of England. These are already calendared in Calendar of S.P. Carew, 1601-3, at pp. 418-419. Gives also the Lord Deputy and Council's comments on these proposals, which are already calendared Ibid, pp. 426-427.

Pp. 1½. Dated 24 Feb., 1602[-3]. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop of Dublin (and Lord Chancellor) and by Cary, Pelham, Wingfield, Fenton, Harington, Stafford and St. Leger. *Endd. Ibid, 135A.*

28 Feb.
Dublin.

THE LORD DEPUTY TO SECRETARY CECIL.

Prices have risen so here that four times the entertainment which the Queen allows me will not suffice to answer my expenses unless your lordships please to allow me exchange for a great part of my entertainment, so that I may buy in England some of the things I want, and thus ease myself of this unbearable charge. I have long forborne to trouble you, hoping that others would bear their losses when they saw me endure the greatest loss of all ; "and besides my most earnest desire to advance the public hath made me forget, or at least neglect, my private so long as I confess I am fallen behindhand 4,000*l.* or 5,000*l.*" The entertainment allowed me by the Queen would be sufficient if things were here now as they were in former times ; but I live here in extreme dearth, keep the field more than any of my predecessors, and have no more entertainment when I am abroad than when I am at home, as many Deputies have usually had, though my charge is much increased above theirs. I now beg you to afford me exchange for the most part of my entertainment. If I have not English money I shall not be able to keep house without running more and more into debt, to the ruin of my estate, "which

* Note the use of the word "exhibition."

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I know her Majesty would be displeased at." I lose much on what I buy here (and I cannot get everything from England), and beg for this favour on that account also; and further because I am soon to go northward, where I must trust altogether to provisions out of England, and shall not otherwise be able to continue long in the field.

P. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 136.

28 Feb.
Dublin.

THE LORD DEPUTY to SECRETARY CECIL.

Recommends his kinsman Sir Francis Barkley, who is going to England with the President of Munster. He has served long and well in Ireland and in the war in Munster. His only suit is regarding a ward in Limerick, which will certainly appear reasonable.

P. ½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 137.

Feb.
Cork.

SIR GEORGE CAREW to SAME.

Recommends Captain William Saxey, who (the lot falling, for one, on him) was discharged by the Lord Deputy when the list in Munster was reduced. He has served the Queen long "in a very respective and serviceable manner."

P. ½. *Signed. Add. Endd. Ibid.*, 138.

Feb.
[Loughfoyle.]

REPORT on the state of the VICTUALS at LOUGHFOYLE.

A certificate from the Commissary of the Victuals at Loughfoyle shews that, when he took over that office from Skinner on 10 November last, there were victuals to serve 1,500 men till the middle of March.

If the men are reduced (as is supposed) these will last longer.

A late contract, dated 24 January last, provides for a proportion of victuals to be sent thither to feed 1,000 men for three months.

The Victuallers have had news from Weymouth of two ships laden with victuals which were met near Loughfoyle about three weeks since. These shiploads will supply the garrison until the other proportion contracted for arrives there.

This rapid issuing of victuals is due to the facts that the men have full allowance, that the captains take full victuals for themselves and their train of horse and foot, and that the country supplies very little except that in the summer some beeves are obtained from O'Dogherty. Moreover, when Sir Henry Docwra employs Irish in pay there he has, owing to the bareness of the country, to supply them with victuals out of the store.

P. ½. *Endd. Ibid.*, 139.

MARCH, 1603.

1 March.
Dublin.

THE EARL OF THOMOND to SECRETARY CECIL.

I have come to Dublin with the President of Munster, and should like to have gone over, not to be a suitor, but to assure

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you of my loyalty. The bearer will tell how my loyal service has brought my life into danger. *Details.*

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 140.*

1 March. DONNOGH O'CONOR SLIGO to SECRETARY CECIL.
Sligo.

I could not write to your lordship for long being in restraint and a prisoner. In the summer three years ago I was sent by Sir Conyers Clifford into the co. Sligo, where I no sooner lodged myself in a castle than O'Donnell came and besieged me for eight weeks. I endured great misery and, after Sir C. Clifford's defeat, I had to surrender to O'Donnell, on no condition but having my life. I was kept long and straitly imprisoned. At last I was compelled to take means for my liberty, and having got it on good pledges I settled here and gathered together many of my tenants. I could have done good service for the Queen had there been any forces here to succour me; yet upon some letters found on me I was again taken by O'Donnell and all my country spoiled to the value of 30,000*l.*, "and since that I was so cruelly kept in prison that were it not for my soul's safety I could wilfully have ended my days, and at this hour my legs not thoroughly healed, being almost rotted with the fretting of the irons." I endured all this for the Queen's service. *Loyal professions.*

When I at last got liberty I was urged, for the saving of my life and getting out of my pledges, to join with Rory O'Donnell and helped him to stop Sir Oliver Lambert from going over the Curlews. For this I had both my liberty and my pledges out. This was the last and first offence I ever committed; and if I had had any malicious intent in it, great harm would, as many persons know, have come to the army. I presently [after] sent to the Lord Deputy and persuaded Rory O'Donnell to come in. When his lordship came to Athlone I went there and his lordship was very honourable to me, and I returned here again. I live meanly here, this country being waste.

This bearer, Captain Baxter, knows what my sufferings have been. I have written them briefly in a letter to the Queen, which is enclosed. *Protests* his loyalty and prays for favour.

P.S.—The Lord Deputy has given me the keeping of Ballymote in regard all my castles are broken down. It is also greatly defaced and the house burnt down by O'Donnell's people. I pray that the house, which was kept up always at a charge to me, may be bestowed on me by the Queen, that I may settle myself there, and settle the country. I will, if granted it, repair the castle and house and keep it for her Majesty's use without any charge to her.

In all p. 1. The letter and postscript both signed by O'Conor Sligo. *Endd. Ibid, 141.*

2 March. EXAMINATION taken before WILLIAM, BISHOP OF CORK, CLOYNE
Cork. AND ROSS and SIR CHARLES WILMOT, Commander-in-Chief of the Queen's forces now in Munster.

On February 5 last this examinee, Archibald Blighe, master of the *Isabel* of Dondeighe [Dundee], set sail from Lisbon, and arrived at Kinsale on February 26. Sworn, he says:—

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There is great preparation in Portugal for the setting forth of an army; and, about the month of April next, the King of Spain intends to set out in person towards Lisbon. Deponent knows well John Lambert (Englishman) and John Cambell (Scot), chief pilots of the King's fleet. He asked them where the fleet would go and if it were to Ireland. They did not answer directly, but (deponent says) that the King declared that he would not lose what already he had begun to spend there. The King daily takes into pension all Irishmen of note and quality. Tyrone's son is at Salamanca, "and much esteemed and received of amongst the Spaniards."

On 4 February last Seriago was brought to his answer why he did not keep company with Don Diego de Brochero when he came to Kinsale. Brochero, who commanded the fleet which came to Kinsale, has been removed and to be succeeded by Don Alonzo de Vaso. Don Juan D'Aquila has endured all that could be said against him by the Irish, and hath well acquitted him[self] of the same, to the good liking of the King. O'Donnell is certainly dead, and Father Archer is at the Court Ballirondeley [Valladolid?]. This deponent heard from a Scot who came from the Court to Lisbon and saw him there.

P. 3. *Copy*, with signatures (*copies*) of the Bishop of Cork &c. and Sir Charles Wilmot. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 212, 142.

[2 March.] ANSWER of GEORGE BEVERLY to the information against him exhibited to the PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND by JOHN JOLLES and WILLIAM COCKAYNE, contractors for victualling the army in Ireland.

Beverly has been asked by the Lord Chancellor and Privy Councillors in Dublin to give an answer, which is as follows:—

Arriving here in September last, he found no desire on the part of the ministers and dealers in the victualling causes to acquaint him with the state of the stores; but, taking occasion to view the storehouses for grain, namely wheat, in the magazine at Dublin, and enquiring as he passed through those "loofts" and garners whose wheat it was, he was told that it was partly the Queen's and sent from the undertakers. Other portions, he was told, were Mr. Newcomen's wheat. Observing that both these supplies were daily baked and issued, he felt that those matters were not rightly carried. He found at the same time that the biscuit baked in the bakehouses in the magazine at Dublin was very coarse [coarse], and reprehended Joseph Crewe, the master baker. "Some [time] after this a libel was cast out in the public assembly, whereon the Mayor of Dublin took his oath, which being viewed by sundry persons it was at length delivered to Sir George Cary . . . wherein the libeller, writing in the name of the soldiers, was desirous to have it publicly known that the best of the victuals was sold out of the store by the undertakers' agents; and then adding hereunto the grudgings of divers of the freemen of this city by delivering out speeches that the undertakers' agents here were merchants, and would in time take from them the chief trades of buying and selling."

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Beverly, thinking it was his duty to do so, wrote to the Lord Treasurer of England and mentioned these doubts and rumours spread about the victualling officers. He thought that the Lord Treasurer would be pleased to speak thereof to the undertakers, so that their ministers and clerks here would be ordered to reform themselves if the charges against them were true. Nevertheless a short time after Beverly could see that the wheat in the garners which had been formerly named as Mr. Newcomen's was part of the grain provided by him in the country for the soldiers by warrant from the Lord Deputy and Council; and that the coarse biscuit baked by Crewe was made of the best of some decayed meal, being a parcel of the store sent from the undertakers decayed by means of the bran and long lying. Of this meal some six barrels remains yet in store here so rotten that it is only fit to be thrown away.

The brewings of beer at Tomascourt [Thomas Court] appears to be done only by Joseph Crewe, "a man skilful and apt for that purpose," who is sometimes employed to relieve the soldiers with beer. These rumours of the victualling causes were noted and spoken of by divers men here in a time very unfit to nourish any rumours or discontentments. *Other details.*

Mr. Jolles and Mr. Cockayne have for their parts disclaimed from the sales of any merchandises of this realm, whereby the fear and jealousy which the tradesmen here had that they should be prevented or forestalled in their trades is removed and prevented.

P. 1. (*Hol.*) *Endd.* generally and with date. *S.P. Ireland*, 212, 143.

3 March.
Cork.

DEPOSITION by ANDREW CREAGHE, ROBERT CROMWELL and PIERS WHITE, merchants of Limerick, taken before SIR CHARLES WILMOT.

Each of the above, sworn, says :—There is no open preparation now in Spain for Ireland, but there is lately come from Andezelo out of the Bay of Cales [Cadiz] into Lisbon a fleet of about 25 ships, which have on board them 1,000 butts of wine and bread &c. for supply of the army. The King of Spain is certainly expected to be at Lisbon about April next. They have heard for certain that three ships are bound from the Groyne [Coruña] presently to Ireland, but they know not for certain whether their destination is Ulster, Munster or Connaught. They are laden with arms, munitions and habiliments of war. Many Irish are entertained into the King's pension in Spain.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Copy*, with signature (*copy*) of Sir Charles Wilmot. *Endd.* *Ibid.*, 144.

4 March.
St. Mary
Abbey, near
Dublin.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Touching the decrying of the coinage. *A draft* for this letter will be found calendared in *Calendar of S.P. Carew*, 1601–3, at pp. 434–6. The draft is longer and more elaborate than this

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letter, but contains all the information which this letter contains. It is accordingly not calendered here.

Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed by Mountjoy, Carew and Cary. *Add. Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 212, 145.

12 March
Waterford.

SIR NICHOLAS WALSH, ROBERT WALSH, Mayor of Waterford,
SIR THOMAS COLCLOUGH* and SIR RICHARD AILWARDE*
to the LORD DEPUTY.

When lately in Kilkenny on business I, the Justice Walsh, received a letter from Sir Thomas Colclough, wishing me to give credit to the bearer thereof, John Allene, in a matter of great moment. Allen told me that Richard Dole, a soldier at Duncannon, had reported to Colclough a great treason committed in the fort of Duncannon of coining money, as well in the likeness of Spanish coin as of that current here. In answer I directed Sir Thomas to meet me at Waterford on Wednesday, and gave charge to Dole by the lieutenant of the fort (for Sir John Brockett was gone to England) to be at Waterford and to bring with them at that time one Richard Meillin, a prisoner there, who was the first informer of that matter, and who had written private letters thereon to me, and Mr. John Itchingham, with a charge to examine thereof with all earnestness.

On Ash Wednesday Dole came, bringing with him the lieutenant and the prisoner Meillin. The day was stormy and Sir Thomas Colclough was not able to come till towards nightfall; so in "the delivery of the matter" (because I, the Justice, was loath in so high a cause to deal alone) I desired the attendance of Sir Thomas Colclough and Sir Richard Ailward. When Colclough, Itchingham and Allen arrived, which was late at night, they were sent by us to the fort to search for tools and other instruments for coining in the fort. They brought hither divers,† the substance whereof were found in Sir John Brockett's desk. From these and the other evidence it is apparent that some coins were coined; and in one of the crucibles there are two coined pieces in the bigness of our threepence, fastened to the little pan. These we commanded not to be dissevered.

Thomas Tricklye, the chief contriver of this wicked purpose, is gone to England with Sir John Brockett, with intent, as Millen‡ saith, to bring over stamps and other things necessary for that work. His name was here Thomas Tricklye, but, as we hear, his true name is Castall. There is a town over against Darkmouth [Dartmouth] called Kingsworth [Kingswear], and within three miles thereof another town called Bricksonne [Brixham], the parson whereof is his uncle, and with whom Tricklye is most likely to remain if he be parted from Sir John Brockett. Young Lieut. Brockett is taken to the jail of Waterford, together with the gunner and with Sir John's younger son. The last two we shall deliver if

* Colcloughe and Ailwarde write their names with terminal e's, but the writer omits these.

† See Enclosure A.

‡ This name is spelt in several different ways;

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we can have sureties for their forthcoming, for we find no evidence of their complicity, but we thought it well to hold them for a time lest they might give warning to others who are in fault.

The informer Meillin is also in prison here, divided from the others and with more liberty, lest he should be discomforted in his information. We send some of the counterfeit money.

We send you the examinations taken by us with Sir Thomas Colclough, whom we entreated to take a care of the fort, which we did the rather because Richard Cruse [?] the clerk of the ordnance told me, the Justice Walsh, that he must employ some workmen there by direction of Sir George Bouchier to mount some ordnance. We ask your further pleasure therein.

Pp. 2. Signed by Sir Nicholas Walshe, Robert Walsh, Mayor of Waterford, Sir Thomas Colclough and Sir Richard Ailwarde. Add. to the Lord Lieutenant, or in his absence, to the Privy Council of Ireland. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 146. Enclosing :—

A. A note of such tools and other instruments as were found in the fort of Duncannon in Sir John Brockett's desk on 9 March, 1602.

One tinker's mould.

Three pieces of brass of a piece of ordnance detained from Sir George Bouchier, Kt., whereof one piece was wrought and beaten out.

Four crucibles, whereof one great and another with new pence not fully wrought sticking to the bottom.

Two boxes of quicksilver.

A pair of tinker's pincers.

A small instrument to carve.

A file and goldsmith's hammer.

A paper containing bone ashes with two small pewter pieces melted.

A goldsmith's brush and a hare's foot.

A gilding pin.

A scratch [?] brush.

Six stone of rock allome [alum].

A paper containing sandyver and saltpetre.

A small bag containing refined clay.

A touchstone, a silver spoon and a sledge [hammer].

There is also left in the fort a brass pot full of charcoal with some charcoal in the chimney, and an old copper kettle.

P. 3. Signed by [Sir] Nich[olas] Walsh, Ro[bert] Walsh, Mayor of Waterford, Thomas Colcloughe, and Richard Ailwarde. Endd. Ibid, 146A.

B. Depositions taken on 9 March, 1602-3, by Sir Richard and Robert Walsh, Colcloughe and Ailwarde [as at end of foregoing].

Henry Milne of Waterford, goldsmith, 23, sworn, says :—

On or about 11 January last was at Ballihack, accompanied by one Jasper Ronan, goldsmith, Richard Dole, a soldier of the fort of Duncannon, and Thomas, son of Sir John Brockett, apprehended them for felony by Sir John's direction, and

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brought them to the fort. When presented before Sir John he charged them with no offence, but willed Dole to treat them well. The following day they were discharged of the crime for which they were arrested. [Sir John] wished deponent to stay for a time during his pleasure and to send away Ronan. When Ronan was gone away Captain Snagg came to deponent and said to him: 'You had better go to England than remain here for the bettering of your trade. I will cause Sir John to carry you along with him.' On this Sir John came in and asked deponent whether he could cast a brass for a mill. Deponent replied that he could do so if he could have a good bellows. Sir John undertook to provide a proper bellows. The following day Sir John and Snagg went abroad to try to get a bellows, and left deponent at the fort to make a mowle [mould] of clay to cast the brass for the mill. Returning that night they called deponent aside and told him privately that they could not speed for that time; and thereupon got one of the soldiers to mend an old pair of bellows which were in the fort. Sir John then told deponent that he had a friend in London that could teach him "to mix metals and to make them in shew as perfect as current silver, and that it was good for this deponent to learn that skill." Sir John purposed to carry deponent to London with him to learn the art, and asked how he might have three or four small crosses cast of a broken cannon to bestow on certain women for his farewell, being upon his journey to England. Deponent said he could make them if he had any mowles [moulds] for the purpose. Sir John said he would provide them, and forthwith rid forth and brought him a mould of iron with sand, a pair of tongs and a small pot, saying, "Is not that fit for your turn?" Presently after going to the town near the fort Sir John brought with him a patron [?]* of lead and said: "Let us see whether we can cast this first," and could not bring it to any perfection, for that the bellows were bad, leaving the same moulded [and] uncast.

The next day Sir John sent deponent to Waterford with 4s. to buy a bellows. On the way there deponent met Mr. Rena, her Majesty's escheator, and acquainted him with all the proceedings aforesaid. Deponent remained at Waterford, although Sir John sent divers messages for him, and came himself and tried to persuade deponent to return. Deponent, however, got out of it by saying that he had other business to do.

Peter Hooper of Duncannon, gunner, sworn, says:—

Was present when two pieces of brass were broken in a cliff of a rock out of a piece of ordnance by John Smith with a sledge by the appointment of Sir John Brockett, who said he would make trial whether the same would abide the melting, and that he would use it for the brass of a mill. He suspected

* My reading is, I think, correct. 'Patron' is an old word for "a case for holding pistol cartridges." See Murray, *New English Dictionary*, s.v. 'Patron' 10.

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Thomas Triggles of coining money because he saw his expenses very much increased. Asked whether he threatened Richard Mylling for procuring his remove to Waterford, he said he used some words, for that he doubted Sir John would be defeated of his money when Mylling was charged. Asked why he kept Mylling straiter—and forbade him to speak with any—since Sir John's departure than before, [he said] as before that it was for Sir John's money. Asked whether he knew of any coining being done in the fort he said he did not except that he saw certain tools when the goldsmiths came thither. Suspecting Triggles, deponent moved Sir John thereon a little before his departure, who said, "He is no such man : I believe it not. He cannot do it."

In all pp. 2. Both depositions signed by the Walshes, Colclowhe [Colclough] and Ailwarde, as at end of foregoing. *Endd.* S.P. Ireland 212, 146A and B.

c. Deposition of Richard Melling* of Duncannon, yeoman, taken before the same as foregoing on 10 March, 1603.

Sworn, he says :—He was allowed by John Brockett, son of Sir John Brockett, to go into France for some discontentment betwixt him and his father. He got into conversation with one Thomas Triggles, alias Castall, a soldier of the fort of Duncannon, about this journey. Triggles told deponent that he could do many things which were necessary for travellers. He could coin gold, silver or any other coin. Deponent acquainted Sir John with this before he went to bed, and brought him two or three Spanish pieces of eight, rials, to show him what Triggles could do, to the end Sir John, as her Majesty's officer, should bring the same in question. Sir John told deponent to hold his tongue, and that "by the law of God he was more bound to conceal his secrets than his parents." Sir John afterwards examined Triggles, and even after that Triggles was in good liking and favour with him, though he had not been so before.

Sir John afterwards took Triggles into the castle of the fort and kept him there two days casting of Spanish coin. Deponent remained with him a whole afternoon and took away with him three or four pieces of eight, rials, one of which was uttered at Waterford by John Rowe, servant to Sir John Brockett, who was apprehended and taken with the uttering of it. Sir John thereupon took deponent with him, lest he should divulge the secret, and brought him back by water to Duncannon. On the way he said that it would be 200*l.* out of their ways, for that now the fort would be suspected. On returning Sir John called for all the counterfeit Spanish coins which were in deponent's custody and presently melted them down ; also he melted those in his own and Triggles's custody. A few days afterwards deponent and Triggles went, with some money of Sir John's, to Fiddert [Fiddert]

* The name is spelt in different ways.

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of purpose to be prosecuted. He thought he should be brought before a justice of the peace, whereby to discover all Sir John's treasons. On their way they were arrested by Sir John and so straitly confined in Duncannon Castle that no man might speak with them, lest they should discover his plots, and especially lest they should tell that he had been at the house of one George Mylne, a Scottish goldsmith in Dublin, where Mylne and Sir John practised many things very privately in the goldsmith's study. Deponent knows that they learnt "to kill the strength of quicksilver with a water, and did bring from their crucibles a side of a pair of tongs for a patron, which afterwards he made up" and, in his journey coming home, Sir John sent deponent in advance to Carlow where he heard there was fine sand for casting. At his coming to Carlow he [Sir John] lighted at the tinker's house, where he had a bag of sand given to him, which he brought to the fort. When he came to the fort [of Duncannon] he [Sir John] sent to John O'Neale and his brother, who were smiths dwelling in Fidderseth, to borrow for three months a pair of bellows and anvils which they had to spare.

Sir John bought of John Gowell [?] Fitzandrew of Waterford, merchant, an old broken copper kettle fit for nothing but to be melted for his coining, which is in his chamber in the fort. Sir John only took Triggles to England with him because Triggles was suspected by all who knew him to be a coiner, and that in his absence he might effect his purpose the better, having learned of the said Triggles as much as he could possibly do. For that purpose Sir John took the Tower of the Hooke on lease, which is a castle built as a sea mark on the east side of Waterford harbour, and built on a rock over the sea. Sir John meant to build a house there and work there and to bring all his tools there for safety, so that, if there were any peril, he could cast his tools into the sea. Sir John also sent him to Carlow to get pinsers [pincers] and other tools, giving for excuse that he sent him to melt brass for a mill.

He also sent Richard Doole, a soldier of the fort at Ballehack to arrest two goldsmiths, saying that they robbed a man of Kilkenny; but one of these men was discharged and Brockett kept the other—a Scot named Mylne—meaning to keep him as his servant and pay him wages. He told deponent that he would lay out 200*l.* on buying a ship and would employ deponent therein to buy things in the Low Countries with his counterfeit gold, that being the place where gold was most in request. Captain Snagg accompanied Sir John Brockett all the time of plotting of this work and was privy to it. Deponent was present when Sir John shewed Snagg several counterfeit Spanish coins. At this time Sir John sent deponent to Triggles with a penny to be silvered, and, when it was returned, shewed it to Snagg.

John Brockett, Sir John's son, was privy to all these proceedings, and deponent shewed to him certain Spanish pieces of eight, rials. Thomas Triggles told deponent that

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John Brockett, jun. was very anxious to learn Triggles skill. Peter Hooper, gunner of the fort, was very inward with Sir John, and had access to his chamber at all hours of the day and night, and Sir John made him his bailiff to deal in all his affairs. Does not know whether Hooper was made acquainted with their coining. Triggles, before leaving with Sir John for England, told deponent if he [Triggles] were not well treated by Sir John he would discover all Sir John's doings. Before and after Sir John's departure to England deponent was kept a close prisoner in irons, and not allowed to speak with anyone. He desired to be sent prisoner to Waterford, but Sir John and his officers refused to permit this. Being desperate and despairing of his life he wrote to Sir Nicholas Walsh secretly and was brought to be examined.

Pp. 3. Signed and with counter-signatures as foregoing. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 146c.

D. *Depositions of John Brockett, lieutenant of the fort of Duncannon, and of Thomas Brockett taken before the same as foregoing on 10 March, 1603.*

Heard from Myllen that Triggles counterfeited pieces of eight, rials. Saw some of these coins in Myllen's possession. Does not know if there was any coining in the fort, except that he saw the tools in the castle. Triggles gave deponent a small crucible and made himself a great mould "for a brass for a mill."

Thomas Brockett knew nothing of the matter.

P. 1 and p. 1. Not signed by deponents, but countersigned as foregoing. Endd. Ibid, 146d and 146d*.

E. *Deposition of Richard Dole, or Doole, taken before the same on 11 March, 1603.*

Doole is a soldier of Duncannon and aged 57. Sworn, he says :—

On Saturday, 5 March last, Peter Hooper and John Brockett [jun.] came to deponent and said that they had a warrant to bring deponent before Sir Nicholas Walshe on the following Wednesday. They asked him if he knew why the warrant had been sent, and did not tell him that any other name was mentioned in it. He said he knew not unless it were for a little debt he "ought" at Waterford. Hooper replied, "If it be but for debt they shall not keep you, but if it be for felony or treason then we can do you no good. Bethink yourself therefore between this and Wednesday."

Next morning Hooper came to deponent's chamber door and said, "The Lieutenant would speak with you." The Lieutenant came, accompanied by Peter Hooper and Thomas Brockett. These asked him if he could think what the charge was against him. He answered as he had done before, adding that it might be for the counterfeit Spanish pieces of

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eight, rials, that John Rowe, servant to Sir John Brockett, had issued at Waterford. Asked by Hooper what he knew of the matter, he said that when Rowe was taken Sir John sent him [deponent] and one Richard Walkdyn, a soldier of the fort, to the Mayor to give him to understand that Sir John wished him to release the boy, that it was a matter of nothing, and that his page Mellyn had won the piece when playing dice with other pages at Kinsale camp. Peter Hooper then said to deponent, 'Do you think is this all the matter?' Deponent said, 'I know no other.' 'Well then,' said Peter Hooper, 'take care that you do not disclose none of my captain's secrets.' Deponent replied, 'What secrets? I know none.' 'If you should,' said Hooper, 'you should but undo yourself, and it seemeth that it is Richard Mellyn that have procured [means?] to go to Waterford; which if he have [done] he shall receive no more means here.'

P. 1½. Signed by Dole; countersigned as foregoing. Endd.
S.P. Ireland 212, 146E.

12 March.
Dublin.

THE LORD DEPUTY, SIR GEORGE CAREW and SIR GEORGE CARY to SECRETARY CECIL.

We have considered with Mr. Hayes the project for decrying the shilling to eightpence. He maintained the project, but it offers only present loss without profit. We therefore could not accede to it, but sent a fresh project for easing the Queen's charge in the Exchange by paying of the bills of exchange with groats "somewhat embased, and smaller moneys of mere copper, to be made current in England." To our seeming this offers a great benefit to England without any great loss to this kingdom. We now learn that this project is very distasteful to the State of England—to have the moneys of that kind embased; whilst we find it absolutely necessary either to have sterling money restored or the Exchange held. We therefore wished Mr. Hayes to consider some other project, which he offered us, and which we send.* It is "to coin harps of the fineness of 9d. sterling and to go [i.e. to circulate] for 12d., and some copper moneys from the 2d. downwards, which should be current in both realms; and that in such sort as the greatest mass of the said copper small moneys shall always remain within the realm of Ireland and a means here to ease her Majesty of the charge of silver that must serve to coin the said harps, vizt. by decrying of 12d. now current to 4d. Irish, and after that rate to receive in the said decried moneys for the said copper moneys that shall be current in both realms, by which 20,000*l.* of the moneys decried being brought in as aforesaid shall always coin 20,000*l.* in harps without loss to the Queen. And a means is offered for the better content of the subjects that there shall be an exchange of sterling with a loss of 2*s.* in the 1*l.*, which exchange shall be maintained under her Majesty's authority but not at her Majesty's charge or

* Missing.

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adventure ; and by the said exchange the said small moneys shall always for the most part remain within the realm of Ireland."

This project does not seem to us so good as the other, but it will cause some relief to the present miseries, though it will be a loss to us of a fourth part of our entertainment. We refer it to your wisdom and leave the further disposition of it to "me [*sic*] the President."

Pp. 2, in Cary's hand, and *signed* by the Lord Deputy, Carew and Cary. *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 147.

15 March. DEPOSITION of JAMES LOMBARD, taken before ROBERT WALSH, Mayor of Waterford.

Sworn, he says :—Left Lisbon above three weeks ago, where there were 30 ships ready bound for the Indies and Angola. A great fleet was to be in readiness, it was reported, in Lisbon by May next, Bertendona having received of the King 20,000 ducats imprest and being bound to have 12 galleons there by that time. He has gone to Biscay for them. Sixty gallies are also to come there "from the south," and from the Straits, and six or twelve galleons from the south. The Duke of Medina is to come there general of the fleet, which, they give out, is bound for England or Ireland. Teig McDonel, McCountey, Donough McCarty, William Fitzjohn the seneschal's son, with divers other Irish gentlemen, are now there attending to come in that fleet and have great entertainment of the King.

There is a great store of artillery and 100,000 kintals or thereabouts (as was reported) of bread come already thither for that fleet's service.

About Christmas last there was a patachio and a fleeboat with treasure and munition sent from the Groyne [Coruña] to Tyrone.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Copy*, with copies of signatures of the deponent and of the Mayor of Waterford. *Endd. Ibid.* 148.

20 March. DEPOSITION of GEORGE MYLLE*, goldsmith of Dublin, taken before the PRESIDENT OF MUNSTER and SIR GEORGE CARY.

Sworn, he says :—In Michaelmas term last Sir John Brockett slept in his house for about twelve days, during which time Sir John often spoke to him about his (deponent's) profession of a goldsmith ; and at length "breake with him of his [Sir John's] purposes, which was to coin foreign coin ; whereunto this examine seeming to be unwilling to listen to any such speech he said his purpose was not to utter the same in the kingdom but to vent it elsewhere," and that it should be no offence as it would be foreign coin to be vented abroad.

Sir John asked deponent to teach him the art how to cast metals into a mould "and to see the form of flasks† or moulding tools, which he, this examine, promised to shew him." Not

* Elsewhere spelt 'Mylne' &c.

† A frame or box used to hold a portion of the mould for casting. It is perhaps a different word from 'flask,' a bottle. See Murray, *New English Dictionary*, s.v. 'Flask' 4.

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liking his intent, however, deponent performed no part of his request, but only told him that the way to cast metals in mould was with sand, and, at Sir John's entreaty, told him that the best sand he knew of was at Catherlough [Carlow]. Sir John entreated deponent to join him after his, Sir John's, return out of England, and said that he, Sir John, would take an island near the mouth of the river of Waterford, where he and deponent might coin without peril, and that when he was in England he would procure of a friend of his white metal for that purpose and learn of him how to make it. In order to satisfy Sir John for the moment, deponent promised to attend him as desired, but swears that he never had any such intention.

When deponent left Sir John, he was begged by him to give him three crucibles, as he remembereth, and one side of an old pair of goldsmith's tongs for a pattern to make another pair by it. Sir John also inquired where he should find clay to make crucibles, and how they should be made. Deponent answered that he did not know. "Well," said Sir John Brockett, "I will find clay not far from Duncannon."

Whilst with him, Sir John begged him to melt down four copper pence and an English threepence of silver and to see how the metal would look when it was mixed. Deponent did so, and when he saw how the metal did look so black he disliked it, and deponent "was well content to hide the secret from him in bringing the same to his perfect colour, which is familiar to all goldsmiths."

Sir John, while in deponent's house, had only two servants, one an Englishman called Dick Cooke, and the other a stripling born in Drogheda called Richard Millinge, who lodged in his chamber; and Richard Millinge carried his purse.

Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. Signed by "George Mylle" and by Carew and Cary. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 212, 149.

23 March. The LORD DEPUTY TO SIR GEORGE CARY.
Drogheda.

The enclosed I received to-day by Bathe, who, upon his own suit, went into these parts to bring away some of his goods. I will send away instructions to Sir Garrett Moore to bring Tyrone to me either here at Meliphant [Mellifont] or to Dundalk if he agree to come. Sir William Godolphin will be his guard if he comes; and if he does so I make no doubt to be able to make a good end of this matter. The rumours which, as you know, begin to come thick out of Spain do make me proceed with more haste, "and perchance will make me open my hand to him more than otherwise I was determined"; but I shall do nothing dishonourable or unsafe for her Majesty. He has made such protestations and oaths to the messenger that, except "the divill" be in him, he will become an honest man.

Pray send Cooke to me at once and tell him to bring with him any papers which in any way concern Tyrone which my Lord President had out of the rowles [Rolls], for I forgot to take a copy thereof. If my officers need any help for bringing of such

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provision as I send for, pray give them your good furtherance, for this business, and others, will make it necessary for me to stay in these parts for some time, and perhaps to go suddenly further. I hope the oats out of Munster will come soon, or it will be too late. Pray put up as much victuals as you can to Sir Francis Rusche. Donell Spania sent me word he has sent some garrons; pray let him have speedy payment for them. In all this time I could get none but from Ever McCooly, Terlagh McHenry and Henry Oge, and not one from "these villainous subjects of the Pale." I have sent for them that disobeyed my warrant therein by a serjeant-at-arms, and I will go near to make some of them leave their heads behind them if they do not give me the better answer. I am glad the President is gone.

"Farewell, noble Treasurer. Your most assured friend,
"MOUNTJOY."

P. 1. (Hol.) Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 212, 150. Enclosing:—

A. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone to the Lord Deputy.

I have often before begged your lordship to be a mean to her Majesty to receive me into her gracious favour and to grant me her pardon, which I desire above all earthly things, "even on my knees, acknowledging my offences to be such as I am unworthy to be pardoned, yet still remembering that her Majesty's mercy exceeds my ill-doings." To this end I sent my submission after your lordship in December last to Galway, which proceeded from a penitent heart; ever since I have lived in hope of mercy. My messages have not been answered, and, after patient waiting, I thought it well to write again "to beseech you of your nobility and honour to take compassion on me that I be not cast into an utter despair to forsake my native country," but may feel her Majesty's grace, in the hope that I may by service hereafter redeem some part of my offences. As a testimony of my sincerity I beg you either to let me come to confer with you upon your word at such place as I may be in safety, or to send me some honest gentleman of my acquaintance (as your lordship shall think fit) with whom I may confer and to whom I may speak my mind. Professions of loyalty.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. Copy. Underwritten in the Lord Deputy's hand: "This is a true copy of the Earl of Tyrone's letter sent me by Bathe, received 23 March, *stylo veteri*, Mountjoy." Endd. also in the Lord Deputy's hand. *Ibid*, 151, *ad fin*.

ADDENDA. 1565-1625.

1565.

28 Oct. The QUEEN to LORD DEPUTY SIR HENRY SIDNEY.
Westminster.

John Wakeley has petitioned asking us to grant to him a lease in reversion of certain lands and revenues in the counties of Meath and Louth, of which he has already a lease for years to come. He pleads his good services, past and to come. We are pleased that he shall have a lease in reversion of the spiritualities and temporalities with the appurtenances of the dissolved house called the Novan [Navan] in co. Meath, which is of the yearly rent of 109*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*, of the spiritualities of the dissolved house called Lowid in co. Louth, for which he now pays, as we understand, 50*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* This reversion shall be made to John Wakeley, for the term of 40 years, to begin at the end of his first term, and [he] shall pay a yearly rent for them into the exchequer there according to the best survey which may be made for us by your order. Make out a grant accordingly and pass it to Wakely, under our great seal.

Clause of discharge, which states that the grant is to be made to Wakely and his assigns.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Underwritten* with address to Sir Henry Sidney as Lord Deputy, and with verification with the record by Thomas Chetham. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 1.

1567.

29 Jan. RICHARD PEEL or PEEK[?] to WILLIAM WENTER [WINTER] and
Liverpool. EDWARD BAISHE [?], Esqs.

I have received your's by Hawes [?], one to me and one to Mr. Vaghan. I have read the latter, sealed it up and sent it to Vaghan at the Derey [Derry] by John Bland. So soon as the wind serves he will go there, for two barks are now here awaiting a wind to go there. They are laden with malt, meal, butter and cheese, "baye salt," the last of the hops and the timbers for the horse boat, with rough nails, bolts and all iron work needed for the same. I have sent you many letters lately [*details*], one by Thomas Berdmore of Newcastle, and one by Thomas Beston [?]. Some of my letters contained a direct answer, according to your instructions, and showed what I had spent and what overplus I had, except of wheat, which is very dear, scarce and ill to come by. It is the scantest country in England for wheat, but all else is very good. I have performed all things according to your instructions, saving the wheat, and if the Lord Deputy's man [?] do not come into these countries I shall, I doubt not,

1567.

get the whole proportion of wheat, which I will put into meal. I have plenty of everything else, or can obtain it if I have money to pay for it. The prines [?] and reysengs [raisins] is [are] gone, and the barrel of honey I do know where to get it, but it is very dear. It is at 3*l.* the barrel, and is of the "great band." I expect, God willing, to send away from West Chester a bark with 18,000 of very good biscuit, and I intend to send a barrel of honey away with it, though honey be so dear. I will do my good to have baked 15,000 more of the biscuit of the same price that the soders [soldiers'] is of.

Wheat is here sometimes at 4*s.* the wendell, sometimes at 3*s.* 1*d.* and sometimes at 3*s.* 8*d.* Malt varies from 2*s.* 8*d.* the wendell to 2*s.* 6*d.* Oaten malt varies from 12*d.* to 15*d.* the wendell. Oats is 13*d.* or 14*d.* the wendell. My reckoning is that six wendells will make 100 quarts. I wrote stating the prices of all things, and craved answer how you liked of them, but had none.

Your worships blame me for not having sent away some small boat to the Derry to Mr. Vaghan at my first coming to Lerpoole [Liverpool]. I hope you will understand the reason as well by my letters sent you by Thomas Beston as by a certificate from the Mayor of Liverpool, who is at London and has, I hope, been with you ere now with a letter from me to you. I have sent another letter to you by one that dealeth here. His name is Edward Hayes. In my previous letters I touched on my great lack of money, told you that I cannot borrow here. If I am not supplied with money I cannot buy the things which I have to provide.

I can get butter here, some for 3*d.* the *lb.*, and some for 2½*d.*; generally the latter. Cheese I can get for 2*d.* a *lb.* or less. What I lack in cheese I will supply in butter.

A messenger has lately arrived from the Derry, bringing letters from Mr. Sentlowe, and one from Mr. Vaghan to your worships. I thought it well to crave the sight of Mr. Vaghan's letter to you. I opened, read it and sealed it up again with my seal. I see from the letter that butter and cheese are sorely wanted, and will supply them with all diligence. The supplies of bay salt, cheese, &c. [details] which I sent them first were welcome to them.

It seems to me that there is very ill storage at the Derry, so as I cannot [?] perceive that I may be holpen with any hoys or shipping from thence. I hope they do not keep any of the ships that I send them: my first bark sent there has not returned. I have received Mr. Sekerstone's bill of 20*l.* The money is not yet ready, but I hope to have it. I would have had 1*cwt.* of rice of him which would have done very much good, and nothing could have been better for them that are sick, of which there are many at the Derry, God help them. Rice is, however, too dear. He will not sell it under 35*s.* the *cwt.*

I have been divers times with my Lord of Darbey [Derby]. His lordship is very sensible, and takes all things in very good

1567-73.

part, and has willed me to be bold with him for anything he can do for the Queen's service.

Bacon is very dear here ; but I will do what I can to supply it. I have tried to carry out your instructions, and hope for your countenance.

Pp. 3. (*Hol.*) *Add.* to the "Right Worshipful William Wenter and Edward Baishe, two of the Queen's officers of Admiralty in London. Haste. Haste." *S.P. Ireland* 213, 2.

1 May. The LORD DEPUTY to LORD TREASURER WINCHESTER.

A fragment.

Ibid, 3.

1572.

21 Oct. The LORD DEPUTY AND COUNCIL to the ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.
Dublin.

We have, by letters sent herewith to the Queen, spoken fully and plainly as to the great troubles in hand and the dangers which will be incurred if no provision is made against them. In the North Tirlagh Lenagh is now openly entered into rebellion, and the Scots are still in Conaghe [Connaught], and there are other suspicious and dangerous people there. In Munster the rebel James has not been vanquished in spite of all the President's travail, though he is well abated. In Leinster Bryan McCahir troubles one corner, and Feaugh McHugh [Byrne] another ; and there are in almost every corner petty murderers, spoilers, "maintainers and winkers" : so that the whole is full of malicious talk and not sound, except the inner core of the Pale. We shall do our duty by using our best endeavours in this emergency, if need be with the risk of our lives ; but the perfect remedy must proceed from the Queen and your lordships. We beg you to consider it.

P. 1. *Signed* by the Lord Deputy FitzWilliam, and by the Lord Chancellor Sir Robert Weston, Adam [Loftus], Archbishop of Dublin, G[erald, Earl of] Kildare, H. [Bradie, Bishop of] Meath, [Sir] John Plunket, and [Captain] Francis Agard. *Add. Endd.* *Ibid*, 4.

1573.

May* ? The QUEEN to WALTER, EARL OF ESSEX.

We have thought well to employ you to reduce certain rebels in Ulster ; and are pleased that for that purpose you accompany yourself with your friends, farmers and tenants, wheresoever they be in England or in the marches of Wales. You are authorised to put in armour on horseback and on foot from time to time "within your lordships, your lands and territories," all such able men, being your tenants, as are willing to accompany you to serve us on the voyage. In respect of their attendance on you they shall during their absence, be free from conny [coyne] contributions or [?] musters, on your estates in England

* See Bagwell : *Ireland under the Tudors*, 1885, Vol. II, p. 240 sq. and *Calendar of S.P. Carew* for May, 1573.

1573.

or the marches of Wales. As you are to carry with you a great mass of victuals, we are pleased that during [your campaign] your said tenants and farmers be free and exempt from "all purveyors and takers either for our household here or our household in Wales or any other way."

Clause for execution.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Draft in parchment* with corrections in Burleigh's hand. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 5.

29 Sept.
Greenwich.

Draft of the PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND to the LORD DEPUTY.

The Queen has heard of the Earl of Essex' success in his voyage and landing in Ireland, and of the retirement of the rebels. She approves his doings, and hopes that the rest of Ulster will be reduced by his means. She orders you to give commission to him as Captain-General of the forces of Ulster in as ample a manner as such commissions have been granted in the past to any President of Munster or Connaught. For the better prosecution of those affairs our advice is that, upon his nomination to you of some of the principal officers of her Majesty's army under him, you make choice of some who might be joined, for more aid and counsel with him in the said expoite [exploit].

As the enemy has already fled, so that the country lies open to be viewed without danger, we require you to depute some of the Commissioners for bounding and parting of the said country, whereby the confines and limits of each part may appear and be known.

In all matters we desire your lordships to assist the Earl of Essex with your advice and help whenever you lawfully may; and you should have with one another "some reciprocke correspondency" of your doings for the better service of her Majesty there and for reducing the whole country to civility and obedience.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Copy. Signed (copies)* by Lord Burleigh, the Earls of Sussex and Leicester, Sir Francis Knollys [Vice Chamberlain], and Sir Thomas Smith [Secretary], *followed by* :—

The Same to the Earl of Essex.

We have yours of 10 September and 16 September,* and have imparted them to the Queen, who is glad to hear of your voyage and success, and of your protecting the inhabitants of the place where you have settled† under her Majesty's laws. She sends you her thanks. With regard to your request for further authority to reduce the rest of that province, we have made suit to the Queen, who has written to the Lord Deputy directing him to give you a further commission [see *foregoing*], and has also directed that Commissioners be sent for the bounding and partition of the country of Clanyboy. If, before that commission arrives from the Lord Deputy, any occasion of service arises, you may use your discretion therein against the enemy. As

* For these see *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1509–73, at these dates.

† Knockfergus. See the references in note above.

1573-4.

to the nomination of counsellors and assistants you shall understand our opinion by another letter. We have given order that a mender of harquabuz[es] shall be pressed and sent over to you ; and will also send over one to mend armour.

P. ½. *Copy* dated Greenwich, 30 September [1573], with initials [*copies*] of Sussex, Leicester, Knollys and Smith [see signatures to foregoing]. *Followed by* :—

The Queen to the Lord Deputy.

The Earl of Essex has had a good success, reduced Clanyboy and the parts allotted to him, and expelled the Scots. He tells us that he has reduced the Captain of Kilulto [Killultagh], Sir Brian McPhelim, and Rory Oge McGwille of the Rowte and others.

Some of the rebels there and the whole [of the] Scots have fled across the Bann, and out of the country allotted to him, to join Tirlogh Lenogh and other like, and assemble and watch their time to return to mischief. Lest the Earl should lose any opportunity of reducing to order the country adjacent to that which was allotted to him, we direct you to give him a commission [&c. as in the *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1509-73, at this date]. The commission shall not authorize the Earl to lay any cess upon English or Irish in the Ards, Kilwarlin, Killulto or elsewhere where any loyal English have an inhabitation or freehold, to the end that those who have begun to plant English there, and to reduce the Irish to obedience, may be maintained in all quietness without any vexation or cess.

Proceeds to direct a boundary line to be laid down [see *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1509-1573, p. 522]. The boundary line shall be a straight line drawn from the north of the river called Ferst [] where it enters the sea to the next part of Lough Eagh [Neagh] where is the short sea cut between them. [They shall] also [bound] the Queen's moiety in North Clanyboy, "whereof all that is north from that line to belong to us of our Crown and to the said Earl by moiety ; all that is south from that line to belong to the said Sir Thomas [Smith] and his son according as it was agreed betwixt them ; as also our moitie in North Clanyboy and all other countries contained in the letters patents made to the said Earl, to the end we may understand who be or shall be our tenants and who the said Earl's." The country being so quiet it is a convenient time to make the said partition. They shall certify to you what they do therein in perfect and fair books and shall cause some "platts" to be made thereof ; and you shall report to us in turn accordingly "that thereupon we may resolve how to cause our portion to be losed [leased ?] and inhabited."

P. 1. *Copy*. Dated, Greenwich, 29 September, 1573. In all pp.-2½. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 6.

1574.

NOTE ON CERTAIN EARLS AND GENTLEMEN OF IRELAND.

Gives names of 25 noblemen, gentlemen and officers.

1574-8.

Mentions that Viscount Gormanstoun is the chief Viscount of the English Pale, and that Viscount Barry is more answered [?] among the Irish Septs [?].

Mentions Sir Edward Fitton as Lord President of Connaught, and Sir John Perrott as President of Munster.

Pp. 1½. *A fragment. S.P. Ireland* 213, 7.

1575.

INTERROGATORIES to be ministered to [HENRY] BURNELL, Recorder of Dublin*.

1. How long is it since you left Dublin, and where did you embark?

2. Did you come with the Lord Deputy's leave, and, if not, why?

3. Did you take farewell of the Mayor and his brethren of Dublin at your coming away? If not, why did you not take leave?

4. Who in Dublin knew of your coming away? Name them.

5. Have you committed the office of Recorder to any in your absence? How is it discharged in your absence?

6. Why did you come here?

7. Do you know the Earl of Kildare?

8. What conference have you lately had with the Earl and to what purpose?

9. Do you know one Mylar Hussey, the Earl's servant? Have you had secret conference with him?

10. What practice used you of late to cause certain men who were examined by the Deputy not to confess their knowledge of certain rebels? With whom have you practised in that behalf?

11. Have you not come out of Ireland for fear lest you should be apprehended by the Lord Deputy for that practice?

P. ¾. *Endd. Ibid*, 8.

1578.

[Before 1579, [The PRIVY COUNCIL OF IRELAND to the LORD DEPUTY.]

Aug.†]

We hear that many ships of war have been prepared at Biscay and have lately come to Conquest and Brest in Brittany, and that other preparations are being made, probably to make an attempt on some part of her Majesty's dominions. We have taken steps to withstand their landing in all parts of England and to avoid any other inconveniences which might happen in these parts. We think it well to let you know of this, so that you may take steps with regard to the parts of that realm most liable to invasion. We hear that Kinsale is a place particularly dangerous for a landing of the enemy.

* See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1574-85, p. 77. The answers to these interrogatories will be found calendared there at 31 July, 1575.

† See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1574-85, p. 219.

1578-80.

You shall advertize Mr. Norris, Governor of Munster,* to have special care to his government, and have a store of provisions ready in case any descent should be made in those parts. Have an eye also to James FitzMaurice,† Patrick Conde [Condon], and all others who are suspected of a desire to join the foreigner, that they may be for a time restrained. You would do well to send some special person of knowledge there to confer with Mr. Norris.

Pp. 11, with interlineations and corrections in Burleigh's hand.
Endd. S.P. Ireland 213, 9.

1580.

INSTRUCTIONS for SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM, Knight, to be presently despatched into Ireland.

Our subjects in Ireland now find themselves in a very miserable estate by the continuance of the war "by the infection of the plague‡ that is grown amongst them," and by scarcity of victuals. You shall make it known to the nobility and to our other subjects there that we commiserate them and are as anxious to remedy these evils as we should be in the case of our English subjects, since it has pleased God to place us as a sovereign over both kingdoms; and that we have sent you over there to inform yourself of the causes that have brought them into this calamity, to the end that, on your report made to us, we may take such measures for remedy as we shall think convenient.

"But herein our pleasure is you shall withal let them understand that without seeking any further it doth manifestly appear that the original ground of their harm proceedeth ever from some of themselves through their undutiful associating and combining themselves with those that have most disloyally and unnaturally treated and practised with foreign princes the utter ruin and subversion of the State; for to that end would their treasonable practices have brought it if we had not, to our intolerable charge and the loss of a number of our faithful subjects' lives, maintained and defended the same against the violence of the foreign power that our said unnatural subjects did bring and would have brought§ in great numbers into that realm, who, if they knew what it is to live under other foreign princes, and what usage their subjects receive at their hands, and compared it with our temperate and gracious government, would then find the disadvantage of the cause they meant to have made their own.

"And whereas we hear that they have conceived a great mislike of our Deputy presently there, and find themselves very much grieved with the insolencies which they complain that the soldiers do daily commit upon them; you shall therein let them understand, first, for the mislike they have of the Lord Deputy that we in the choice of him had an especial regard of

* See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1574-85, Index, s.v. "Norreys."

† Killed August, 1579.

‡ See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1574-85, pp. 79, 80.

§ Smerwick, 1580.

1580-1.

those good parts (besides his birth) we saw him endued withal, and for that he was ever thought none more fit* (having then regard of the present state of the country) as well to repress the insolency of the evil affected subjects of that realm as also to defend the land against the invasion of such foreign princes with whom they did practise." In this he has acquitted himself so well that they have no cause to complain of him. In this matter they are no different from a patient who, "instead of looking unto his own disease that needeth sharp remedies, blameth the physician for applying such remedies as are fit for the same." If they considered themselves indifferently they would realise that they themselves are to blame for the evils which appear in the State. As for their complaints of the insolencies of the soldiers, they themselves are to blame for these, "for it is no pleasure for us to entertain there such a number of soldiers as we have of late had in pay in that realm." These have put us to greater charges in a year or two than ourselves or our progenitors ever incurred in ten; but the charge has been necessary "to preserve them from the miserable yoke of foreign servitude, which they themselves would have brought upon their own necks." They cannot therefore blame anyone but themselves if they feel the calamities which usually follow a civil war.

Yet to the end they may see how greatly it doth mislike us that they should have any real grievances and because we are told that some of our captains and soldiers there "have of late dealt very treacherously and barbarously with some of them by inviting them to banckets or parleys and afterwards slaying them in most cruel manner when they had them in their hands," we have charged you to examine the truth of the circumstances, to the end that the guilty may be punished and others deterred from such deeds.

Lastly, you shall let them know that in spite of their disloyalty, in the matter of which we have reason to be grieved even with those of the Pale who have hitherto been very loyal in their efforts against the attempts of the unnatural subjects, but have not been so dutiful in recent times, we are content to extend our grace to such as shall submit themselves and seek for it. If, on the other hand, any shall remain obstinate in their disloyalty and refuse to accept the benefit of our promise, we shall "prevent them" to the uttermost of our power, and shall exclude them for ever afterwards from any grace and favour.

Pp. 53. *A draft with interlineations. Endd.: "80" [?], and as in title. S.P. Ireland 213, 10.*

1581.

20 Nov.
Chester.

GEORGE BEVERLEY† to SECRETARY BURLEIGH.

*Acknowledges letters. Proceeds:—*I have told the Lord Deputy that you wish me to acquaint him and Sir Henry Wallop with

* Careless interlineation here makes it difficult to follow the text accurately.

† A victualler: as to him see *Calendar of S.P. Ireland, 1574-85, Index, s.v. "Beverley."*

1581-5.

my proceedings, and have sent them a certificate of the proportion of [victuals] appointed to be sent, with numbers, time, estimate of what is over and what is ready to be sent with the first good wind. Three barques have already been sent to Ireland with corn and victuals and two others are ready to go. I have further declared to Sir Henry Wallop that by making more haste I should come to less speed in the finishing of this proportion. Corn, it is thought, is not plentiful here this year.

Mr. Edward Hughes has delivered 400*l.* towards these provisions on the Mayor's bill and mine and is very ready and willing to deliver 100*l.* or more as money comes into his hands.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 11.

1583.

Before
6 May.*

NOTE concerning SIR THEOBALD BUTLER.

A letter for the Queen touching his creation as Baron of [Cahir]. The liberty of fairs granted, wherein advice of the Queen's learned counsel to be taken.

No creation money.

The abbey of Cahir neither granted nor denied, but suspended till the survey be certified.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Endd. Ibid.* 12.

1585.

Before
18 July.†

ABSTRACT of the humble requests of the CITY OF CORK to the QUEEN.

[We,] the inhabitants, desire to be incorporated by the name of the Mayor and Sheriffs and Commons: to be made a community within ourselves, as Waterford and Drogheda [Drogheda] are, and to have our liberties extend four miles compass, as Kinsale and other towns. We desire the extension because we have but one mile compass every way, whereas every other "franchis" within the realm has three or four miles. We desire this, too, because all the lands within that compass belong to the citizens and inhabitants. And whereas Mr. Wilbraham one of the Masters of Requests, and Mr. Fleming, her Majesty's [justice?], have required some place within the city to be exempted for the sessions of the county, we have yielded to them the King's Castle on the south side of the Key in the midst of the city, and we to maintain the same, having the use thereof out of sessions. We have agreed that they shall have the prison of the city as they have had hitherto.

We desire to be exempted of the wardship of the bodies of our heirs and that our land in the county may be only in ward and not our land in the city or franchises, our freeholds being but very small. This is agreeable to our former charters, which contain these exemptions: "Et quod possent maritare se, et filios et filias suas, et viduas, sine licentia nostra et dominorum suorum, et quod nullus dominorum suorum propter forinsecas

* Sir Theobald Butler was created Baron of Cahir on 6 May, 1583.

† A new charter was granted to the Mayor of Cork on this date.

1585.

terras habeat custodiam vel donationem filiorum aut filiarum suarum vel viduarum sed tantum custodiam tenementorum suorum qui sunt de feodo suo donec aetatem habeant."

To have certain arrerages of wax forgiven—*i.e.* 20*l.* per annum since 1576.

To have a grant of two brass pieces remaining in that city since the time of Henry VIII, for the better defence of the city.

To have the Mayor for the time being made one of the Council of the province in all commissions to be set upon within the franchises.

To have 200 men of the citizens in pay for apprehension of the rebels offending within the franchises and without the walls by night, of whose charge the Queen to bear one moiety and the city the other.

To have soldiers who offend other subjects dealt with by the Mayor and other civil magistrates, and not by their captains or any other martial course.

"To know [*i.e.* to recognize] the Mayor is place [the Mayor's place] within the city and liberties, [he] being her Majesty's lieutenant there and carrying her royal ensigns, as a hat of maintenance, a sword and maces.

To give order that no process be sent to the Mayor to stop the ordinary course of justice in the Tollsell, the same being a Court of Record and proceeding by course of her Majesty's common laws.

To give order agreeable to our former charters that all captains and officers may pay for their lodging, candelling and stables and all which they shall take, and that all others may do so reasonably and according to law, ordinary soldiers only excepted.

To grant the city beside their former privileges such other privileges in all civil and criminal causes whatsoever" as Waterford hath.

The city of Waterford hath conisance in all criminal causes of any nature, and by a charter granted in 23 Hen. VIII they have granted to them to take a mess of herring out of every boat of herrings fishing in that harbour and the principal fish out of every other boat or fishing vessel in regard of their great charges with the Tower of the passage, which is a great defence to all shipping. Cork has the like fort called Blackrock, "which they maintain with artillery to resist pirates and other invasion." They therefore require the like privilege. Where[as] by the statutes they are to keep a staple court they require that they may have the same inserted in their new charter.

We have preferred certain complaints for which we seek redress. Such as I have noted in the margin are to pass by charter.

[*N.B.*—The provisions marked in the margin are those relating to incorporation, exemption from wardships &c. arrears of wax-money, civil jurisdiction over soldiers, process in arrest of mayor's jurisdiction, candles for officers &c. and privileges of Waterford.]

Pp. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 213, 13,

1585.
Before
10 Aug.

[SIR LUCAS DILLON, CHIEF BARON OF THE EXCHEQUER,*] to
[GEOFFREY FENTON?].

Your honour will understand that last night McGuire's messenger was with me and delivered me the enclosed [*missing*]. I perceive from this that Tirlagh Lenagh† intends to invade the Pale or else to deal with O'Raile; and so I have been informed by my cousin William Hill, who was with me this morning. O'Raile told my cousin Hill that the rebels of Connaught are in agreement with Tirlagh Lenagh‡ and have, by their messengers, procured him to make stir, alleging that by that means he might drive all Englishmen out of Ulster as they have done out of Connaught. O'Raill‡ swore upon a book to Mr. Hill that he knew this to be true; and said to him further that he trusted none of his own country except Philip O'Raill, for they were all bent on mischief. "The people here are careless." I wish, as the Lord Chancellor is coming to Ardraccan next Monday (as the Bishop of Meath told me) that your honour would move him to have some meeting of the whole shire before him in some place and to admonish them to be careful of their defence with all speed; also to cause the field pieces to be sent to the Navan, where they may be safe.

P. ¾. *Unsigned. Endd. 'Mr. Chief Baron.' S.P. Ireland* 213, 14.

CONOR [CONOSIUS] MAGUIRE to the LORD DEPUTY.

Relates his intimidation by Tirlagh Lenagh, his struggles against him, his ultimate defeat by superior force. Prays for support and begs that this letter be destroyed, when read, lest its contents may come to Tirlagh Lenagh's knowledge.

P. 1 (*Latin*) in Italian hand, with marginal notes in English hand of the period accusing the writer of treachery, and saying that he [Tirlagh Lenagh] saw this letter before it was sent and has since seen the answer to it. *Endd. 'Copy; Maguire's letters. Ibid, 15.*

Generaldate, Documents relating to the VICTUALLING of the SOLDIERS in
1585. IRELAND.

Estimate of the expense of victualling.

In this document the charge for bread, biscuit, fresh beef, salt beef, cheese, butter, beer, herrings, claret, English beef and sack are given. These articles are served out in different combinations to the soldiers on different days. The prices per day are as follows:—

Bread, 1lb.	.. ..	1d.	Butter, ½lb.	.. ..	2d.
Biscuit, 1lb.	.. ..	1d.	Herrings (8)	.. ..	2d.
Fresh beef, 2lbs.	.. ..	2d.	Claret wine, 1qrt.	..	2d.
Salt beef, 2lbs.	.. ..	2d.	English beef, 2lb.	..	2½d.

* See endorsement. Dillon was Chief Baron of the Exchequer at this time.

† So this was before the composition with him, as to which see *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1574–85, p. 575.

‡ These names are spelt in different ways.

1585.

Beer, one pottle	.. ..	1d.	Sack, 1pt.	.. ..	2d.
Cheese, 1lb.	.. ..	2d.			

When there are no victuals in store but corn, then the soldier is to receive for his victual wheat 2buz. [bushels], and malt 2buz. The wheat is rated at 2s. 10d. the buz., and the malt at 2s., which is per month after 28 days to the month, 11s. 8d. [sic], or per day—five pence.

Pp. 1¼. *Endd.* as in title, and with date. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 16.

The State of the Army to be considered on the Victualling.

Bands of horsemen at 9d.* per day.

Captains Harrington and Warren, and the Province of

Connaught, each	50
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Captain Lea	25
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Provost Marshal of Munster	25
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Foot bands at 8d. per day.

One hundred men under each of the following officers:—

Sir Henry Wallop, Sir G. Bouchier, Sir William Stanley, Sir Henry Bagnall, Sir R. Bingham, Captains Fleadger, Norreys, Henshawe and Woodhouse.

Forts and wards at 8d. a day [per man†]: Philipstown, 13; Maryborough, 17; Loughleyn [Leighlin], 21; Caterlough [Carlow], 10; Ferns, 10; Dublin, 6; Knockfergus Castle, 21; Knockfergus Palace, 21; Blackwater, 26; Donluce [Dunluce], 16; Athlone, 21; Dungarvan, 19; Castle Mange [Castlemaine], 18; Limerick, 2; Askeaton, 16.

Pp. 1¼. *Endd.* generally and with date. *Ibid*, 17.

Estimate of the Charge which her Majesty is at in feeding the Army in Ireland.

The soldier's proportion for a day is:—

Bread, 24 [?] oz.	.. ..	1d.	<i>Ir.</i>
Beer, 1 pottle	.. ..	1¼d.	„
Beef, fresh, 2½ lb.	.. ..	} 1¾d.	„
„ or salt, 2 lb.	.. ..	

Total—4d. *Ir.* per day.

On fish day the ration is as follows:—

Bread, 24oz.	.. ..	1d.	<i>Ir.</i>
Beer, 1 pottle	.. ..	1¼d.	„
Herrings, 8	.. ..	} 2d.	„
Butter, ½ lb.	.. ..	
Cheese, 1lb.	.. ..	
Newland fish ½	.. ..	

Total—4½d. *Ir.* a day.†

With regard to bread, every man consumes at this rate of ration 56lb. in a month of 28 days, which is the yielding of a bushel of wheat.

* Apparently this is the charge for victualling each man.

† See last note.

‡ Perhaps the soldiers only got, with bread and beer, either butter and cheese, or fish. No price is set down for herrings, or Newland fish.

1585-91.

The bushel of wheat, if wheat is at 20s. the quarter, is	2s. 6d.
Cost of converting it into bread	8d.
Transport from Chester (2d. freight and 1d. landing) costs	3d.

The total is 4s. 5d. [*sic*].*

The bushel of wheat costing 4s. 5d. the 24oz. of bread should be, in proportion, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

Her Majesty uttering the same at 1d. there is a loss on every soldier's bread of $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a day, or per month of 1s. 9d.

P. 1. *Endd.* generally and with date. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 18.

This concludes the documents relating to this matter.

1591.

Notes on the PROVINCES OF LEINSTER and MEATH.

Leinster contains 7 counties.

1. The County of Dublin has in it the following towns :—
Dublin City, Swords, Lusk, Balrudrie [Balrothery], The new castle of the Birnes, Wicklo Castle, and Malahena [Malahide], a port pertaining to the Talbot[s].
Swords, Lusk and Balrudrie are "thoroughfares between Tradaffe [Drogheda] and Dublin."

The following are men of power and name there :—

The Lord of Howth and the following gentlemen :
the Barnewells, Plunketts, Finglasses, Bathes, Fitzwilliams and Walshes (the last two are cousins german), the Russells, Talbots, Goldings, Lutterells and many more.

All these are faithful to his Majesty save some of the Walshes, who, matched in marriage with the Byrnes and Toohells [Tooless], bear secretly with them.

The Irishry of the co. Dublin are all the Byrnes and all the Toohells. These are "great sects,† and the destruction of all the Englishrie, under the government of Francis Agard,‡ who hath given them so much liberty, being seneschal of them, that now he cannot command them."

The havens of the co. Dublin are Dublin, Wicklow and Arklow.

2. Co. Kildare.

Towns of name :—Kildare, Nase [Naas], Athy, Castle Dermod.

The men of name and power are :—

The Earl of Kildare; Viscount Baltinglass; Sir Maurice Fitzgerald with a number of the Geraldines' gentlemen :

John Eustace and a number of gentlemen of that name. His chief house is Castlemartin. Also

* Clearly a mistake for 3s. 5d., but the rest of the calculation is based on it.

† This word seems to be used throughout this document for "septs."

‡ *ob.*, 11 October, 1577. See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1574-85, p. 125.

1591.

the following gentlemen: the Ougans, the Suttons, the Ailemers, the Allens, the Boyles, the Whites, the Walshes, and the Harberts.

All these are faithful to her Majesty "saving the bastard Geraldines in Shile Aly [Shillelagh], on the border of the Caverners [Kavanaghs], which bastards maintain divers malefactors."

3. Co. Carloo [Carlow].

Towns of name :—Carloo, Leakland [Leighlin].

The men of name and power are :—

Harpoole, Constable of Carloo, matched with a Coultieoman and a maintainer of rebels.

The Coultiemons, also the Byrnes, Henry Davels,* an Englishman of Devonshire, Sir Peter Caroo [Carew], whose land lies on the Barrow between Ross and Carlow.

Sir Edmund Butler of Cloghgreennan. The Keatings, ill disposed kerne, and now rebels.

There are also five sects of the Caverners [Kavanaghs].

1. Mortagh Oge, of Garkile [Garkill], chief of that sept.
2. Gerrard McCahirearagh, of Clonmullen, chief of another sect.
3. Cahirbeg, of Leverock, chief of another sect.
4. Brian McMoortagh, of the Coule-Melagh [Coolmela], chief of another sect.
5. Brian McChaher McCart, dwelling in the barony of St. Maline [St. Mullins], lying between Sir Peter Caro and Ross on the river of Barrow.

All these five sects are either open rebels or doubtful.

Brian McChahir McCart is a notable rebel who killed one Browne† two years since.

The Coultieomans, *alias* Brines [Byrnes ?], are notable knaves and rebels pertaining to the Earl of Ormond. Their chief is Simon McKilpatricke.

All the rest are faithful to her Majesty.

4. Wexford.

Towns of name :—Wexford, Ross, Tamund [Taghmon], Iniskorfie [Enniscorthy], Ferns, Arkloo (where the English fleet arrived under Henry II), Fidurt [Fidert], the Bannoo [Bannow], Clummine [Clonmines].

The following are the men of power there :—

The Deverouses [Devereux], of which the chiefest is Sir Nicholas Deverouse, spoiled of late by the Kavanaghs‡ of a great part of his inheritance.

The Brownes. Of these the chiefest, Browne of Melrankan [Mulrankin], was slain by the Kavanaghs.

* Murdered 3 August, 1579. See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1574–85, p. 178.

† If this is the John Browne who was killed in February, 1589 (see *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1588–92, Index *s.v.* Brown, John), we can thus date the document at 1591; but see the other notes. The document may have been so compiled that evidence of date gathered in this way is not trustworthy.

‡ In this document usually spelt "Caverners."

1591.

The Sinotts. The chief of these is Sinott of Sinottsland.

The Roches. The chief is Alexander Roche of Rochesland.

The Chevers. Chief—Christopher Chevers.
The Staffords.

Piers Butler, who has a portion of the county called Fasagh Bentríe [Bantry barony], “a rash yong man.”

The Nevills, Keatings and Suttons, Turner and Lamport.

Fee Harris, a malefactor, matched with the Kavanaghs in Carlow and holding with them.

The Maylers, and Rosetters ; some of the Powers, the Whites, Hores, Hayes and Tods [?].

The Furlongs, malefactors and matched with the Kavanaghs.

All these are faithful save such as are noted to be otherwise.

Of the Irish beyond the river of Slane [Slaney] the chief are :—

Edmund Dove, chief of the Kinselaghs.

McEvado, chief of his own name.

MacaMoore, chief of his own name.

The Morrows, “a sect of base and ill-disposed people.”

[Captain] Masterson is captain of these three sects and Constable of Wexford. The Queen’s good subjects think him disloyal.

5. Kilkenny.

Towns of name :—Kilkenny, Callan, Thomastown, Jerrypond [Jerpoint], and Inistoecke [Inistioge].

The following are the men of power and name in this county :—

The Earl of Ormond and Viscount Mountgarrett.

Butler of Paulstown, and a number of Butler gentlemen.

Sir Barnabas Fitzpatrick, owner of the barony of Upper Ossory.

The Walshes, a great sect at the Earl of Ormond’s commandment.

The Graces, Shortalls, Blanchfields, Fosters, Drilands, Cumerfords, Galles, Dennes, Datons and Sweetmans.

These are all faithful save the Graces, who do often break out.

Upper Ossory is as yet of no shire, but is nevertheless reputed to be in the co. Kilkenny.

6. Queen’s County, or Leix.

Town of name :—Maryborough.

1591.

Men of power and name :—

Francis Cosbye, seneschal of the county, with a number of English gentlemen freeholders. These he has devoured, and is now himself disowned by Rory Oge, chief of the O'Moores and an arch-rebel. Rory Oge, as aforesaid, chief of the O'Moores. Connell McNeil O'Moore, a rebel. Mortagh McLeyse O'Moore, and many others of the O'Moores, all enemies to the Queen.

7. King's County, or Ophaly.

Town of name :—Philipsbrough [Phipstown].

Men of power and name :—

Henry Coulie, an English gentleman and many other English gentlemen. Coulie governed by honesty, but is now sore oppressed by the rebels the O'Connors, of whom Cormoicke O'Connor is the chief.

The Dempseys are of the Irishry, but are faithful to the Queen. Of these Oney McHugh, of Clanmalire, is the chief.

Some of the Clindonels, "galliglasses, a naughty raze and ill disposed at this present to rebellion."

The O'Dines [?] of Dovegan.

The O'Mulloye, *alias* O'Mullmoye, chief of that name. McGeoghane, of Kinneleaghe, chief of that name.

The last of these three are doubtful men.

No county is free from certain septs of the Irish that infect the same.

A note here adds :—

Clane *sig* [means] *Progenies*.

Cos [or] May *sig* [means] *Latus fluminis*.

The province of Meath in Ireland has in it two counties : Meath and Westmeath.

1. Meath—called by the general name of the province.

It has the following great towns :—Navan, Athboy, Ardbrackan, and Drogheda [Drogheda].

Principal noblemen and gentlemen :—Viscount Gormans-town, Baron Trimlestown, Lord Kylyn [Killeen], Baron Dunsany, Banaret Navant, a Dangle [Dangan], Banarett Scrin [Skreen].

The surnames [surnames?] are infinite. The county is as well inhabited as any shire in England.

2. Westmeath.

Towns :—Molingar, Lohgsedye [Ballymore], Alon [Athlone].

Principal noblemen and gentlemen :—Baron Delvin, and the Tutes, Dillons, Dawltons, Delamores, Petits (*alias* Lacy), Danceys and Tyrrells.

Meath and Westmeath are infested by the following Irish "septs" [*sic*] : O'Muloye, McGohigoo, the Fox, O'Molaghelin McCohalon, O'Brien of the Branye, McGal,

1591-7.

By statute it has been ordered that certain castles in Ireland should not be committed to any of Irish birth.

Pp. 8½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 19.

1597.

3 Oct.
Dublin
or
Ireland.

J. CUMYN to the EARL OF ESSEX or, in his absence,
to — WAAD [?].*

I wrote to you by my last that I had to pass by Ireland. I was driven to do this at an inconvenient season by reason of sundry process intended against me by the *Scottish King*, who sent *Sir Thomas Eskin* of purpose with a *capias corpus* to take me in such vigorous order as if his whole estate had depended only on that point. And that you may be assured what *Waad* or the *Lord Treasurer* or *Mr. Secretary* may lippen [*sic*] into at the *Scottish King's* hands, the sum and substance of all the rancour conceived and rigour pretended against *Secretary Cecil* by the *Scottish King* was his late being with the *Lord Treasurer*, as he "upon his little honour," has told his old friends and acquaintances, and the directions he brought from them to sift and search into the *Scottish King's* dealings. He has offered to shew them *C[ecil's]* relation made to her Majesty at his last being with you; and sware to them that his only reason for wishing to have him into her hands was to be revenged of that race whose name *Cecil* beareth for his mother's quarrels. *Eskin* was sent down by purpose to the place where *Cecil* was, and missed him very narrowly and discomposed the course he had set down and wrote to you of his voyage forward.

* In this letter the names which I have printed in italics are concealed by cipher numbers or signs. These signs are deciphered in the text or margin of the original. In the copy the ciphers and signs are omitted and only the names for which they stand are given. These signs and their equivalents are as follows:—

For Ireland	Pacton.
„ the King of Scotland	a.
„ Sir Thomas Eskin	δ or Sir δ.
„ Waad	70
„ the Lord Treasurer	80.
„ Secretary Cecil	200 or C or Hee.
„ the Queen	ab.
„ Huntly	θ
„ Angus	H.
„ Erroll	ι.
„ Pury Oglebie.	z.
„ Ministers	Figures and Greek letters.
„ England	Lc or ac.
„ Catholics	⦚
„ Abbot of Newerby	Cabalistic signs and Greek
„ Archibald Douglas	Do. do. [letters.
„ Council	Do. do.
„ Bordeaux	Do. do.
„ France	l.l.
„ Priests	0 0 0 0.
„ Jesuits	90.
„ Longe, Rome, Gerrard or Garnett, Wisbech, Atkinson, friar, Palaser, Tillison, Hawks- worth, General, Schismatics, Fitzherbert	Cabalistic signs, figures, and Greek letters. .
„ the Earl of Essex	100.

1597.

"Whatsoever the *Scottish King, Huntly, Angus and Erroll* have in hand it cannot turn to your good, for they thought themselves never without an eyesore so long as *Cecil* was in the country as sent by the *Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary*, whom they all hate extremely, even to the death, to pry into their dealings." The said King chargeth *Cecil* with *Pury Ogleby's* imprisonment, and for that cause that Sir Thomas Eskin that married his wife's sister is to use the more diligence in apprehending him.

Earl Huntly has made a challenge to all the *ministers*, and this is regarded as a preparative for that [i.e. what] is expected in the next Parliament to begin in November. "The *Scottish King* sent of late into *England* to the *Catholics* there, to draw them to his purpose and devotion, the *Abbot of Newerby*, under colour of banishment but indeed to assure them of his good affection towards them, and that what shew soever he made to the country of late was by reason of the discovery made by *Cecil* unto the *Lord Treasurer* of his dealings in *England* by *Pury Ogleby*. He hath been in Lancashire, Cumberland, Yorkshire, Bishopric [Durham], and Westmorland, and done little good as I am informed, but all the blame of anything done or to be done against the *Catholics* since *Pury Ogleby's* sending into *England* he lays upon *Cecil*, and now offers to show verbatim the relation he made at his last being with you, which, he says, touches him nearer than anything that befel him these last twenty years.

You see what you gain by seeking for mends [amends] at his hands who at heart hates you, in giving your secrets to him, and perilling your servants and future vents and ventures. If this pursuit had not "precipated" my departure I had sent you the Queen's nativity, which D.* has cast and filled the Scottish King with vain hope of golden adventures. Unless I am mistaken *Archibald Douglas* does no great good office for you in the place where he is; for the Scottish King seems to be far in and very familiar with some of the Council. I had not wanted company and commodity to have sounded the depth of all her Majesty's plots and pretences if the King had not so sharply and suddenly pursued me and all in odium, as he pretended to *Ang[us]*, *Huntly*, *Erroll* and the rest, of her Majesty, the Lord Treasurer and Secretary, and for *Pury Ogleby's* quarrel and no other matter, as is solemnly affirmed.

It resteth then that I pass to the frontiers and send to see what effects his reports have made in those parts, and accordingly "go or send to see you advertised overland of such merchandize as are like to come by long the seas from those parts."† To that effect write to Mr. Chester in *Bordeaux* to furnish me or my servant that shall labour in that business, "and thus much for the Scottish King and his country."

"You remember I talked to you of a congregation at my being with you which I understand hath of late likewise been attempted in *England*, as that was in *France*, by *Priests* against

* The decipherer gives in the original no equivalent for this D; and in the copy it is left undeciphered.

† Perhaps a cryptic allusion to invasion.

1597.

Jesuits, but was by the *Jesuits* hindered. One *Longe*, a priest, is gone lately to *Rome* against the *Jesuits* to procure the confirmation of the said congregation and to inform against the *Jesuits*. It is reported that *Gerrard*, the *Jesuit* is to be removed for money to *Wisbiche* [*Wisbeach*], or else to make a scape, from the place he is. *Atkinson*, the priest, passed lately from *Ireland* into *France*, as I am informed, to become a *friar*. *Palaser*, *Tillison* and *Hawksworth* that made a scape, the first two are suspected and not credited amongst the *Catholics*; the first a deadly enemy of the *Jesuits*, and it is said that he had concerted a plot to be presented to Mr. *Secretary* for the removing of the *Jesuits* out of *England*, but was dissuaded by the other two. I saw a copy of a letter of *Garnett* to his *General* lamenting much of the little good they do in gaining ground in *England*, and that if the *scismatickes* were not, it were impossible they should hold out, and that for this five or six years they have not gained one foot of ground, but lost much. If ever 9* come into hands I pray you, as you tender me, have a care of him, for I will give my word for his good intention and affection towards her Majesty and *England* and yourself. From *Bordeaux* I will write more at large." In the meantime these *Laconisms* may suffice.

There was one *Fitzherbert* sent from *Rome* to inform of the *Jesuits'* dealings there, and, as I am informed, but of little credit and like to little effect. Till I hear from *England* I can write nothing of moment further, and to that end I mind to send one of purpose, and on his answer to go myself if the coast be clear. In the meantime I hope you will procure me for my travels that oversight at home which your other clients have. I will "carry a careful eye" in all things touching her Majesty's safety and satisfaction. I do not know who will receive "these ragged lines and send relation whether the Earl of *Essex* is returned or *Cecil* disoccupied or the Lord Treasurer alive; but am eager to serve them all." "More at more leisure, better liberty and sounder health."

P.S.—I hope to find a line from you at *Bordeaux*.

Pp. 2½. Signed. The original dated "Pacton," but the copy "Dublin." Add.: "For 100, or in his absence for 70. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 20.

Also copy of same with the ciphered names deciphered as explained in the note on p. 601. P. ½. Endd. with date. *Ibid*, 21.

Petitions to the QUEEN of ALISON DALTON of Cappelquin.

(1) Shewing that :—

Petitioner is the widow of Roger Dalton, Esq., who lately died in *Ireland*. Six years ago her husband purchased of Sir William Hatton of Holdenby, co. Northampton, for 1,600*l.*, his whole seignory in the co. Waterford, containing divers castles, manors, lands &c. to the number of 12,000 acres, which descended to Sir William as cousin and heir of Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor of *England*, and had further been assured to the said Chancellor, as one of the principal undertakers in that country

* Overwritten in the copy "Tillison," and not deciphered in the original.

1597-8.

for your Majesty, your Majesty reserving a rent of 60*l.* a year. All these castles, lands, &c. were lawfully found to come to your Majesty by the attainder of the Earl of Desmond and his accomplices; and Anthony Poher, the High Sheriff of co. Waterford, has since given peaceable possession thereof to one John Knight of London, agent for the said Sir Christopher Hatton, to the use of the said Sir Christopher.

Before petitioner's husband could go over to take possession "Garrett, Fitzjames of Dromaninge [Dromana], who calleth himself Lord of the Deeses [Decies] country, and divers others of the Irish by his evil example" intruded into more than 6,000 acres of the lands comprised in the Lord Chancellor's patents (and of which his officers were in quiet possession) and still detain the same. Petitioner's husband during his life paid the full crown rent of 60*l.* for the lands, but scarcely enjoyed more than one third thereof. Petitioner still pays it to her great impoverishment, "having eight small children left her in that wild and rude country."

Prays for an order repossessing her and her eldest son Roger in all the lands set out in the letters patents until Garrett Fitzjames or any other Irish claimants shall have proved a title thereto before the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland, and for remission of rent *pro rata* in respect of any of the said lands to which any such claimant may establish his title, and for the right to deduct from future payments what petitioners may have already overpaid in rent in respect of such lands. P. $\frac{1}{2}$.

(2.*) Shewing that:—

In June, 1597, your Majesty directed letters to the Lord Deputy and Council in accordance with the prayer of this petition.†

The Lord Deputy died‡ before petitioner could get the benefit of this order.

Prays for a new letter. She has since this last rebellion maintained two castles for the Queen, and has lost more than 1,000*l.* on them since June, 1597.

Twelve lines. The whole p. $\frac{3}{4}$. The second petition written as an endorsement on the first. The whole *endd.*: "The humble petition of Alison Dalton, daughter of Avis Erisie." *S.P. Ireland* 213, 22.

1598.

January. Draft of ROYAL WARRANT for pay of the ARMY in IRELAND.

The revolt and disloyalty of our subjects in Ireland compels us to raise the strength of the army there beyond what is accustomed: though, we hope, the need for it will not long continue. For the more certain estimation of our charge, and for the guidance of our officers, we have thought good to have an establishment set down, setting forth all the charges for

* Of the second petition there is only an extract, which is endorsed on the back of the first petition.

† *i.e.* the foregoing. As to this see *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1596-7, p. 327.

‡ Lord Burgh died at Newry on 13 October, 1597.

1598.

the army, which is limited to 14,000 foot and 1,000 horses, with officers necessary for them.* This establishment, signed with our hand, shall be delivered when copies of it are given to the Lieutenant General of the army there and the Treasurer at Wars there. We require you out of the moneys coming from time to time into the Exchequer to pay the Treasurer at Wars in Ireland or his proper assignees such sums as by six of our Privy Council, of whom Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir John Fortescue are to be three, are certified to be due for payment of the army. *Other details.*

Pp. 3. A draft, the writing much faded, in parts illegible. *Endd.*: Jan., 1597.† *S.P. Ireland* 213, 23.

27 May. Draft of the QUEEN to the LORDS JUSTICES‡ for DONELL MCCARTY.

A petition was exhibited to us by Donell McCarty, son to the late Earl of Clancare[?], craving at our hands an estate to be made to him in certain lands in Kerry and Desmond, alleged to have been given him by the Earl his father. We directed the President of Munster to cause a survey of the quantity and value of the said lands to be made. This has been sent to us, and we now send it to you to help you in executing our pleasure towards Donell McCarty. In reward for his loyalty we are pleased to make him an estate by letters patents of the lands contained in the survey which remains of record before the President of Munster, and a copy whereof is sent herewith, to him and his heirs males lawfully begotten in fee simple, with remain, in default of such issue, to his [base ?] son McCarty, now lives [living ?] and his lawful male heirs, (with reversion to us our heirs and successors,) to hold in *capite* by the fourth part of a knight's fee, and for the yearly rent of 20s. upon each quarter of land only for all services. A proviso shall be inserted in the letter for saving the rights of all strangers who can prove [?] a better title than his.§ If McCarty or any of his heirs, whilst holding under this grant, commit treason against us or any of our successors, then all rights under it shall be at once forfeited. If on further survey it appears that the lands now granted are of greater quantity than is returned he shall pay rent to us at the rate of 20s. a quarter. Have books drawn by counsel to pass these lands to him under the Great Seal of Ireland.

Of such part of the said lands as he or his tenants have had quiet possession of for the space of one or two years last past he is to have continued quiet possession. Of other parts of the same you shall take care not to disturb the possessors until he [McCarty] has made good his title thereto by due process of law or before the President of Munster or Chief Governor of Ireland.

Pp. 2. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 24.

* The document is almost impossible to read here.

† In his MS. transcript, Mr. Hans Hamilton had written the date of this document as 23 January, 1597. I am not able to make out the "23."—R.F.M.

‡ Loftus and Gardener.

§ Erasures here make the document difficult to understand.

1598.

30 May.
Moyallo
[Mallow].

SIR THOMAS NORREYS to SECRETARY CECIL.

This gentleman, Florence McCarty, having been directed from the Queen to find out such special intelligences as he could, has, by examination of some lately come thence, learned that there are now remaining in great credit and estimation two of his kinsmen who may do the Queen good service. He intends soon to send to them a trusty messenger with his letters to persuade them thence and begs me to let you know of this, and to recommend him for favour, which will help to improve his poor estate.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 213, 25.*

8 July.

ELIZABETH JOHNSON to her husband — JOHNSON.

I am very ill, but still alive. I have no money for remedies and owe almost 20*l.* to John Pynnell. Pray send money. You may come if you please, but, if so, you must bring money. My suits will be long and ask a great deal of money besides. I received the writings this day, but they were at Chester a month before they came to me.

Keares is gone to Ireland and his niece will follow. Pynnell demands money and may take the bed from under me. He has my writing for the security of his money. *Other details.* Short is dead.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. (*Hol.*) With antiquarian notes on St. Patrick's horn on the back and a criticism of Cambrensis' description of it, and with notes attached on the life, travels and miracles of Columbanus.

In all pp. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$. Ibid, 26.

10 Oct.
Moyallo
[Mallow].SIR THOMAS NORREYS and CAPTAIN GEORGE THORNTON
to the PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

Since the 4th the traitors have pierced into this country and are now possessed "in the county of Limerick of all the castles heretofore held as well by the English as Irish except very few, and all the gentlemen and inhabitants thereof are joined with them." On Friday last, we hear, they went before Askeaton, but we cannot yet learn whether they have taken it or not. In the co. Cork James Fitzthomas of Desmond with his brother John and Darby McOwen McCarthy, son-in-law to Lord Roche, have now discovered themselves in open action, James taking upon him to be Earl of Desmond; and we are informed that it is plotted amongst them that Derby McOwen McCarthy shall assume the title of Earl of Clancarr, and that Donnogh McCormock, *alias* McDonnogh, his adversary, shall hold without contradiction the country which he now has. Thus these two become friends. The White Knight, father-in-law to McDonnogh, is also to join with them and to have all the lands of his country and certain chief rents (whereto he now makes challenge) without exception granted to him. "All the ancient followers of the Geraldynes

1598.

are complotters in this, and Thomas Oge (whose ancestors in the last Earl of Desmond's time were always constables of the castles in the island in Kerry ") has betrayed it and so got into possession of it, as we hear to-night by two Englishmen who escaped them. Almost all Kerry has joined them and those who have not will no doubt do so on opportunity. Their confidence that they will be able to shake off the Queen's government is so great that it is likely that all the Irish will join them ; insomuch that if speedy succours are not sent we believe they will shortly assay and hazard some of the best cities in this province. We have instantly received letters from the Lieutenant General, in which he says that he means to lie to-night at Kilmallock with 14 companies of foot. We will repair to him. We urgently need larger forces. The 2,000 men asked for in our last* are not sufficient, as the rebellion has assumed proportions which we did not expect.

All the English have suffered great loss of goods, but their lives are safe ; and they have fled from their dwellings to the towns, meaning to take shipping for England.

The Lords Justices say they have sent us munition in a bark, but we hear nothing of it. The bearer, Captain Palmer, has had a long experience of campaigning in the Low Countries, and has shewn his efficiency in small employments here. We recommend him for a company.

Pp. 1¹⁰. Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 213, 27.

16 Dec. Draft of the QUEEN to ——— for drafting soldiers from the LOW COUNTRIES.

In order to strengthen our army in Ireland we have appointed 2,000 of our soldiers now serving in the Low Countries to be drafted there, they being replaced by 2,000 new men raised here. The charges of these two transportations has been estimated at 1,583*l.*, which estimate is sent you. Estimates are also sent for the charge of carrying the men over by two of our ships, the *Dreadnought* and *Foresight*, two pinnaces, the *Charles* and the *Moon*, and of four double fly-boats which are to be sent to sea in warlike manner for six months. These ships (or some of them) are also to attend the Earl of Essex, who is going to Ireland as our Lieutenant, and to serve afterwards on the coast of Ireland as he shall direct. These sums amount to 6,472*l.* and 3,363*l.* ; and of both of these sums some part is to be now delivered for the expedition of those two services—*i.e.* for two months' victuals to the soldiers, &c. [*details*], and such part amounts to 966*l.* 3,109*l.* is also to be paid for victualling the ships, and 1,535*l.* for wages and other necessities, as appears by the estimate.

On receipt of this warrant, pay to Fulke Greville, Esq., Treasurer of the Navy, the said sum of 966*l.* presently needful for the transportation, and also the 1,535*l.* necessary for setting out the ships and pinnaces. Pay also at once to James Marles [?]

* Calendared in *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1598-9, at pp. 280-1.

1598-9.

and Marmaduke Darrell, Esq., victuallers for the Navy, the sum of 3,109*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* necessary for setting out the ships and also 5,800*l.* to them for victuals for the 2,000 men who are to be transported from the Low Countries to Ireland.

When the ships return from transporting the 2,000 men we command you further to pay to the Treasurer of the Navy 617*l.* which, as shewn in the estimate [?],* will rest due for the service ; and when the ships return from the service,† then, after the time limited has expired, pay to them the sum of 1,828*l.* which by the said estimate appears to rest due for the accomplishment of the full charge of the service.

Pp. 3. *Draft.* *Endd.* with date and generally. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 28.

1599.

January ? DECLARATION‡ by the QUEEN regarding the IRISH REBELLION.

Our actions and carriage, ever since we came to the throne, if candidly considered, show how earnestly we have affected the peace and tranquillity of all our dominions, and how much we have preferred clemency [to severity] as better befitting our sex and agreeable to the religion which we profess, and as drawing “to us the hearts of our subjects by love rather than by any other obligation.” This clemency has not, however, brought forth everywhere the fruit of obedience which we expected, “and namely in our kingdom and people of Ireland, where as oftentime heretofore, so now specially of late years, divers of our subjects both of the better sort and of the meaner, turning our leniency to their advantage, have unnaturally and without all ground or cause offered by us (as God is our witness), forgotten their duties and rebelliously taken arms, [and] have committed many bloody and violent actions upon our loyal subjects.” All means have been taken by us and our ministers to reclaim them and avoid bloodshed, but are at length compelled to have recourse to arms “to recover that obedience which by the laws of God and nature is due unto us” . . . “not doubting but thereof to have such success as ever it is the pleasure of God to give Princes’ rights against unnatural rebellions.” We perceive, however, that those who are in rebellion are not all of one sort or carried into it by one mind. Some feel that hard measure has been, perhaps, in the past [meted out] to them by our ministers. Others are moved by seeing the power and might that their adverse sects [septs] have grown to “by advantage of this loose time.” Others have gone out because they were not sufficiently protected against the barbarous rebels, while others have been moved “by a pretence of religion wrought in them by the ministry of certain priests crept into them from foreign parts.” Others were moved

* It is not easy to read this document here. This is the best I can make of it.

† Apparently one sum is to be paid to the transport ships and another to the convoying vessels.

‡ Dated inferentially at the time of Essex’ appointment. The document is greatly damaged by damp. Attempts to make good what is missing are in square brackets.

1599.

by "a strong but misconceived opinion impressed into them by the heads of this rebellion" that we intended the utter extirpation and rooting out of that nation and conquest of the country, "*the very name of which conquest seemeth ridiculous to us, considering how that all the towns, the greatest part of the nobility and multitudes of the people do yet to our great contentment persist in their loyalty to us.**"

We therefore think it well, in accordance with our policy of clemency, to accompany our army† . . . with the signification of our views, that the name of "conquest" seems ridiculous to us, and that we cannot understand how any such construction should have been put on efforts which are designed only to reduce rebellious subjects to obedience. We require all our subjects there to consider into what misery they will throw themselves if they persist in their rebellion and "give us cause to use against them the last but worst of all remedies, the sword"; which for honour, safety and justice we must be driven to do though it bring the direst calamities on those on whom it falls. We wish them to redeem themselves from this fate by returning to their obedience and abandoning those "unjust actions and cruelties whereof we know they cannot but in their own hearts have horror." And to make our mercy their refuge we shall never [refuse it to] such as seek it out of true penitence We desire those who persist in rebellion to know that "our meaning is towards them to take such revenge as their horrible cruelties already committed and their obstinacy in persisting therein doth deserve." We have to that end appointed a minister whose service and experience, together with the force of our good subjects which shall attend him, will cause terror to those who are obstinate and wilful in rebellion, "in making them see before their eyes the short and desperate end of these their barbarous and unnatural courses," whilst his person, "in regard of his place he hath long held here with us both in our Council and favour [will] be a perfect . . . assurance to our dutiful subjects there of the care we have of their preservation," and an assurance also of our clemency to those who wish to come in from the rebels, since he, having knowledge of our most inward affairs, knows how large is our disposition to lenity. We have given him full powers to execute this declaration [to] all our subjects.

Pp. 7½. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 29.

[25 Feb.] Draft clause for EXTRAORDINARIES to be added to the Establishment.

The items of expenditure for which extraordinaries are to be allowed are :—

Sending of letters either by messengers in Ireland or over sea to England.

Carriage of packets of advertisements from Ireland to England and pay of messenger during delay.

* The part in italics is erased.

† Imperfect here.

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Gifts and rewards of civil and military services.

Espial money for foreign service or for attempts in Ireland.

Carrying treasure and victuals from staple places to camps, garrisons &c.

Clerk of the Council's expenses, keeping of prisoners, repair of castles and buildings.

All these to be passed by *concordatum* and not to exceed in any one year 5,000*l*.

A note adds that although on the present establishment there is contained the number of 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse by poll, the Queen's pleasure is that the dead-pays of every hundred in each band both of horse and foot which she is pleased to allow shall be comprised in the said number. The allowance of the Lord Lieutenant is 10*l*. per day, and of the "Lieutenant" 3*l*. a day.

Pp. 1½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 30.

[25 Feb.] THE QUEEN to the UNDER TREASURER of ENGLAND for the time being.

Directing him to pay such sums as may be necessary to defray the cost of the Irish army according to the establishment which is to come into force on 1 March next, and for other payments.

A copy of the privy seal, for which this is a draft, is calendared under this date in *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1588-9, at p. 483. Payments are authorised under the new establishment and the former establishment of 1579; also payments for officers of the Chancery and other law courts, for extraordinaries, for sums sanctioned by the Lord Deputy and six of the Council &c.

Pp. 7. *Draft. Incomplete and much perished. Ibid*, 31.

March 9. SAME to the TREASURER AT WARS in IRELAND for the EARL OF ESSEX.

The Earl has been chosen to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and is to have an allowance of 10*l*. a day set out in the establishment signed by us, and all the ordinary allowances hitherto allowed to Lords Deputies and set out in another establishment signed by the Privy Council. You shall make payment of the sums due to him and to his company of 50 horse and 50 foot after the rate shewn in the establishment from this date. You shall deliver to him, by way of imprest, if he asks it, as much as his pay and the pay of his horse and foot comes to for two months, the same to be defalked afterwards upon his entertainment.

As our previous Lords Deputies have had an allowance from us of 1,000*l*. yearly out of a composition made with our subjects inhabiting the Pale there, in lieu of cess, being 2,100*l*. by the year, we order you to make the same payment to him from the time when he receives the sword there. Our present justices and the lieutenant of our army there shall have the full entertainments ordinarily allowed to Lords Deputies until the time when the Earl of Essex receives the sword. You shall also, on warrant

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from our lieutenant, pay to Sir Henry Wallop the allowance of [blank] per day which we have made to him for the time of his stay there.

Pp. 2½. *Endd.* generally and by Sir George Cary. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 32.

15 March. LETTERS PATENTS in favour of SIR GEORGE CARY.

Westminster.

Announces to all justices, mayors, sheriffs, recorders, farmers, tenants &c. the appointment of Sir George Cary as Vice Treasurer and Receiver General in Ireland with a fee of *Ir. £66 13s. 4d.* *Proceeds* :—We also authorise Sir George to fill and execute the office of Treasurer at Wars in Ireland by himself or his assignee with a fee of 6s. 8d. a day, the wages of 20 horsemen at 9d. a piece a day and 20 footmen at 8d. a piece a day. All usual fees. He shall receive all revenue coming due to us, paying ordinary payments by warrant from the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy &c. and extraordinaries by warrant from the Lord Lieutenant &c. with the advice of the Council. Sir George shall make and yield up a declaration of his accounts once a year during the time he holds the office to the Lord Lieutenant, Chief Governor, Lord Chancellor &c. or such other person as we may appoint by commission to take the same. Such declaration when taken shall be sent here to be reviewed by such Commissioners as we shall appoint to determine the same, who will give Sir George a full discharge against us, &c. We command all justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs &c. to aid and assist Sir George Cary.

Pp. 3½. *Copy.* *Examined* by Francis Gofton, auditor. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 33.

22 March. The QUEEN to SIR HENRY WALLOP, recalling him from Ireland.

For this see *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1598–9, at p. 494. Pp. 2. *Draft.* *Followed by* :

The Queen to the Lord Lieutenant [Essex], for Sir George Cary.

Mentions recall of Wallop and makes appointment of Sir George Cary to succeed him as Treasurer at Wars in Ireland.

Pp. 2½. *Draft.* For this see the same calendar (under date 27 March, 1599) at p. 502.* In all pp. 3½. *Ibid*, 34.

Also a copy or draft of the letter to Sir Henry Wallop, recalling him.

Pp. 1½. *Endd.* with date 21 Feb., 1598. *Ibid*, 35.

22 March. INSTRUCTIONS for SIR GEORGE CARY, appointed as Treasurer at Wars on the revocation of Sir Henry Wallop.

For this see *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1598–9 (at 22 March, 1598–9), p. 494.

Pp. 15. *Draft.* *Imperfect with additions.* *Endd.* *Ibid*, 36.

* A comparison of this draft with the copy calendared in *Calendar of S.P. Ireland* at 27 March, 1599, shows slight differences of wording.

1599.

About May. The QUEEN to HENRY WALLOP, ESQ.
Greenwich.

You, as heir to your late father, Sir Henry Wallop, are to render us his accounts as Treasurer at Wars in Ireland from 1 October, 1595, to 14 April, 1599, on which day your father died. You have petitioned us for leave to bring over Philip Hore and Richard Hopper, your father's late deputies, together with such ledger books, warrants, *concordatums*, bills, rescripts and other reckonings touching the same, so that the accounts may be taken by the Commissioners appointed by us. We allow you to go to Ireland and to take the accounts of all your father's ministers there unaccounted with for the period and to bring over Hore and Hopper, and the said ledger books &c., concerning your said father's accounts. Inform the Earl of Essex of this letter that he may see how necessary it is to have your father's accounts cleared and kept separate from those of the now Treasurer, and may give assistance in sending over you and those whom you bring hither.

P $\frac{1}{2}$. Date left blank. *Copy.* Examined by Lake. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 37.

Latest date, Note of letters by the QUEEN, the PRIVY COUNCIL and the
4 Aug. LORD LIEUTENANT.

This is a list of the dates of letters from the above from April 18 to August 4 1599.

The letters are in some cases referred to as being in "folio 163," "folio 165," &c. and the dates show that the reference is to *S.P. Ireland, Elizabeth*, Vol. 204 (*Entry Book*). The list is in the same hand as that in which the letters have been copied into that entry book.

Notes are added on the officers of the army [in Ireland], which are unimportant.

P. 1. *Endd. Ibid*, 38.

24 —.
Douai.

DERMOT MCCARTHY to WALTER WALE.

Deals with questions of correspondence between the parties. *Proceeds*: We are increased daily in number, so that we are now 70 or 80 in Belgium, but, alas, means are wanting. Everything proceeds most happily in our country against the heretics. Essex has lost many nobles and soldiers [?]. It is said that Thomas Norreys, Lord Grey, and the Earl of Southampton have fallen in Munster. The Earl of Desmond with his nobles is fighting strenuously with the enemy. Dr. David and our Saul are working at the same time in . . . in the islands.

Relates the seizure of Miler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel, by Con. O'Neill.* *Says*: He and his sons were at length liberated by the power of our money. Nr. and the Dean of Cork consecrate churches, perform holy offices &c. in Munster with much profit, [likewise] Dr. Arthur at Limerick and Dr. Heganus in the camp of the Catholics. Dr. Thaddeus Sullivaine is dead.

* See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland, 1599-1600*, p. 2.

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Fathers Field and Fitz-Simon are working well in their province[s]; but hurry, for there will be need of workers at once. Would that many were prepared for the work!

Details as to writer's health and his going to Rheims for his cure. Professions of friendship. *Proceeds*: Pray send me some little spiritual token, which I will keep for your sake; for the image which you left with me is worn, being always at my bedside. Direct the token to James Saul. Father Nugent wished me to direct my letters to you for himself, wherefore see this enclosed sent to him if he be in Italy. If not, have it burnt. Write to me and send my letters to Saul, who will know my address.

Pp. 1½. Latin. Dated "24 — being the day of our liberation." Evidently an intercepted letter, in Dermot McCarthy's hand. The last paragraph partly in English. *Add.* to Walter Wale, Irishman, of the Society of Jesus at Rome. *Endd.*: "Strang[e] and false Irishmen." *Endd.* S.P. Ireland 213, 39. *Enclosing*:—

Dermot McCarthy to Father Francis Nugent.

Is pleased to receive his letters. Has written to him. Reflects on satisfactory state of affairs in Ireland, which is grateful to the poor afflicted country. Speaks of going to France. Speaks of the Franciscan, Dr. Sullivan, and of Dr. Edward Nugent, who is dead. All things are going most happily in Ireland against the heretics. Has written this in English, Irish and Spanish lest it should be intercepted.

P. 1. Dated Douai, 24 August. *Add.* to Father Francis Nugent, of the Capucin Order at Rome. *Ibid*, 39A.

30 Aug. Petition to the QUEEN of THOMAS WINGFIELD, son and executor of JAQUES WINGFIELD, deceased. Shewing that:—

Amongst other parcels of goods that belonged to James Wingfield, deceased, he was interested in the parsonage and tithes of Dunboyne in Ireland, for divers years yet unexpired. Ever since his father's decease they have been disposed from time to time at your Majesty's pleasure, towards maintenance of the Lord Deputy, "to the great hindrance of your poor orator" and to no advantage of your Majesty. These tithes are so retained and disposed of on account of some debt alleged to be due from petitioner's father, and yet determinable upon his accounts.

Prays for a grant of the residue of the years unexpired by *custodiam* on sureties to be answerable for the profits thereof at a reasonable value, and for his relief from tedious suits and repossession of his father's goods. Prays also that, upon surrender made, the Queen will grant him such other parcels in his own name for the years yet continuing as are held of her

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Majesty in farm by the petitioner as assignee to the Earl of Ormond, the same to be liable as they now are to any debt due by account now or hereafter to the Queen. This surrender is made to divert the title from sinister challenge in others who vexatiously claim the same "to the continual suit of your orator."

P. ½. *Endd.* with abstracts of the petition. One of these states that the tithes of Dunboyne whilst in her Majesty's hands have been disposed of to "the College in Ireland" [Trinity College, Dublin]. *Endd.* also with an order by the Queen dated 30 August, 1599, and signed by Sir Julius Cæsar, referring the petition to the Secretary for consideration and report. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 40.

[About
Sept.]

The QUEEN to the LORD LIEUTENANT for THOS. WINGFIELD.

Recites the facts and prayer set out in Wingfield's petition above. States that the late Jacques Wingfield was Master of the Ordnance of Ireland. *Proceeds*: Grant a commission under the Great Seal to fit persons to take the account of Jacques Wingfield. If no arrerages are found due, or if satisfaction is given by Thomas Wingfield for any such arrerages, give him such discharge by advice of our Chief Baron &c. as is usual in the case of persons who have discharged their debts to us, and also "by due warrant or ouster-le-main or other writ in such cases requisite . . . remove our hands from the said parsonage of Dunboyne and so restore him to the quiet possession thereof," so that he may enjoy the remainder of the years therein yet to come upon our demise, "notwithstanding our late warrant to you directed for the passing of the said parsonage in fee farm to the Master and Fellows of the College lately near our City of Dublin erected."

Recites further the prayer in the foregoing petition in regard to the lands held by the petitioner's father by an assignment from the Earl of Ormond, "to whom the same have been heretofore by us demised." *Proceeds*: On his surrender of these lands demise them to him by letters patents at such rents as are reserved to us by the former leases.

Two copies. Pp. 1½ and pp. 2½. One *endd.* with date. *Ibid*, 41 and 42.

5 Oct.

The QUEEN to the EARL OF ORMOND.

Divers reports will no doubt be carried to you of the manner of our restraining of our cousin of Essex upon his return from thence. We have therefore thought it well to acquaint you, whom he has left as chief commander of our forces there, with the truth, "being in effect, that having sent him into that realm with greater forces than at any time we have had in our pay, and authorised him with very liberal power as well for the employing of our said force as also for extending of our mercy, in hope both to have found some such success in recovering of the due obedience of our subjects there as might have been answerable

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to the great means committed to him, we have found that our force hath wrought very slender effects in proportion of their number [and] charge, or our expectation; whereupon our said cousin having had some ground ministered to him at his late being in the North to make trial of the other part of his commission, which was the yielding of our mercy, the chief traitor, Tyrone, presenting unto him very vehement and inward protestation of his desire to return to his due subjection unto us with some offers and demands concerning the same, and, until our pleasure therein should become known, offering an abstinence of arms, and our said cousin, having accepted it and yielded the like in the behalf of our army, thought that he had therein good matter to cause his personally coming over to us to acquaint us with the said traitor's offers, and to leave his charge there, although he knew our express pleasure to the contrary. But we that, in the experience of long reign, have found of how dangerous consequence it is to tolerate sovereign commandments to be contemned, and have often cause to employ in services of great weight persons of his quality and others who might take ill example by this act of his, and, by like errors, breed great inconveniences to our services (whatsoever the sequel of this do prove), could do no less in due consideration of our honour and the respect that to our princely commandments doth belong, than lay some note of our displeasure upon him . . . which we have done by restraining him in the house of our Keeper of our Great Seal.

"Notwithstanding, for his proceedings with the traitor, we do not mislike that he gave ear to his offers, knowing that our natural inclination hath ever been very tender towards all our subjects straying from their duties and by repentance seeking our mercy, with due regard to our honour."

We therefore direct you to observe the cessation with the rebels accorded by our said cousin if it is observed on their part. We will soon send some person well instructed to deal upon the traitor's further offers.

Pp. 2½. with oath. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 43.

1600.

9 Jan. The QUEEN to the LORDS JUSTICES of IRELAND.

or
29 Jan. We have appointed Lord Mountjoy to be Chief Governor and Lord Deputy of Ireland, "in whose sufficiency and willingness to do us all faithful service we have special confidence." The state of the country requires a sole Governor. We require you on his arrival with all solemnities thereunto appertaining and in like cases accustomed" to hand over the Sword to him. From thenceforward you of our Council are to be attendant on him and assist him with the best of your advices.

P. ¾. *Draft. Endd. with date. Ibid.* 44.

Also another draft of same. Pp. 1½. *Endd. with date* 29 Jan., 1599 [1600]. *Ibid.* 45.

1600.

14 Jan.

The QUEEN to the LORDS JUSTICES and LORD DEPUTY for
HOBERT [HUBERT] FOX.*

Fox is chief of his name and has petitioned asking us to take a surrender of the barony of Kilcoursey, otherwise called Munter Ragan, in the King's county in Ireland, and of all the castles, manors, lands and hereditaments in the same barony with the office of seneschal thereof (which office he holds by patent for his life) and [asking for] some pension to strengthen him in our service and a grant of the barony to him and others of his kinsmen and to their several male heirs. In consideration of his good carriage during these troubles in Ireland, and of his good service done to us in the Low Countries and France and Ireland, we authorise you to accept his surrender of the said barony and of all castles, manors, services and customs in the same with the said seneschalship, and to regrant them by whatever names they are known by letters patents under the great seal of that our realm, to Hobert Fox and the heirs male of his body, with successive remainders to Bressell Fox, Owen Fox, Phelim Fox, and Bressell Fox of Kilmaledy, whose father died in our service there, and to their male heirs, to be held by knights' service and the ancient service of four footmen at every general hosting yearly. You shall also grant him the said office of seneschal by letters patents during his life; and he shall have a licence of alienation for disposing of part of the same lands amongst his kinsmen and followers.

Grant him also a pension of 5s. a day for life out of such of our treasure as is sent there. Countenance him against all who try to dispossess him of the said barony.

Pp. 1½. *Draft. Endd.* with name and date. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 46.

Also another draft. P. 1. *Endd. Ibid.* 47.

15 Jan.

SAME to the LORD LIEUTENANT.

Directing that Francis Stafford, gent., be admitted to the Privy Council of Ireland and the usual oath administered to him.

P. ½. *Draft. Endd.* with date. *Ibid.* 48.

27 Jan.

SAME to the LORD DEPUTY[-ELECT] for SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD.

Directing him to cause patents to be passed granting the Marshalship of the Irish army to Sir Richard Wingfield, with all the usual fees.

P. ¾. *Draft.* (One half of a three-quarter page. The other part of the page is lost.) *Endd.* with date. *Ibid.* 49.

Same.

SAME to SAME for SIR GEORGE CAREW.

Munster has been without a single Governor since Sir Thomas Norris died, and its "tumultuous estate" calls for an experienced

* This draft differs considerably from that in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls (Ireland) Elizabeth* (at p. 575), q.v.

1600.

Governor. Knowing Carew's faithfulness, diligence and knowledge of Ireland, where he is a Councillor, we require you, as soon as you have taken the Sword in Ireland, to pass patents under the great seal there, appointing him President of Munster, according to precedents, and with such other clauses in his patents as you think fit. He shall have all such pay, entertainments of horse and foot, &c. as Sir Thomas Norris had at the time of his death. Warrant the Treasurer there to pay him accordingly.

Pp. 1½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 50.

6 Feb.

DRAFT of the ESTABLISHMENT of the IRISH ARMY.

This is a draft for the establishment calendared at this date in Calendar of S.P. Ireland, 1599-1600, at p. 464. The draft has been placed in S.P. Ireland 207, together with the establishment in parchment, which is No. 93 in that volume, and has been marked 93A.

P. 1. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 207, 93A.

11 Feb.

A LIST of divers OFFICERS and SERVITORS not in the ESTABLISHMENT.

Gives details of the sums payable to—

(1) General officers.

The Lord Deputy, for himself and for a band of horse and for 50 foot.

The Treasurer at Wars and Master of the Ordnance.

Divers clerks, gunners, and ministers of the Ordnance.

The Muster-Master.

Total of these for the year, 5,313*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.*

(2) Munster.

President. His yearly pay and diet, and his guard of horse and foot.

Chief and Second Justice and Queen's Attorney.

Clerk of the Council and Provost-Marshal.

Total of these for the year, 1,667*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*

(3) Connaught.

Commander of the forces, for usual and increased pay.

Chief Justice, salary and payment for diet.

Clerk of the Council usual and increased, and Provost-Marshal ordinary pay.

Total per year, 565*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.*

The Provost-Marshal is further to have twelve horsemen assigned to him out of the army.

Total, 5,068*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.*

(4) Ulster.

Governor of the forces at Loughfoyle. His pay as Governor and entertainment as a Colonel.

The Governor of Carrickfergus. He has 10*s.* per diem by patent to be appointed a Colonel of the army and so to continue his entertainment, and to spare the pay of the Colonel and that of the Governor of Dundalk.

1600.

The Governorship of Dundalk to cease and the Governor there to have only a colonel's pay and "to be appointed of the number of twelve. *Quære hic.*" This item is put down as *nil.**

Total of this per year, 60*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

(5) Leinster.

Governor of the Queen's County.

The Governors specified in the old list in the title of officers newly created to cease and to be made of Colonels of the army and to have no other entertainment as Governors, but to retain this government as the Lord Deputy shall appoint.

Provost-Marshal of the army and Provost-Marshal of Leinster.

These Provost-Marshals to have horsemen assigned to them out of the army at the discretion of the Lord Deputy.

Total, 301*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*

(6) Warders in divers provinces contained in the list certified from thence last year to continue till further certificates come. The Lord Deputy to send further certificates promptly. The charge will probably be less than it was because some places have lately fallen into the enemy's hands. With regard to new warders it must be certified who they be; that it may be considered whether they are necessary.

Total, 3,031*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*

(7) Pensioners, &c.

Forty-four pensioners, fourteen almsmen and twenty Commissaries of Musters.

Total of these, 3,122*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*

Pp. 1½ (large). *Endd.* with date. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 51.

About
Feb.†

The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY for [FRANCES,] LADY BURGH.

Lady Burgh complains to us that though she has frequently sent her minister‡ into Ireland with letters from our Council here for the giving to her of certain lease corn which we had allowed to her [late] husband, our Deputy, as part of his entertainment (of which owing to his poverty and heavy charges he should not be abridged), yet our Justices and the Lieutenant-General of our forces§ have withheld the same. We have considered the matter and consulted with some of our counsell here upon it, and are satisfied that as her husband took office before, and held it after, the harvest in respect of which she claims corn, she is entitled to it, though it was not payable till some later

* Presumably the Governor of Carrickfergus had his salary by patent, and the officer at Dundalk was on the establishment as a colonel. Fractions of pence are omitted throughout.

† Must be after Mountjoy's appointment: see the sense in the text.

‡ Her agent.

§ Archbishop Loftus, Gardener and the Earl of Ormond.

1600.

time for ease of our tenants and owing to want of storage. We wrote letters in her favour from Nonsuch on 11 October, 1598, requiring the "detainerer" thereof to make present satisfaction to her for the said corn according to the market price thereof at the time of the late Lord Deputy's death. "They" have, however, given her no satisfaction; but, having been called on by her solicitor, have merely written letters to our Secretary in August last, nearly a year later. In these they make no mention of our letters to them, but say (what admits their liability) that they are willing to pay last year's lease corn to the Earl of Essex and before, in a former year, to Sir Thomas Norreys. If they deny Lord Burgh, they might just as well deny these.

As you have been appointed Lord Deputy we let you know that we cannot approve these dilatory courses, especially those of the Lord Chancellor and Chief Justice there. Consider the matter promptly, and, unless you find stronger reasons against it than any of which we have heard, see that Lady Burgh is satisfied.

Pp. 3. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 52.

Sept. 8.
Oatlands.

The QUEEN to the TREASURER OF WARS in IRELAND.

Warranting him to repair to England. Already calendared in *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1600, p. 416. This draft is bound into the volume of dated documents.

S.P. Ireland 207. pt. V. 11A.

About
Sept. 8.*

SAME to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL for SIR GEORGE CARY.

We have, at your, the Treasurer's, request authorised you to come over to England for the purpose of passing your accounts.

You, the Deputy, are to take such order for helping the Treasurer as may lead to the safe passing over of him and his charge. You shall give him a copy of our warrant to him, or else let him take the original, he leaving a copy of the original, signed by the Council there, with you.

By warrant of May 18 last† we willed to retain in pay certain of the Irishry who leave the rebels and return to their natural obedience, up to 2,000 men or £E.1,000 a month, in pay. You, our Treasurer, do not think this sufficient warrant to you to pay these men, who are in excess of the sum limited in the establishment. These are to warrant you to pay such sums as may be due for their maintenance on warrant from the Lord Deputy.

We have sent to the province of Munster James Fitzgerald, son of the late Earl of Desmond, on whom we bestow the title of his father, to make trial of his disposition and means to do us service, whereof great offer is made to us by his friends; and are further pleased to give him reasonable provision for his maintenance, but do not wish to increase our charge there. You shall convert the pay of one company to a payment to Fitzgerald,

* See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland* for this date.

† Not calendared in *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1600, *q.v.*

1600.

the state of our service in Munster being such that the presence of one company more or less makes small difference.

Direct the President of Munster to discharge the weakest company in his province; and you, our Treasurer, are to pay the sums heretofore paid to it to persons to be nominated by the President of Munster in trust for the support of Fitzgerald, so long as we use his service.

Pp. 2½ and pp. 2. *Two slightly different drafts*, in which the clauses are placed in different order. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 53 and 54.

[17 Sept.] The QUEEN to the LORD CHANCELLOR and OTHERS for taking the accounts of Ireland.

By commission under the Signet dated 13 Dec., 1585* we directed you, the Chancellor for the time being, the Chief Justices for the time being of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Master of the Rolls and Surveyor of our lands and possessions there and Auditor of that our realm for the time being . . . to take and determine the accounts of the Vice-Treasurer, &c. the Master of the Ordnance and the ministers of our victuals [and] works, and others there. These accounts were to be engrossed in duplicate and signed by you [*details*], and one copy to remain to our use of record in the Court of Exchequer there and the other delivered to the persons accomptable, as their good discharge. In these accounts we willed and earnestly required you to have regard to such petitions and demands as had good and probable reasons to maintain and prove the same.

We authorised you [*details*] also to call Sir Henry Wallop before you with all his books, leidgers, certificates, &c. and cast, try and examine them and also to examine his account as Treasurer at Wars, and report to us thereon [*details*] that your report might be considered by Commissioners appointed here for re-examination of the Treasurer at War's accounts.

By letters patents dated at Westminster, 15 March, 1599,* we authorised Sir George Cary, Knight, to be Treasurer at Wars and Under Treasurer and Receiver General in Ireland, and he has to pay out large sums both of our money received from hence and of our revenue arising there from 1 March, 1558-9, to Michaelmas, 1599. He has asked to have his accounts examined and himself discharged by such Commissioners as we think fit to appoint. We commission you or any four or more of you [*details*] to take and pass his accounts and to present a report thereon, which we may refer, on re-examination of his accounts, to certain Commissioners to be appointed by us. You shall call before you Cary, the Master of the Ordnance, the ministers of the victuals, the clerks of the works and buildings, the clerk or receiver of the first fruits and twentieth parts, the clerk or receiver of our fines and casualties of Munster and every other accountant, whose accounts you (or any others in your

* Not in *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls (Ireland)* for this date.

1600.

place) are or have been authorised to inspect, to exhibit all accounts, books, bills, &c. which may touch their charge or discharge and remain in their hands or in the hands of any officers in Ireland. Cast, try and examine these accounts carefully and make full accounts or declarations in regard to them in the manner formerly accustomed. These shall be engrossed in two parts, signed by any four of you; one part to remain of record in our Court of Exchequer there, and the other to be delivered to the accountants for their discharge. Take care that any petitions or demands made on you [during the taking of the accounts] are well grounded; and we authorise any four or more of you to pay such sums as you think fit to any persons occupied in and about them or about the execution of this Commission for their time and trouble. If you find that any of the persons whose account you take owes money to the State the delivery of your declaration shall not exonerate him until he takes steps for payment of such debt by "estallment" or otherwise.

Pp. 2½ (*large*). *Add.* to the Archbishop of Dublin (and Lord Chancellor), Secretary Fenton, the Chief Justices of the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, the Surveyor of the Queen's Lands and Possessions, and the Auditor of Ireland for the time being. *Endd. with date. S.P. Ireland* 213, 55.

17 Sept. COMMISSION to the ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN (and LORD CHANCELLOR), the CHIEF JUSTICES of the KING'S BENCH and COMMON PLEAS, the CHIEF BARON of the EXCHEQUER, MASTER of the ROLLS and others.

Since 1 March, 1598-9, Sir George Cary has been Treasurer at Wars and Under-Treasurer and Receiver-General of our revenue. Since then divers great sums of money have come into his hands by which he finds himself greatly burdened. He has asked that for his speedier discharge and our satisfaction his accounts of all such sums of treasure may be taken from the time of his appointment to the feast of the Annunciation following.

Proceeds as foregoing.

Pp. 7½. *Endd. Ibid*, 56.

Also another draft of portion of foregoing.

Pp. 1¼, *partly erased. Ibid*, 57.

17 Sept. The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY and VICE-TREASURER of
Oatlands. IRELAND.*

At the humble suit of you, our Treasurer, we have decided to grant you leave to come here for the yielding up of your account as Treasurer at Wars. You may come at any time convenient to you after Allhallontide, leaving your charge there in the hands of sufficient deputies. You, our Deputy, shall give our Treasurer at Wars leave accordingly. You, the Treasurer, shall also bring

* This draft differs substantially from the warrant of 8 September, 1600 (for which see *Calendar of S.P. Ireland* of that date), and is therefore given here.

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over your lidger books, accounts, &c. and other reckonings which must be seen and perused by such our Commissioners as shall be authorised to hear and determine your accounts. We also warrant you, the Treasurer, to send over all your lidger books, &c. before you, and can be contented that you should come in person at such later time as may be consistent with the discharge of your duties. You, our Deputy, shall give our Treasurer a copy of this warrant to enable him to come or send over at any time, yourself retaining the original; or giving him the original and taking from him a copy signed by him and the rest of the Council.

Pp. 24, with alterations in the margin in a different hand to the text. *Endd.*: "Copy* of her Majesty's letter, &c." *S.P. Ireland* 213, 58.

17 Sept? **CLAUSE** to be added to the foregoing [?].

The accounts delivered in to our Council there shew that the charge for extraordinaries for each half year is much above what is allowed by the establishment. The invasion will increase them, and we do not think you should wait for our warrant hence before paying them. We authorise such payments of extraordinaries as you have already made by warrant from the Lord Deputy; and direct you to make them in future on warrant by him or *concordatum* by him and the Council notwithstanding any restraint in our establishment. Take care that we are not burdened unnecessarily by these, and make a monthly return here of all such sums as you pay in this way.

P. 23. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 59.

23 Sept. **The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY for JOHN CROSBIE**

Directing him to take steps for the election and consecration of Crosbie as Bishop of Kerry.

These letters are calendared in *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls, Ireland* (1862), at p. 560, under date 2 Oct., 1600. Where that entry reads "continuance of such a promotion," this draft reads "countenance of, &c." and where that entry reads "the rebellions" this draft reads "these rebellions." Where that entry reads "skilled in the English tongue," this draft reads "and yet skilled in the Irish tongue."†

P. 23. *Draft.* *Endd.* *Ibid*, 60.

30 Sept. **NOTE on letters to be written in favour of the ARCHBISHOP of CASHEL.**

In a letter from the Lords of the Council of England, dated at Aldermason [Aldermaston] on 12 Aug., 1592, the Lord Deputy and Council were ordered to assist the Archbishop of Cashel in

* Not a copy of anything in the *Calendar of State Papers (Ireland)*. See also *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls (Ireland) Elizabeth* (1862), p. 565, for a similar letter to the Lords Justices.

† There would be no point in stating that Crosbie knew English well. I expect that the copyist of the entry in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls &c.* has mis-read his original.

1600.

recovering any possessions, rents, &c. wrongfully detained from Cashel, Lyosmore [Lismore] and Waterford, and to grant him for that purpose such commissions as he might desire.

In a letter dated 24 Dec., 1590, we desired the Lord Deputy and Council to inquire into the indirect taxation of 20th parts procured by Arthur Hide on divers livings in the several dioceses, and made further provision for the benefit of the church and college of Cashel.

A letter dated 9 July, 1591, gave similar directions in respect of lands, rents and services alleged to be wrongfully withheld from churches which the Archbishop of Cashel holds.

A letter of 2 December [was] very favourable to the Archbishop, exempting him from process for the 20th parts until he shall reap the commodity of his livings.

A letter dated at Oatlands, 30 September, 1600,* signifying her Majesty's pleasure for several favours for himself as well concerning lands usurped from him in the time of this last rebellion as for pardoning his sons and brother for using means for the Archbishop and his son's ransom from the rebels; also for renewing and confirming to him and his successors under her Majesty's Great Seal of Ireland certain writings of liberties granted [to the Archbishop of Cashel] by the Queen's predecessors "according the record there," the patent being defaced by the rebels when they took the Archbishop prisoner. The Lord Chancellor refused to do this "for that he ought not to put the Great Seal without her Majesty's special hand."

Many other letters in favour of the Archbishop remain here and there in the Council books.

P. 1. *Endd.* generally and with a note signed by Secretary Cecil: "I pray you, Mr. Lake, let a letter be drawn to this effect for her Majesty's signature." *Signed*, Robert Cecyll. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 61.

About Oct. Journal of the CAMPAIGN in the NORTH.

The northern journey and plantation of a garrison at Armagh was intended to be undertaken immediately on my lord's return from beating the rebels in Ophaly, and, if winds and other impediments had not hindered the coming of treasure, men and victuals out of England, his lordship would have more seasonably entered on this journey before his going into Leix. In the meantime he did singularly good service, having before thoroughly instructed the State how to expedite all preparations for the northern journey, and resolving to return from Leix upon any notice of the arrival of his means out of England, "how fair soever occasion should be presented to entertain him further."

At his return to Dublin, which was before the treasure and victual was come, my lord heard that the traitor was already known to be in the woods of the Moyry and had confidently undertaken to maintain that passage against him "proclaiming

* A note in the margin adds: "To the Lord Deputy and Council as to the President of Munster."

1600.

to the world that if he were now beaten thence he would ever after give our army the way" and never dispute any fastness in Ireland against the Queen's forces; and that to that end he had with unusual art and industry fortified the ground "which is itself the best and most advantageous for their manner of fight which all Ireland affordeth," and had drawn from all his partizans their best men, even from the remotest parts of the North. These considerations animated my lord to prosecute his intents without intermission even before the provisions and men had arrived from England. He ordered such victuals as were in store to be sent to Dundalk and Carlingford and supplying his want of money by borrowing from the towns and gentlemen, he left Dublin on 15 September,* and appointed the rendezvous at Dundalk on the 17th. From the walls there he could see the traitor's troops of horse and foot on the hill of Faugher about two miles from the town. They were within a quarter of a mile of the entrance to the pace which leads through the wood of the Moyrie to the Newry. Thence their horse, discovering the plains between them and Dundalk, would oftentimes, at full sea (when they were free from the danger of a sally, as the river is not fordable), fall down close to the posts and recover some poor garron or sheep. The Lord Deputy, impatient to see them muster so near him, and seeing that, by lodging thereabouts, he would devour the grass whereof he purposed "to prevail himself," dislodged the 20th and marched towards the pace with under 3,000 foot and less than 300 horse. He might easily have encamped further from the fastness [than the hill of Faugher], "where his lodging had been less subject to the weather, his fuel to have been gotten at an easier price, his guards not half so strong and the danger of their ambushes by day and alarms by night far less; yet, finding these reasons overbalanced by greater respects, his lordship chose rather to sit down upon the hill of Faugher, close unto the skirt of that great wood that leadeth towards their entrenchments, the first of them not being past a very little half mile distant from the market place of our camp; where he was in expectation to fight for every stick of wood and almost for his water, to keep his night guards of horse close home to their skowtes, with only a little ford between them, to beat and discover a good distance round the camp after the discharging of the watch every day before the hazarding of the horse to grass. By accosting them so near he reaped this chief benefit, that no hour of fair weather was lost without attempting something upon them, nor the least occasion omitted that might draw on a skirmish, the better to acquaint our men in lesser factions [*sic*] with the fight of the northern rebel whom they had seldom tasted in later times but to their cost, and therefore [it was] most necessary to make them more confident in giving on, and more assured and orderly in coming off, ere we should set up so great a rest [risk] as must have been set up in attempting to force him in gross and in the greatest strength. In our march

* See Phillips to Cecil at this date in *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1600, p. 433.

1600.

from Dundalk we might see their greatest squadrons both of horse and foot range over the highest tops of the Moyry hills, having only sent down some 50 or 60 horse to coast us somewhat near, rather to view the army or cut off some poor straggler than to entertain the offer of a skirmish, which they always refused, quitting to us without dispute all the grounds between the town and our lodging, until, the camp being pitched, order was given to Sir Oliver St. John to take out of every regiment 80 men with whom he fell into the woods at the mouth of the pace which were nearest for provision of fuel. Here the enemy seemed willing to draw on a round skirmish, but finding, after two hours' experience, that our men were fully resolved to fight for their lodging and purchase themselves cabins and fire, how dearly soever they paid, they contented themselves to retire with loss of many good rogues. Amongst them is named, as remarkable, one of the O'Neales." Amongst ours some few hurt; and amongst the rest William Lovell, brother to Sir Robert Lovell, serving very daringly, was shot in the face. No other man of note was touched.

"That night they bestowed divers volleys of shot into our camp," but, apparently finding it was of little effect, they did not continue to do so for a long time after.

The 21st some of their horse came close [to us, hoping to draw*] our men into an ambush which they had cunningly laid, [but all they*] reaped of this device was good sound knocks, so as they cannot brag much of their winning.

But seeing the occasion for small engagements are infinite when two armies well armed and willing to fight are close together, I will not trouble you further with the particulars of our "journal factions," but only note what has been specially remarkable in our days of hottest fight. "The grounds which they possessed were such as might discover every corner of our quarter, giving them advantage to dispute our least errors, and when the weather gave us leave we spared no pains to climb the rocks and mountains, dispossessing them of so fair a prospect, as I may truly say that had the season been more favourable to our attempts we should have made them weary of our neighborhood and enforced them to quit their lodging before they did which was indeed our greatest fear, for, seeing the waters were yet impassable and our provisions and means not yet arrived," [we could not follow them up*].

The conveniency of lodging [being] better anywhere than at the Newry, nothing could happen more agreeable to our desires than to make the war upon him where with greatest difficulty he might sustain it, and where he cannot without great pain draw his men together, having drawn them far from their homes and made them endure labour and penury in the hope of pillaging this army. They are very much discouraged at finding themselves beaten in their greatest strength, which has gained for us heart and reputation, and lost them for the enemy. They are astonished to find that our men can stand the hard weather.

* The document is imperfect here. I supply the words in square brackets to make sense.

1600.

in which we are "more patient than accustomed." They found us resolved to force the passage against them foot after foot, as towns are carried. It is not amiss if our fights had been redoubled, for we kill four or five men for every man we lose, as is shown in all our various skirmishes.

On September 25th in the afternoon, taking advantage of a great mist which kept them from discovering the drawing out of our troops, the Lord Deputy decided to try to force the trenches and "taste them thoroughly" as to their strength and the willingness of the rogues to defend them.

"But first it may be observed in what sort the way lay between them and us from the fall of the hill of Faugher, whereon we lodged, being (as I said before) a little half-mile from the first trenchment in the Moyry. There arose northwards two other great mountains or rocks with equal ascent, the one of the right hand, the other on the left, their tops being distant more than a musquet shot from one another, which were those mountains where they usually shewed themselves. In the midst between them lay the way through the woods of the Moyry, on all sides naturally fenced with strong cliffs and thick bushes and trees even to the [Three*] Mile Water or ford which the traitor had chiefly undertaken to maintain, and to that end had made three several barracadoes or trenches a caliver shot distance, flanked from higher ground on the left hand with other works which were also fortified, from which, as from the trenches, he might annoy the assailants with shot, which he had placed there very thick.

Captain Williams, to whom my lord gave the leading of a forlorn hope, consisting of 100 choice men out of several companies, together with Sir Robert Lovell, Captain Jefson, Captain Roper and Captain Orrell as voluntaries, and other troops for seconds, passing this way and falling upon the enemy's sentinels upon the sudden (for it was a very great mist), broke into the trenches which they had made, crossed the high way and forced both the two guards they kept in that place. The rebels presently quit their trenches and left their arms behind them, which our men took, killing some of them as they ran away, and with like advantage advanced forthwards and entered their second trenches, being some six or seven score paces from the former and of greater strength, killing divers of the rogues and taking the spoil of their arms and victuals, as oatmeal, butter and such like." We had no purpose, as I suppose, to hold those trenches, because, though the way was clear, there was not yet any means to pass the fords, and by trial we found that all the ground round about was almost as strong for the traitor as the trenches themselves. Accordingly, having viewed the trenches and seen how well the Irish could defend them, Captain Williams and his men came off; and the rogues, repossessing them, skirmished with him "and in the meantime falling down from other parts of the mountains they maintained a hot fight with the rear and wings, which were left to make the retreat." Captain Williams and the voluntaries which

* MS. perished here; but see *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1600, p. 460 l. 6.

1600.

were with him behaved very gallantly. Seven of our men were killed and thirty hurt. Report from the rebel camp puts their loss at 120 [killed and wounded].

For the next five or six days there was no action owing to great rain and wind, which blew down the Lord Deputy's tent and several others. Connor Roe, Maguire's son, whom the rebels kept as a pledge, escaped from their camp and came to ours to his father.

The second of October upon a sudden there was "one of the greatest fights that hath been seen in Ireland." The occasion was that when our men were withdrawing from the trenches the enemy railed at them, asking them why they came not again to the trenches, where we should find them better prepared. This day holding up somewhat fair, some of their horse came about our skowtes about dinner time, and, railingly, asked "when the churls would have dined and come again to the trenches." Immediately after dinner the Lord Deputy caused all the companies to be in arms with a view to mustering them. The enemy, seeing us all under arms, "drew down in a bravery, horse and foot, towards our camp," so near that finding one of Sir Henry Folliett's men straggling in the fern hard by them gave him almost twenty wounds. Hereupon our men by order drew out upon them, with direction at first only to beat them from the tops of the mountains* [to the tren]ches, and so to make their retreat. As, however, the enemy did not retreat in the usual way, they [i.e., the English forces] were ordered "to give home to their trenches and to force them; which accordingly they did and possessed them a good while, maintaining the fight with the rogues in their great strength almost four hours together, at what time, being commanded off, our men made a gallant and orderly retreat. My Lord Deputy, having made his stand of horse upon the top of the rock at the right hand, at his first coming up had a gentleman of his called John St. George, being hard by him, mortally wounded, whereof he died." Our men behaved very bravely, in particular Sir Oliver Lambert, Sergeant Major, who was shot through the body entering the first trench, but is now recovered. Sir Thomas Burgh, who forced two trenches, was lightly hurt, and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, who was three miles off when the fight began, came time enough to receive a bullet in his body. Captains Harvey and Gainsford were wounded, and Captain Anthony Rush killed; and so were Willes, lieutenant to Sir Francis Stafford, and Jackson, lieutenant to Captain Blayne, "two very gallant men." Sir Christopher St. Lawrence's ensign and lieutenant and Captain Cawfield's lieutenant, Sir Henry Folliett, who commanded the regiment of Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Sir Samuel Bagnall and Sir Richard Morison with their troops, maintained the hottest of the fight. When they were pressed by the enemy, some few of the Lord Deputy's horse, under Sir William Godolphin, charged most seasonably, though on most unfavourable ground, "where he had his horse stricken under him stark dead with a blow in the forehead that the blood sparkled into his face and some of the

* See note on p. 625.

1600.

poulder of the shot." Sir Henry Davers, who commanded the horse, brought them on to serve "in that uneven ground where never horse served." Maguire and his son did the like, and the son killed two rogues with his own hands. "Amongst all these Sir Henry Folliott carried himself most resolutely," Sir John Bartley, and Captains Orrell, Roper, Esmond, Bodley, Constable and Rainscrofte also served well. During the fight their carriages were seen to march away, they were so near to a complete overthrow. The horse, where the Arch-traitor himself was, kept aloof on the other side of a ford. Our other losses amounted to about 20, and of the rogues (though they are as cunning in concealing their losses as any in the world) between three and four hundred. "Themselves did call this day's work their great overthrow." Two days after the fight the O'Reiley's came to the traitor "and finding they came so short to the fight they tare their glibbes for anger, but Tyrone bade them not doubt but they should have fighting enough."

The fifth [of October] was the only fair day we had since we encamped. The Lord Deputy drew out the forces and commanded and appointed Sir Charles Piercy to move with his regiment to the top of the left rock, and Sir Oliver St. John with his to second him. Sir Charles was engaged by the rebels, and when they saw that he had got so far forward that St. John's supports could not reach him for some time they charged him on all sides at once. They brought up 300 men to the charge; but Sir Charles, though he had only 230 men, made a counter-charge on all sides, until the wings which Sir Oliver St. John sent in support came up. Twelve of the rebels were killed in the place, including Connor Roe McPrior, a man of importance. They did not follow us in our retreat, which it is their usual custom to do. Sir Robert Lovell was killed by two shots whilst charging with a squadron of cavalry. Bruerton, lieutenant to Sir Oliver St. John, was also slain. Captains Williams, Roe and Trevor behaved very gallantly.

It is very hard to get at the actual loss which in all these fights the enemy have suffered. None of them put it under 400; some as high as 800. The correct figure is probably 500. We have lost 50 killed and 200 wounded, of whom not 15 have as yet died of their hurts.

The next day being somewhat fair in the afternoon the Lord Deputy advanced to the trenches to see what stomach the rogues had to fight, but they made little countenance and bestowed little shot on us.

A day or two later the Lord Deputy withdrew the army to Dundalk and Bedlowstown [Bellewstown]. Sir Samuel Bagenall went back to Newry, at which time the traitor with his forces drew down some men and the Lord Deputy drew some 500 foot and his own company of horse to countenance Sir S. Bagenal's retreat. The traitor looked on and did not even offer a single shot.

On October 14th the Lord Deputy heard that the traitor's force had broken up and that he had returned to Lough Lurkin.

1600-1.

These services have held some people in better order than they would otherwise have observed. Donell Spanyagh is one of them; and the Lord Deputy has heard from the Council in Dublin that he has behaved himself more submissively than was expected at his hands.

In Fermanagh McGuire's son has got together 300 men and has fought Cormock, the traitor's brother, taken his only son (Art Oge) prisoner and slain 100 of his men. Neale Garve, of the O'Donnell's, has taken O'Donnell's house, the Castle of Liffer, and remains there with five English companies. Since taking it he is reported to have fought with O'Donnell and slain his brother and above 200 of his men.

In general the rebels are dismayed and scattered. Tyrone is jealous of his own safety. He lies not two nights together in one place, and suffers none but chosen, trusty men to be about him "nor eateth or drinketh anything but in fear and suspicion."

Pp. 5½. *Closely written. Conway papers. S.P. Ireland 213, 62.*

1601.

[13 Jan.] ROYAL WARRANT to the TREASURER of ENGLAND for the WARDEN of the MINT for IRELAND.

Upon divers weighty considerations we have lately thought right to alter our coins current in Ireland "and to reduce the same to one uniform coin of a standard certain by us [?] now intended to be established there. Out of the treasure in the Exchequer you shall deliver to Thomas Knivett, Warden of the Mint, £E.25,000, to be by him used for purchasing plate or bullion for making the new coins in Ireland according to the warrant which he has received for that purpose from us. If no such plate or bullion can be had, then he shall coin the standard money into as much of the new money as it will make. Besides the tale, you shall deliver it to him by weight. *Details.*

P. ½. *Draft. Endd. as in title and with date. Ibid, 63.*

[14 Jan.] SAME to the WARDEN of the MINT for graving coins.

We have determined to alter our moneys in Ireland into a new standard, which we intend shall be of five several sorts, *i.e.*, shillings, sixpences, threepences, twopences and pence, of the compass and breadth of the like moneys coined in our mint here, or as near as may be. These are to be graven with these forms, *vizt.*—on one side a harp with a Crown Imperial and our word *Posui Deum adiutorem meum*, and on the other side our arms with our style in the circumference.

Give order to Charles Anthony, graver of our mint, to cause to be graven such a number of irons for the striking of our said coins as may be thought necessary from time to time by the

1601.

Vice-Treasurer. You shall likewise make reasonable allowance to the graver for his trouble.

P. 3. *Draft. Endd.* as in title and with date. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 64.

[22 April.] The QUEEN to the PRESIDENT OF MUNSTER concerning the NEW COINAGE in IRELAND.

We have from time to time sent to our Council our appreciation of your good services in Munster for transmission to you, that you might know we recognised them and had heard of them, and are not ungrateful to faithful servants. We have now to give charge to you on matters in the future and therefore, to encourage you, give you thanks for what you have done in the past. *Further gracious expressions. Proceeds* :—We have found that the coining of sterling money for payment of our army there brings marvellous inconveniences to that realm and this. The wisdom of most of our progenitors maintained a difference between the coin of both realms “that of Ireland being ever inferior in goodness to that of this realm.” For some time, however, the same coin has been current in both countries, to the infinite loss of this kingdom, “our moneys being out of that realm transported into foreign countries for lack of merchandise.” We have, therefore, thought well to return to the ancient course of our progenitors, and have caused a coin to be stamped here of such a fineness as we find to have been in use for the same. We are now sending over a great quantity thereof by our Treasurer at Wars to be employed in paying the army and for other purposes, and decry all other coinage by proclamation. We doubt not but in this matter our Deputy and Council will proceed according to our directions. As your province is that of the most traffic in Ireland, and therefore the one in which, at first, merchants are most likely to show opposition, we thought it fit to give you particular notice of this our purpose and to authorise you “to use all your authority and judgment likewise towards our people there, as well of the towns as others, to make this new course pleasing and well liking to them upon such reasons as are contained in our proclamation publishing the same,” and as you may gather from our correspondence with our Treasurer and the Council there. We have directed copies [of such correspondence] to be sent to you that you may learn our “apparent reasons to lead us to do it, although it be a matter which we need not make gracious with any reason at all, being merely dependent of our prerogative to alter the standard of our moneys at our pleasure.” Therefore, though we doubt not of your readiness to further whatsoever we should command, we wish you in this thing—which we wish to see well-established from the first—to give all attention to it as well by your own actions as by assisting our Treasurer and his deputies in uttering of the new moneys and bringing in all others according to the course of the exchange, which we have instituted in order to make the matter better accepted of our people.

Pp. 3. *Draft. Imperfect* [?] *Endd.* generally and with date. *Ibid*, 65.

1601.
25 May.

THE QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY and LORD CHANCELLOR for
SIR RICHARD GRAEME.*

Graeme has served us well, &c. We are pleased to grant him, at his suit, the towns, &c. of Rahin, late in the tenure of Edmond McMolmory and Rahinduff and Crymorgan, lately held by Lisaghe O'More, and Dowrie, held by Shane O'More, and Money ne Bollie, late in the holding of Cale O'Kelly, and also Sranellane [Sranela?], late in the holding of Teig McDonagh, all in the Queen's County; and likewise Dirry Mollyn, lately held by Barnaby Connor in the King's County in the said realm. These lands are of the yearly value of 16*l.* 19*s.* or thereabouts, and are forfeited by the rebellion of the tenants thereof. If any of the tenants of these lands have not yet been attainted you are to proceed to the present attainder of them according to the course of the laws of that our realm. Upon the attainder our pleasure is that you cause by our commission inquisition to be taken and office found of the state of all such lands as any such persons were seized of at the time of their entering into rebellion, whether dead, alive, or still in rebellion. On such office returned and recovered for us, grants shall be made [to Graeme] of all the towns, lands and parcels &c. found with all their rights and members, provided that the office does not find that the value of the lands is over 30*l.* a year. Graeme shall hold as fully as the rebels did. A rent of 16*l.* 19*s.* and all other services found to have been rendered to the Crown for the same shall be reserved.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Draft. Endd.* generally and with date. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 66.

Also another copy of the same draft with corrections.

P. 1. *Ibid.*, 67.

Also a third draft, in which the lands &c. granted are stated as Rahin, Rahinduffe, Dorrie, Molemenebollie and Sronnellane, lately belonging to Edmond McMolmory, and also the lands of Derry Molline belonging to Barnaby Connor lying in the Queen's County.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Endd. Ibid.*, 68.

8 July. SAME to the LORD DEPUTY for DANIEL O'BRIEN.

This is a draft of the grant calendared in *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls, Ireland (Elizabeth)* (1862), at pp. 592-3. The lands granted are in this draft set out as Carrigkechowle, Donbeg, Ballekitth [?], Moyart and Goer, situate in the barony of Moyart *alias* West Corkvaskin.

The draft is amended so as to make it valid in the time of Elizabeth's successor, King James I. It is verified as a true copy by Jacob Wellman, clerk in the Rolls Office.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$ large. *Endd. Ibid.*, 69.

* The grant as enrolled (see *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls, Ireland (Elizabeth)* (1862), pp. 585-6) is substantially different from this draft.

1601.
About
Sept.*

Discovery of RICHARD LANGTON's travel beyond seas.

He was in Paris wanting means to live and met one M. Reymon de Jorde, who was then bound for Rome, and was entertained by him. Langton and Reymon travelled together to Naples, and then back from thence to Rome.

Sir Andrew Wyse was at Naples. Hearing by one Oliver Coan and one Luker (born in Waterford) that Langton was there, Wyse sent for Langton and asked him what news there was of the Catholics in that country. On this matter, however, Wyse was better informed than Langton, for one Nicholas Wyse of Waterford, his own brother, who was here agent for that city, sent his boy here to Sir Oliver with news as to the state of Ireland and England. Coan, Luker and the boy told Langton of this. They also told him that their master, Sir Andrew, was advertised from time to time of the occurrences in Ireland.

Langton met in Naples one Nicholas Coche,† born in Colchester. His brother is a trumpet and did go the Earl of Southampton. Langton likewise met him in Rome in the English college. There Coche told Langton that he would see him shortly, and Langton told him that he dwelt not in England, and that he was to go in his pilgrimage to St. James in Galicia, whereupon Coche gave him a French crown, and told him that he was to go to the Cardinal, *alias* the Duke, in the Low Countries, with letters, and from thence into England to Mr. Moore, of Leaten [?] and to his son, a priest, with letters. Langton also saw Father Phillips deliver Coche letters to be brought to Mr. Moore and to his son the priest, and willed him [Langton] to have him [Phillips] commended to his friends in England. Langton likewise heard Father Parsons willing him [Phillips ?] to deliver his commendations to the said Moores and to his other friends whom Coche knew well. Coche was in private speech with Father Parsons in his chamber, and was in the company of Langton until they came to Bologna. From thence Coche took his journey to Padua to Mr. Webb, an Englishman, and Langton went to Genoa, and so crossed here to deliver all his knowledge to your honour.

A note in margin adds:—This Coche is of a mean stature, flaxen hair and beard. He is pale faced with a pike nose [?]. He was shot in the right temple and there is a little hole to be seen there. His right hand was burned, which may be easily seen by his fingers.

Text proceeds:—"One Edward Bremincham, an Irish gentleman, being in Rome, told Langton that he doubted not that my Lord Admiral should be despatched out of the world, by one way or other, before May day next, and his lordship being cut off might be a great joy to them. Langton told him that it was impossible to find a means to despatch his honour. Bremincham answered and said that there was one Thomas Talbot, a Jesuit, born in Cheshire, appointed and commanded for that purpose, and that he is to deliver a letter to his lordship, and

* See the pass to Langton above. p. 80.

† This name is spelt in several different ways.

1601.

that in opening the letter an air or scent should rise into his nose and [he] should die immediately after."

A note adds here :—This should be a sufficient warning to her Majesty and your honour to be careful in opening letters delivered to you by any unknown person.

Text proceeds :—Langton dined with Bremincham and Talbot at Rome, and they talked over the matter, "and Talbot is resolute to die for he knoweth that he cannot escape. The said Talbot is a very proper man, not of a high stature, fair-faced, is freckled in the face and hands, with fair grey eyes and with brown hair and beard. His beard is cut round and short. He is about thirty years of age." He was very well acquainted with Mr. Hawcon, of Lancashire. Bremincham took his journey toward Parma [Parma] where he had a charge of 100 men in the number of 4,000 prepared in Parma, and he besought Langton to come to him thither.

Langton saw 5,000 mustered in Naples, 6,000 in Parma, the Navarrese and Pizanca [Piacenza] and 5,000 in Milan.

He saw them receive two months' pay before the hand.

Oliver Coan and Luker told him that 14,000 of those companies were to go for Ireland.

Peter Lombarde is made Primate of Armagh, and Dr. Faggan is made Bishop of Ross in Munster.

A note in margin adds :—Both these were born in Waterford.

Text proceeds :—Peter Baptista Marsenas[?] and cousin to the Pope as *pater celestia* and the said Lombard as Chief Commissioners and Councillors for the Pope's army, were to set forward presently for Ireland. Faggan is to go with them with 20 Irish prelates. Baptista and Lombarde do carry with them a million of gold and silver at the least, as Sir Andrew Wyse's servant told him [Langton]. Sir Andrew Wyse came specially from Naples to advise on that action.

When Langton came to Parma on his journey the aforesaid Edward Bremincham* told him that the said army of 13,000, with the prelates and priests, and a great mass of gold and silver, were to go for Ireland at once and only awaited the return of the Duke of Parma out of Spain. Bremincham said he would write by Langton to his sister (who is married to Walter Archer, of Kilkenny, brother to James Archer, the Jesuit), but he assured himself that he would be in Ireland before Langton and to see his sister before Christmas and delivered Langton 10s. towards his pilgrimage to Galicia.

Langton met in Turin one James Purcell (an Irish gentleman born in co. Tipperary), who told him that the above was true and that his master, the Duke of Savoy, had received advertisements to the same effect. Purcell said he would go with that army.

He also met in Rome Redmond Gerald, son to John Fitzedmund, of "Choeme," newly come out of Spain. He is a Jesuit and came to Deepe [Dieppe]. He is of low stature, with red hair and beard, freckled in the face and hands and white skinned. He meaneth to steal hither and go into Ireland and

* This name is spelt in different ways.

1601.

what his intent otherwise is Langton could not know. Langton sought his passport to St. James to pass as a pilgrim, so as to avoid suspicion and to learn these matters effectually. He made all the speed he could to bring these matters to your honour, and will be pleased to do you all possible service during his life.

Pp. 3. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 213, 70.

Oct. 4. The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY.*
Richmond.

Warrant for payment of the companies sent to Ireland above the establishment. For this see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1907), Vol. III., pp. 20-21.

P. $\frac{2}{3}$. The postscript in a different hand. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 71.

9 Oct. CAPTAIN WILLIAM YELVERTON to SECRETARY CECIL.
Cork.

Reports landing of 3,000 or 4,000 Spaniards at Kinsale. *Proceeds* :—"It is an old walled town, and standeth upon a rocky ground, so that they cannot entrench or make any defence for themselves out of the earth by any means." Many of their soldiers were weak at their first landing, and many are still sick. It is thought their provisions are scant. The soldiers "repine and grudge at their small allowance." The first week of their landing they had some beeves and muttons out of the country nearest to the town, but paid treble the prices accustomed. They have landed five pieces of ordnance, but have only mounted two of them; and it is thought they must have lost their gun carriages at sea, otherwise they would have landed more pieces. They miss seven or eight of their ships.

Reports arrival of Lord Deputy at Cork. He has cut off the Spaniards from relief from the country. They expect relief from Tyrone, but such courses will probably be taken that the traitor will never be able to come near them. *Reports* Spaniards bringing saddles, and expecting Tyrone to provide horses; but hopes that in this he will fail.

Proceeds :—"Our army is 5,000 foot and 400 horse. When it is assembled and the guns come round from Waterford we shall march towards them, and, with God's help, have a speedy victory. Our new men do long to be doing with them; and, I hope, will prove good men. Tyrone is drawing up towards the English pale, and, no doubt, will do what spoil he may, but I do not see how he can relieve the Spaniards with men or victuals. The Spanish ships have returned home; and it is believed they have gone for reinforcements. I hope the Queen's ships will prevent them. The Irish have not, as yet, joined them, and plots have been laid to stop all passages by which the rebels might come to them.

The Lord Deputy went with 100 horse and 500 foot to reconnoitre at Kinsale. Some of our horsemen went very near

* This and the next two documents were found among the dated documents for 1602, after the sheets for 1601 had been passed for press. *Ed.*

1601.

the walls to see if they would sally; but they did not. They have since taken some 100 or 120 cows that belonged to the country people, which they keep very surely. That day there was a sally of some 800 Spaniards, who skirmished with our men; but only two or three men were slain on each side.

You have raised me to the command of a company, and I pray for continuance of your favours. I have lost all that ever I had, and my lands have been seized by the rebels. They have slain my only two brothers, and all my poor tenants have been spoiled, murdered and left not worth a groat; and service is my only livelihood. I can have no hope of any profit out of my land for many years; for it is seated in a remote and waste country, and, even though peace were reestablished, I shall not be able to get anybody to live there again for a long time. Pray therefore keep me in employment and make my company one of the "settled garrison companies that shall stand in the Queen's entertainment in Ireland." My loyalty and experience will, God willing, enable me to do good service. Pray write letters for this purpose to the Lord Deputy or Lord President.

Pp. 1½. *Signed. Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland 213, 72.*

12 Oct.
Cork.

The LORD DEPUTY and COUNCILLORS in the field to the LORD CHANCELLOR and COUNCILLORS in Dublin.

We think it right that Sir Arthur Chichester should go on with the building of the boats formerly intended, making some one place strong on his side the lough to secure them, and should also prepare all things necessary for the plantation on the other side of the water. He has written to me, the Lord Deputy, to appoint a captain or overseer of the boats for the better furtherance of this business, with allowance for himself and for mariners at such rates as are already allowed at Loughfoyle, and he particularly recommends the bearer, Hugh Clotworthy, for that place. We approve of Clotworthy. Pray take notice of what rates are allowed at Loughfoyle to the captains and mariners, and on what warrant payment is made. On view of them, determine as well the number of the mariners to be allowed at Carrickfergus, and their pay, and that of the captains, whose demands we enclose. Whatever you determine we will confirm by warrant so soon as your resolution is certified to us.

Pray send to Carrickfergus a good shipwright, for supply of whom I, the Deputy, wrote to Sir Francis Stafford to send one Bell as soon as he had finished the boat which he was building at Newry. Command Stafford to send on Bell if he has not been sent already; and furnish Sir Arthur Chichester with all things which he shall from time to time require for his plantation.

P. ¾. *Signed by the Lord Deputy and by Wingfield, Carew, Bouchier and Gardener. Add. Endd. Ibid, 73. Enclosing :—*

1601.

Note on the cost of boats for Lough Sydney or Lough Eagh.

Captain Hugh Clotworthy thinks that the following expenditure will be necessary per day :—

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>His own entertainment</i>	0	6	0
<i>Wages of 20 men in 2 boats (6d. a day each)</i>			
<i>and their food (7½d. a day each) .. .</i>	1	2	6
<i>Wages and food of ten men in two smaller boats</i>	0	11	3
<i>In all 725l. 8s. 9d. per annum.</i>			

We [the Lord Deputy and Council] think that the following expenditure would suffice :—

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Clotworthy's own entertainment .. .</i>	0	5	0
<i>Wages [and allowance for food] for the 20 men,</i>			
<i>10d. a day each</i>	0	16	8
<i>Same for the ten men</i>	0	8	4

Total for the year 547l. 10s. 0d.

Pp. 2, with note by Sir George Cary, explaining the figures. Endd. S.P. Ireland 213, 73A.

1602.

Moallo
[Mallow],
12 Sept.

LICENCE by MEREDITH HANMER,* D.D., Warden of the New College of the Virgin at Youghal.

Witnesses that Hanmer has licensed Sir Daniel Conway clerk and curate of Moallo [Mallow] to attend divine service, minister sacraments and sacramentals and receive for his salary such offerings, tithes and duties as belong thereto and the arrearages thereof. Prays the parishioners to allow of him accordingly.

P. 1 (*small*). (*Hol.*) *Signed by* Hanmer, "warden of Youghal," and *add.* to the parishioners of Mallow. *Endd.* with note as to a prophecy about the Geraldines. *Ibid.* 74.

1602?

MEMORANDUM on the DEBASEMENT of the COINAGE in IRELAND.

If I bring 20s. sterling in money or plate into the mint in Ireland the mint master must give me 23s. 4d. in base money for it, which is but worth 5s. 10d. sterling. This 23s. 4d. base coinage I bring to England to be exchanged, when I must receive of the Queen for my 20s. base 18s. sterling; and for my 3s. 4d. base, which is but 10d. sterling, I must receive 3s. Thus for my 23s. 4d. base, in which there is but the value of 6s. 4d. [*sic*] in silver, I must receive of the Queen 20s. 6d. [*sic*] good money.

So if the Queen in payment saves three parts in four in Ireland, she, paying here 20s. 6d. for 6s. 4d. (*sic*), loses two parts in three.

Save the [?] the Queen gaineth but time and maintaineth the exchange, the loss must in the end fall upon her or her successor.

Three benefits are pretended to grow to the Queen by the use of base money in Ireland :—

* Found in the Hanmer Collection (*S.P. Ireland* 214) after the sheets of dated papers had passed for press and placed here by date.

1602 ?

First, that she saves a great part of her yearly expense in money, which is now 160,000*l.* sterling.

Secondly, that good money, gold and silver, is drawn out of Ireland by the exchange.

Thirdly, that, by reason of such drawing away, the rebel has no fine money, cannot trade with other nations, and must therefore grow weak.

To these three allegations of benefit the following answers may be made :—

To the first. If the Queen* maintains an exchange there is no gain at the year's end (or at the end of any period at which it is proposed to dissolve the new standard) equivalent to the scandal and trouble this innovation will breed. This appears by the above reasons.

To the second, of retiring the moneys of Ireland. This can be no benefit to the Queen in peculiar, for [*i.e.* in the matter of] the ease of her expense ; for it must come to her with a charge vizt. : with the loss of a 20th part in coining 1*l.*, or 5,000*l.* in 100,000*l.* It is some benefit to the Realm in general to have it [*i.e.* the good coin withdrawn from Ireland] here if it will remain. And if it be said that she is recompensed very amply in coining those moneys into base moneys and uttering them there, it is clean contrary. For it appeareth by the answer to the first point that if so much base money as the Queen shall coin out of that fine money be returned over in a year to the exchange, the Queen shall lose and not gain. For example :—

Suppose that upon the first publishing of the new standard and of the gain to such as shall bring money, plate or bullion to the mint or exchange in Ireland, upon offer of 23*s.* 4*d.* base money for every 20*s.* of fine, there is brought into the mint there within one month 1,000*l.* The Treasurer returns bills of exchange to Chester to pay for this, deducting after [the rate of] 2*s.* in the 1*l.* It is confessed that therein is a loss of 12*d.* in the 1*l.*, which, in 1,000*l.*, is 50*l.*

This 950*l.* the Queen coins, here or there, into moneys of the new standard, and makes of it four times 950*l.*, or 3,800*l.* ; and so, when paying her army in the debased coin, saves three parts in four, or 633*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The merchants who have received the 3,800*l.* return one half of it, vizt., 1,900*l.*, to the exchange, and receive for it after allowing for deductions 1,710*l.* The Queen then has in her hands 1,710*l.* of base money instead of 950*l.* sterling. The true value of the 1,710*l.* is only 427*l.* or thereabouts. If this be deducted out of the gain of 633*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* which has been made by payment of the army in the bad coin her profit is reduced from 633*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to 206*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

If out of the 3,800*l.* two-thirds, or 2,600*l.* is returned to the exchange the exchange must be supplied with the same amount, vizt., 2,600*l.*, in sterling money “wants the tenth

* The document is badly written, especially here, and some of the readings are little more than guess-work.

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part,"* *i.e.* with 2,340*l.* Then there will be in the Queen's hands, instead of 2,340*l.* sterling, 2,600*l.* of base money. The true value of this sum is only 650*l.* Compare this with the gain won by paying the army in reduced coin and there is an actual loss of about 18*l.* to the Queen. If the whole 3,800*l.* is returned to the exchange then the Queen loses more.

As to the third point, the retiring of moneys from the Irish, it is to be considered whether the receipt of them is to be in Ireland or England. In either case there falls out a further loss to the Queen by the exchange.

If [it is received] in Ireland there is the building of houses and furnaces, and the provision of instruments fit for coinage, the erection of offices, with fees answerable to their callings. All these must be sent out of England. The metal to mix with the silver must be sent out of England, and moneyers and labourers from hence, for they cannot be found there.

If the bullion brought in be continually recoined there, there follows no advantage to this realm, for it shall remain still in the country [Ireland], though in the baser mixture. Nor will it be a gain to the Queen: for the loss of the mint by exchange eats up the profit made on payment [in the bad coin]. The charge of the coining must be borne by the Queen; for when she has redeemed in the bullion it is her own and not private men's, and to be coined at her cost.

If the bullion is brought hither the Queen must bear both the charge of transportation and the hazard. If when it is come it shall be coined here this will be done either at the Tower or at other places on the sea coast. If at the Tower the cost of porting and reporting must be considered. If at the sea coast, then houses, plant and officers must be established there to carry out the work of coinage. There will also be danger in the carriage of large sums.

If it is not coined the Queen gets no benefit except from the fact that the money is in the realm.

Pp. 3½. *Badly written. S.P. Ireland 213, 75.*

The QUEEN to the [VICE-TREASURER] for the COUNTESS OF KILDARE.

Francis [*sic*] Cobham, late Countess of Kildare, and late dowager of Henry, late Earl of Kildare, has a jointure in Ireland, the profits whereof since our alteration of our coin there have become less beneficial to her, by reason of the charge there on exchange of moneys of that standard into the standard of England, where she lives in attendance upon our person.

Out of respect for her we are ready to extend to her a favour which we do not grant to others, and to declare that her jointure shall be of such value to her as if there had not been any change in our moneys. For every 100*l.* of the new standard which

* *i.e.* less 1½*l.*, because, in bringing in 20*s.* *Ir.* for exchange, the merchants had to bring in 2*s.* *E.*

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she or her assigns shall hereafter deliver to you, you shall cause her to be paid 100*l.* sterling here, without any defalcation for the exchange or any other charge which, by our late proclamation, is laid upon the exchange of moneys of Ireland into England; *provided* that the Countess do not bring to be exchanged in any year more than 700*l.*

Pp. 1½. *Draft. S.P. Ireland* 213, 76.

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Consideration of the LOSS or GAIN to the QUEEN by the new coinage in IRELAND.

The Queen's money now carried into Ireland yearly for pay of the army is 160,000*l.*

This at 3*oz.* fine and 9*oz.* alloy costs 40,000*l.* So the Queen is supposed to save 120,000*l.* in the year's charge.

The Queen, however, undertakes to maintain exchanges at certain places where all men who receive their base moneys in Ireland shall have sterling for them for 2*s.* in the 1*l.* loss, which is accounted as so much gain to the Queen. 320,000*l.* is now about to be coined, and as the gain—if gain it is—on the latter head would be 32,000*l.*, it is to be considered whether the fact is as it appears to be.

First let it be supposed, as reasonably it may be, that half the stock of 320,000*l.*, vizt. 160,000*l.*, be once in the year exchanged; for it is not to be doubted that all men that shall have sense of the diversity of the coin will help themselves as soon as they can. Then must the exchange be maintained with as large a sum, wanting only 16,000*l.* (i.e. $\frac{1}{20}$ of the 160,000*l.*), that is to say, with a stock of 144,000*l.* This 144,000*l.* the Queen must deliver to all that will bring the base money to the Exchange. The result will be that there will remain in the Queen's hand instead of 144,000*l.* 160,000*l.* of base money, which, in their true value, are only worth 40,000*l.* And so the Queen will have lost in the exchange the sum of 104,000*l.* If against this is set the gain of 120,000*l.* which the Queen makes by paying the army in a reduced coinage, then the gain is only 16,000*l.*

Out of this are to be deducted the following charges :—

First, for workmanship of 40,000 weight of the said moneys to make 160,000*l.* of them to pay the army, at 14*d.* the *lb.*, which is the usual allowance, about

<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
2,665	0	0

Metal to be commixt with the 13,300 weight of silver. This to make 40,000 weight of moneys must be 26,700 weight or thereabouts i.e. at 6*d.* in the *lb.*, about

667	10	0
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Portage of 160,000*l.* of base moneys into Ireland. This, at the rate usually allowed to the Treasurer for portage, will come to

2,133	6	8
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The sum of the charges is

5,465	16	8
-------	----	---

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l. s. d.

If this be deducted from the 16,000*l.* remaining of gain it is reduced to.. .. 10,538 3 4*

Item for the like charges of makers and portage of a further 400*cwt.* of these moneys, vizt. of 160,000*l.* by tale to serve for commutation money, as is intended, which will be the least that may suffice, considering the decrying of all other moneys, the like sum of 5,465*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* The same [must be] deducted out of 10,538*l.** 3*s.* 4*d.*, the remain of the gains. Then there will remain of the said supposed gains but 5,069 6 6†

“Wherehence” deduct further the loss in the receipt of her Majesty’s revenue here. The Treasurer confessed this to be 4,000*l.* in the last year. This will be three parts less in true value [?], i.e. 1,000 0 0

From this again must be deducted the fees and charges of ministers who must attend the exchanges in the several places where they are appointed to be. After making these deductions little gain to the Queen will remain.

And by this reckoning there is no other gain to her Majesty, what shew [?] soever be made, although it be supposed that but one half of the 320,000*l.* coined be exchanged; but if it fall out that more than the one half be exchanged, then there is apparent loss.

If any quantity of the like money be counterfeited and brought in (which it is hard to avoid) there will be a further loss according to the amount counterfeited.

Moreover, if the Queen has any debts due to her in Ireland (and I hear she has many) “the subtlest sort of men will take hold of this opportunity to discharge the chief thereof, since they shall pay their debts with a fourth part of the just value of them.” This will involve the Queen in a loss which cannot be fully estimated.

The third alleged benefit is that when there is no fine coin left in Ireland foreign nations will cease to trade with them. This is a fallacy, for if there be any coin current which has gold or silver in it merchants will take it in payment, valuing it according to the amount of fine metal which is in it. It is all one to the merchant whether he gets the value of 12*d.* in one coin or in four. They will not forbear to carry it away in specie if they do not, for, by separation, the fine silver may, with little loss, be reduced to itself.

And, lastly, this general discommodity will follow to the whole estate of the realm, which will be quickly discovered by the merchants—“that is, that by reason he loseth 2*s.* in the 1*l.* upon the exchange, which is . . . 10*l.* in every 100*l.*, either he

* *sic*—should be 10,534*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

† *sic*—should be 5,068*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

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will not trade, for in the returns he loseth his principal, or, if he trade, he must enhance the price of his ware 10*l.* in the 100*l.* to maintain his stock." That charge will light for the most part upon the Queen's best subjects, including the Lord Deputy and officers of the realm, the nobility, the colonels, captains and on the towns.

Pp. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Badly written. S.P. Ireland 213, 77.*

Feb. $\frac{1}{2}$ ².
Cork.

DON JUAN D'AQUILA to the VEEDOR GENERAL PEDRO LOPEZ DE SOCHO [SOTO].*

By your letter of the 17th I saw the surrender of those ports. Here all went into confusion since the coming of this ship (*pataje*), because the Irish themselves informed the Viceroy that there were come here "Furegidos" who had letters from a gentleman in Spain in which he told them that the King would succour them, and these letters men are going about showing; and for this reason the Viceroy has given order to take the field, and as he has his fleet near and ready he can make any expedition he likes speedily, since there is no one in Ireland to stop him except those four or five hundred men, who are come to those parts because he has never been willing to pardon them; and there is also someone going about there, who could not obtain pardon, since he will not trust to it, and neither will I, even though it be true.

When I made the capitulations, I waited (*me anticipe*) six days until (*que*) I had no more biscuit nor anything else of importance nor any kind of man who could fight even to save the artillery and munitions of his Majesty; and I was never willing to treat until I knew what was going on there, which Alferez Bustamante told me before many persons, and also said that 200 men could take that artillery, because it was in a court-yard (*corral*) and the munitions in the tower of Castlehaven (*Castelave*) except a few which were elsewhere, so that if they were lost the other places remained without them. The Viceroy had despatched 2,000 men against Castlehaven, and remained with 9,000 to guard his posts, which were but a cannon shot, since the rest was water and he kept it guarded by ships. And fearing lest those 2,000 men should take those munitions from thence and afterwards the other places, I put them in the capitulations, and they were a whole day unwilling to conclude them, saying they were not treating of that, since those places could not be defended, and this is beyond all doubt. For what importance were they to me save for his Majesty's service, since I had not to defend them, nor was I in them? And if, when the enemy's ships, which I sent word of, were on the sea, there was no army on shore, it was an opportunity to remain in that season [?],† the Earls in the middle; and if I had been told what you now have told me the lords of those places say, I should have left them out of the capitulations; since I always heard that you

* This document is in Spanish and has been translated for me by Mr. C. G. Crump, who points out that it is, in places, impossible to understand.

† Or, possibly, "in that station" or "position."

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had found the places deserted, as I found others here even stronger than those, according to common report, and these were lost with great ease without any possible remedy, though one of them had 150 men inside. But let us let all this on one side, which is matter for long discourse, for those people were divided into three parts and none of them able to face (*aguardar*) artillery or having a fort whether regular or only earthworks (*terra plen*) or defensible places, and with neither men nor time to make them, since the enemy could be upon them in three days with an army as great as I have said and 800 horse to boot and as much artillery as he cared to take by sea—even if those places had wished to defend themselves, especially as they could have help from nowhere, since the Earls were broken by that time and also part of the Spaniards, who were there with the Earls; and even of the people whom they had there they told me that some were deserting to the enemy. And so I saw no other way to save his Majesty's reputation and prevent the loss of flags and artillery than to do what was done, by the report which the said Bustamante gave me; and as for seeing clearly what was fitting by occasion whereof I was already ruined, and I being ruined that man was ruined too, and now I had no other way to escape except to say that his Majesty had sent to help the Earls, that they were gone and we should return as we came. And I assure you that if the enemy knew what was going on in the matter of food and men, they never would have done it, and that they repented of it. But let us come to another point what they might have written to his Majesty about the help that the Irish could have given in this matter. No one can deny that the Viceroy took all the garrisons that he had in Ireland and all the soldiers that he had elsewhere and left all the towns without a soldier, and that 50 men might have gone through the whole kingdom without finding an Englishman to resist them, that the Earls were in the field and that they went through all Ireland without any land surrendering to them, nor did their own land rise to help them; not only they did not do what the interpreters of this business had told his Majesty they would do, but those who have made most war against us have been the Irish. The people whom the Earls collected outside the 2,500 whom they brought from their country were persons whom they attracted by the promises which they made to them, to whom I had to give a great sum of money and employments on behalf of his Majesty, and their hopes brought after them the men of their country.

As for your saying that Bustamante must have been deceived in the report which he made to the Earls, it is impossible, because all that I sent him to say to them, I told him to discuss with the captains who were there, and Albornoz and Ocampo have told me that he did it literally, which was to bid them to post themselves on a mountain opposite to the enemy, who were strong, and to get themselves entrenched there and that I would make a sortie with 2,000 men more or less and break through the trenches of the enemy and join them, and that once this was

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done all would be well. So that I do not know how there could have been any deception, and the Earls themselves replied that they would do it. As to the reason why the Earls lost heart, you go far from it, and of the three reasons for the ill success of that day, at any rate the King and his counsels are not to blame, since they gave good orders and as was suitable. I kiss your hands. For your kindness in the matter, that is a care to me, I assure you that I hold it pure gain. I wrote to the admiral a letter to bid expect there your order, in reply to another that he wrote to me [of which I need say nothing] except that some seamen like to talk like valiant men. The dispatches which Serjeant Luna brought from his Majesty they took from him, and kept him bound a long time. He gave me one letter only from you on a half sheet (*en medio pliego*) with nothing else, and as he was so long on the way that he was three days in Quinçal [Kinsale] besides the day they kept him bound, it was not possible to answer more quickly and then*. on the morrow that you had seen him by way of a merchant of this place. I do not know if it has arrived, for they keep a sharp eye on letters since this news, which is a strange thing and will occasion of their putting right what has been put wrong. I am troubled that you do not come, since you are much needed here; and that is why we are not giving money. To your captains I send my compliments and beg you to read them this. Cork, 22 Feb., 1602. *P.S.* [*in Aquila's own hand*]*—It is very unlikely that letters sent will not be lost.*

Pp. 3. *Spanish. Signed. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 78.

1603.

[Jan.]
Coruña.

CAPTAIN WALTER EDNEY to SIR GEORGE CAREW.

I landed here in the Groyne on 30 September, where I have since remained without any knowledge of certainty of the subject of my coming, but very ho[spitably] entreated. I kept the horse you sent for Don John till February 26, when I received order from the Governor to get ready for a journey into the country, he having received order from the King for my despatch. Not having heard from Don John, and not knowing what to do with the horse, and having no intention to sell him, I told the commander that I had no instructions to sell the horse, and that as Don Juan did not send for him I would, if I had leave, be content to give it to his youngest son, whose name is Don John. To this he [the commander] consented, but he would not receive the horse into his own stable. He ordered Mr Comerford, an Irish merchant, to receive him until I were departed the kingdom. But had I known [what I afterwards knew] I should not have departed, of which he sent me word next day. I should have kept him on five months longer. He told me he had received other letters from the King of Spain, from whom I should hear; but I know that was only by persuasion of the Irish, who

* Some words here are illegible.

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altogether overrule him. Mr. Prowse will tell you of their motions, and I beg you to treat him kindly by reason of his damage in his voyage, and will discharge faithfully any duty put upon him. There is still great preparation for an army, but all so secretly carried on there is no show of anything doing. Suriago is gone for the fleet to Calles [Cadiz] and Carthagen [Cartagena], and it is supposed to be fifty sail of galleons. If they come for Ireland, which is expected, take heed of Galway. They cannot, in any case, be ready to start for three months. "Have a special care of all your cities, for I assure you there is some hollow dealing. You would admire if you did see the number of children that are here of Cork and other cities, and daily come." Prowse knows most of their names. Here come daily from hence [?] many Irish seminaries, both for England and those parts.

If the fleet go forward [I] assure your honour I will give you further information. Be sure you procure a couple of good ships to lie on and off the Mizen Head, but let them keep the sea, and may be they will meet with what will give them great content; for, if the fleet come not for those parts, they will presently send away all the Irish here with treasure and munition, which I see not how our ships can miss of. If they are met it is [will be] the greatest service that was done these seven years.

Your honour must take care for the poor mariners and barque which is here with me at their return, for I cannot by any means send them away[?].

There are laden in this port and Bayonne and bound for Lisbon, 200 tons of dry fish for the King's provision, to go with the first wind. Be careful that none of my letters come to light, for if it were known here that I write them it is as much as my life is worth. Unless you take some care for me against my return (and I know not when that will be) I may curse the time that ever I knew Spain. News came here by a ship of Waterford in January last that my captain was dead. This was very welcome to the Irish; and that your honour was sent for to England to answer the breaking down of the castles in Carbery and the West. Your honour would admire to know how the Irish here solicit the Governor, and also the state and King against me. One of the special solicitors is Captain Kelley, who had a command amongst those we had the killing of in the White Knight's country. I hope God will defend me against them all.

I left a poor daughter with Mrs. Prowse, and fear that, by the prolongation of my stay she may fall into want. Please have her supplied till I return.

P.S.—Don John the 24th of this instant* comes to a public trial for his Irish viage [voyage]. All captains who were with him are sent for and commanded to attend, on pain of death. The trial is before the King. If his fortune is so good as to find favour I assure you he will utterly overthrow all the Irish in this Kingdom. You shall hear the result. I am allowed by the King over 20*l.* a month for myself and my mariners.

Pp. 1½. (*Hol.*) *Add. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 79.

* This dates the letter, see examination of Blighe above, pp. 572-573.

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The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY and LORD CHANCELLOR, for
[Miler Magrath,] Archbishop of Cashel.

The Archbishop informs us that the rebels, at the time when he was imprisoned by them, maliciously broke our Great Seal of Ireland from divers writings, whereby privileges were granted by divers of our noble progenitors to the Archbishops of Cashel. Our Council by letters dated at Oatlands on 30 September, 1600, signified our pleasure that all such liberties &c. should be confirmed to the present Archbishop, according to the tenor of the records of the said writings; but the same has not been done because such a letter was, as is alleged, not esteemed a sufficient warrant to our Chancellor in that behalf. We hereby authorise you expressly, as it may concern either of you, to give all such directions concerning the renewing of the evidences belonging to the see of Cashel as were given formerly by the letters of the Privy Council of England mentioned above.

P. 1. *Draft with corrections. Endd. S.P. Ireland 213, 80.*

Computation of the CHARGE in finishing the fort of KINSALE.

All earthwork and deepening ditch	..	..	..	220l.
Hewing and bringing and facing with stone the whole				
work within and without	..	..	..	270l.
Timber, carpenters' and smiths' work	..	..	..	65l.
Sinking a well	..	..	..	20l.
House for the store and constable	..	..	..	50l.
Blockhouse at the point of the land	..	..	..	50l.

In all 675l., or in harps 900l.

Ibid, 81.

UNDATED PAPERS.

Note on the POSTAL service to IRELAND.

Sir Ry[chard] Buckley, when last here, supposing it as necessary to have the posts laid new for Ireland as in the last wars, gave me this note in writing.

One Nicholas White had, he said, a barque which ordinarily came betwixt Holyhead and Ireland with the packet. This barque was burnt by the rebels, in recompense whereof the Queen gave him 200l. White is now grown so old that he has given over the sea altogether. Sir Richard thought that in his room one Robert Pepper, a mariner of Beaumaris, should have his bark laid for the packet as the other was. He thinks him fit.

Other details.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Endd. Ibid, 82.*

Warrant under the Privy Seal to [the LORD HIGH TREASURER of ENGLAND].

Commanding him to send 12,000l. to Ireland to the charge of Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer for Wars there, for payment of

arrears of the army for February and March; and further, as money comes into the Exchequer, to send over to Ireland sums necessary for the payment of the arrears of the army for April and May at 6,000*l.* a month, with the usual allowance for portage.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Draft. Endd.*: "For a privy seal for Ireland."
S.P. Ireland 213, 83.

CONSIDERATIONS touching the Examinations of CHARTERS and GRANTS.

Words.—What words are absolutely necessary to make them good in law, and what omissions make them void.

Appertenances.—What circumstances in the passing, enrolling, confirming, and such like, are necessary.

Causes.—In the causes alleged for such grants whether they were truly alleged; whether they still continue; whether there be not some greater cause to the contrary.

Conditions.—If any condition be for rent, services or such like, whether they have been duly performed.

Uses.—If such benefit were granted to any use, whether the use continue, and whether the commodity raised has been used as prescribed.

Non Use.—Whether at any time these Charters have been intermitted and not executed and upon what occasion.

Abuses.—Whether any grievance has at any time been found and complaint made against the grants or the parties to them.

What sums of monies have been retained, demanded or taken.

What townsmen and freemen, and what of strangers and foreigners, and who have been acquitted of the duties, and why.

What particular orders, rules and proceedings have been observed in managing such business.

Many English and likewise Irish whom the townsmen molest much will be ready to complain and inform of the abuses offered them and of sundry oppressions.

Persons.—What manner of persons or corporations now hold, and have had the grants. Are such holders loyal, or have they been in rebellion.

Whether the grants have been always quietly and peaceably enjoyed, or have been in suit or question; and, if they have been in question, how was the question determined.

Pp. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Ibid*, 84.

The QUEEN to the [LORDS JUSTICES] CONCERNING the creation of NOBLES in IRELAND.

For good reasons we have decided to advance T.S. of Ireland to the dignities of Baron and Earl in Ireland, and have caused letters patents to be made and sealed for that purpose. "For divers respects" we have thought fit to leave these letters

without dates, to the end that the same days may be inserted [as] the days of his several creations, together with the names of such of the nobility of Ireland as shall be witnesses at the several creations. We appoint you and give you authority jointly and severally to call before you, at such times and places as any of you think convenient, the said T.S. and so many other "noble personages and men of honour" of Ireland as you shall think meet. You shall cause our letters to be read in their presence, and after reading out his stiles and titles mentioned in the general letters invest him [*sic*] with such titles with the ceremonies which are usual in the creation of a Baron and an Earl. Cause the dates and names of the several creations to be inserted in the general letters, and also the names of those noblemen who are present when they are made.

We will also that the creation of the said barony be taken and solemnized one day before the creation of the said earldom, and that the several letters patents bear date accordingly. *Clause for validation.*

Pp. 2½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 85.

Note on PETITIONS of JOHN MEAGHE and ROBERT PAINTING.

Both are her Majesty's almsmen within the City of Dublin. Meaghe craves to be paid 21*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* due to him by warrant under the hand of the Lord Deputy and others, and prays that the same may be defalked out of the Queen's next pay for Ireland. Painting claims 11*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.** Similar petition.

P. ½. *Endd. Ibid,* 86.

NOTE on the charge of Victualling in IRELAND.

Gives cost of victuals for one month of 28 days for 1,000 men at 4½*d.* a day each; and of the same for 2,000 and 4,000 men. To victual 4,000 men for two months at this rate costs 4,433*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

P. ⅓. *Endd. Ibid,* 87.

The QUEEN to —.

We hear of actions of yours which argue your loyalty and affection. These are not new to us; yet "actions of honour, how oft soever renewed, do ever bring new contentment to those to whom they redound." We, who have been moved by the President of Munster's report of your conduct in divers late actions, express our thanks in some few words under our own hand.

We see how you exceed others in loyalty and zeal, and will reward you accordingly. "Wherein, having ever acquitted our honour to persons of inferior degree, we would be loath to be scant to a nobleman of your rank and merit" when opportunity arises.

P. ½. *Copy. Ibid,* 88.

* Fractions of pence omitted.

HISTORICAL and GENEALOGICAL notes on IRELAND.

These are a number of loose notes in Lord Burleigh's hand.

He deals first with the great offices of Ireland, and mentions the offices of Justiciary of Ireland, Chancellor, Superior Justice, the constablenesship of several castles, and the engineer.

Mentions also the Treasurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Barons of the Exchequer, Chamberlains, Remembrancers, clerks, usher, and chaplains.

The payment made to each of these officials is set out ; and in many cases the name of some holder of the office in the time of King Edward II is given.

A note adds that no soldier was wont to be admitted to any company in Ireland without the consent of the Deputy, and that no soldier (may) go by passport without notice thereof given to the clerk of the cheque.

Pp. 2. *Endd.* : Ireland, officers, 1584. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 89.

NOTES ON IRISH PEDIGREES.

These are rough notes and fragmentary information about the pedigrees of certain well known Irish or Anglo-Irish families. The information contained is slight, the tree being traced in most cases only for two or three generations. The following are the names of the septs, families or places mentioned :—

1. Ranelogh [Ranelagh], the country of Hugh McShane. His house is Ballina Coss [Ballinacor ?].

Evass [?] O'Thole [O'Toole], Captain of the Fertagh [Fertry]. A rough tree connects the families of McShane and O'Toole.

2. O'Tholls [Tooles].

O'Tholl, of Fercolla [Fercullen] ; Tholl of Fertagh [Fartry] ; Tholl of Imall.

3. The country of the Byrnes contains the Byrnes and all the Tooles ; also [?] Morogh Melaghty, of Killcoma [Kilcoman].

4. Note given on Francis Agard's connection with the Bretts [?].

5. The Peppards and Eustaces.

Pp. 1½, in Burleigh's hand, and *endd.* in same. *Ibid*, 90.

Names of PLACES and PERSONS in IRELAND.

Mentions places in Kerry and Cork :—Ross, Tyrawley, Old Head of Kinsale, &c. ; Barry Roe, Barry Oge, Lord Courcy's country ; and, as the leading chiefs :—O'Driscoll, McPhillip, O'Sullivan Bere, O'Sullivan More, McCarty More, Sir Dermond McCarty, &c.

Mentions [as chief men in] Muskerry, the MacDonalds, O'Sullivans, and Lord Roche.

P. ¾, in Burleigh's hand. *Endd.* as foregoing. *Ibid*, 91.

NOTES on the family pedigree of the SARSFIELDS, PLUNKETTS, AYLERS and CUSACKS.

Gives rough trees of each of these families. Shows connections between the Sarsfields and persons of the following names :—

Shillingford, a merchant of Dublin; Cusack, Luttrell, Plunkett, Talbot of Dardistown, Thomas Plunkett, Chief Justice of Ireland, and others.

Shews connections of the Aylmers with the Baths, Dillons, and Sarsfields.

Shews connection of the Cusacks with Aylmers, Colleys, Darcys, &c.

Shews the connection of the Plunketts of Dunsany with the Luttrells, Cusacks, Lords of Howth, Barnwells of Crickstown, &c. Pp. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$., in Burleigh's hand. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 92.

Similar NOTES on the pedigrees of NUGENT, FITZGERALD, and EUSTACE.

Confused fragments of pedigrees, giving the connection between these families and various other Anglo-Irish families.

Pp. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$., in Burleigh's hand. *Endd. Ibid.* 93.

NOTES on the FITZGERALDS, EUSTACES, &c.

Piers Fitzgarrett *alias* Piers Fitzjames, a Geraldine of Kildare, dwelling upon the Barrow near Shanniry [?]. Was Sheriff 1582.

Henry Burnell, a lawyer, of Castle Rickard, in East Meath. Was of counsel with the Earl of Kildare.

Thomas Eustace. *Other notes* on the Eustaces.

Other notes on Meaughes, Toolles, Piphos, Newmans, FitzWalters, &c.

P. 1, in Burleigh's hand. *Endd. Ibid.* 94.

Similar NOTES on the O'MORES and others.

Gives fragmentary pedigrees of the O'Mores, McShanes, O'Conors and Earls of Kildare.

Mentions the connection of the O'Mores with the Butlers and McShanes.

Shews connections between the Earls of Kildare and the O'Rayly, Lords Gormanston and Howth and Lord Delvin.

P. 1. in Burleigh's hand. *Endd. Ibid.* 95.

NOTE of IRISH OFFICIALS.

James Dowdall, second Justice of the King's Bench, 1575.

Nicholas Walsh, Justice of Munster. He was born in Waterford.

Thomas Meugh, of Cork, second Justice in Ulster. Meagh has one son, Walter [?], in the Middle Temple, London. Another son, Stephen, is Clerk of the Fines in Munster [?].

P. $\frac{1}{2}$., in Burleigh's hand. *Ibid.* 96.

NOTES on the families of SARSFIELD, AYLMEY, LUTTRELL and FITZGERALD, and others.

These pedigrees, though fragmentary, are somewhat less confused than the preceding. The Sarsfield and Aylmer pedigrees are to some extent fair copies of those calendared above (p. 648-9), and shew connections with the families mentioned there.

The Dillon pedigree begins with James Dillon, Baron of the Exchequer, and ends with the children of Sir Lucas Dillon, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, of Moymet in Eastmeath.

Other notes on the D'Arcys, Luttrells, Plunketts, Cusacks, and Nettervilles.

Pp. 3½, in Burleigh's hand. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 97.

FURTHER NOTES OF IRISH PEDIGREES.

These deal with the families of Nugent, in the Tudor period. The pedigree begins with Richard Nugent, Baron of Delvin, who married Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Kildare [], and comes down to after 1584. Shews connections with Howths, Marwards and Plunketts. Mentions also some of the Barons of Slane.

Mentions names of the following as a jury:—Thomas Plunkett, of Killalon [Killallen]; Thomas Plunkett, of Borth [?]; Laurence [?] Delahyd, of Myclar [Moyglare]; Walter Hussey, of Mellasy; Michael Barnewell, of Arran; John Eustace, of Lescanton [Leshemstown].

P. 1, in Burleigh's hand. *Endd.*: "Nugent's pedigree." *Ibid*, 98.

NOTES ON THE FOLLOWING FAMILIES.

Sarsfield, Hussey, Nugent, Eustace Viscount Baltinglass, Aylmer, Cusack, Sarsfield,* Dillon, Luttrell.

Similar to the foregoing entries.

In all about pp. 5, in Burleigh's hand. *Endd. Ibid*, 99.

NOTES ON THE FAMILY OF O'SHAGHNESS.

Dermond O'Shagness had Kenelea [?] given him, on his surrender, by Henry VIII, in tail to him and the heirs male of his body.

His was Rory, *alias* Gilleduff O'Shagness [according to the table], married "Honorina, his mother, supposed a nun."

They had several children, the eldest of whom was John O'Shagness, "supposed to be a bastard because his mother was a nun and was born before matrimony, to whom the Pope granted a dispensation, *temp. Reg. Mariae*." The other children were all found to be legitimate.

John O'Shagness levied a fine of his right on Nicholas Kerry, of Dublin, in 1579 or 1580.

[They possessed the] castles [?] of Gortkinchyger [Gortnaclogh], Cowle [Cowla ?], Betagh Ballyduff, Ballydromyurrell [Ballydrumarrall].

P ¾, in Burleigh's hand. *Endd. Ibid*, 100.

ADDENDA, 1604-1654.

1604.

April ?

The QUEEN to the LORD DEPUTY and TREASURER AT WARS.

You, our Treasurer, have often asked our licence to send over your lidger books, warrants, concordatum bills, escripts, and

* It is worthy of note that Janet, daughter of John Sarsfield, is alleged to have had five husbands (in succession), vizt. (1) Shillingford, a merchant of Dublin; (2) Robert, Lord Dunsany; (3) James Luttrell; (4) Sir Thomas Cusack; (5) Sir John Plunket, Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

1604.

other reckonings which must be seen and perused by such Commissioners as are authorised to hear and determine your accounts. We hereby give you leave to send all these over here in the hands of some person of trust, and are content that, at such time hereafter as you find convenient for your trust, you come over here for the yielding of these accounts to our Treasurer. You, our Deputy, shall assist our Treasurer in passing his accounts. You shall either give him this warrant, retaining a copy signed by him, or give him a copy signed by yourself and the Council, and yourself keep the original.

P. 1. *Copy. Imperfect. Endd.*: April, 1604, with note that this letter was given on 18 January "in the 44th year of Queen Elizabeth."* *S.P. Ireland* 213, 101.

The KING to [the LORD LIEUTENANT], for RICHARD HUDSON.

For this see *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1603-1606, p. 589.†

Pp. 1½. *Draft. Endd. Ibid*, 102.

Latest date, Note on the PROCLAMATION OF KING JAMES I in Dublin and
19 April. CORK, and other matters.

On 5 April Sir Henry Davers and Captain Robert Morgan reached Dublin at 5 p.m., and at 6 p.m. the Lord Deputy proclaimed the King.

On 12 April Captain Morgan came to Cork with letters from the Lord Deputy and Council to proclaim the King. Sir George Thornton, the Chief Justice, and others were presently ready to do this, "but were forbidden by the Mayor and others, who denied the authority of the English Government."

13 April. The English with some of the Irish went out of the town and proclaimed him.

14 April. They themselves proclaimed the King.

15 April. They got the keys of the churches and fell to sweep and part [?] images.

16 April. The Mayor being absent, the great part of the town, with priests, copes [and] banners, began their procession, and hallowed the churches.

17 April. An old priest named Michael died. The Mayor and townsmen buried him with tapers, &c.

18 April. Sunday. The Mayor and all townsmen at masses.

19 April. Sir Charles Wilmot arrived from Kerry. The Mayor denied to give them the King's victual for the Castle of Balingier [Ballingerald ?], so they were fain to victual it from Kinsale; and when certain townsmen endeavoured to win the castle from the King they were well patted [*sic*].

P. ¾, with fragmentary notes on Irish history attached. *Endd. Ibid*, 103.

* This note, taken together with the endorsement "April, 1604," seems to show that a letter originally sent in January, 1602, was used as a precedent for one of the later date.

† See note † on next page.

1604.
30 July. The KING to the LORD LIEUTENANT and TREASURER and CLERK OF THE CHECK there for ROBERT*PIGOTT.
For this see *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1603-6, p. 71, at this date. P. ½. *Endd.* with date. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 104.
- 26 Oct. SAME to the LORD LIEUTENANT, for THOMAS FITZMORRIS GERALD, BARON of LIXNAWE.
See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1603-6, pp. 98-9, at this date where a docquet of this grant is calendared.
P. 1. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 105.
- About
1604? NOTE by FLORENCE MCCARTHY on his imprisonment.
The sureties that are presently ready to enter into bonds for my true imprisonment are those whose names are underwritten:—
1. Mr. Charles McCarthy, son and heir of Donogh McCormack McCarthy, *alias* McDonogh, chief Lord of the country of Dowalla [Duhallow], in co. Cork.
2. Mr. Piers Butler, of Knock in Anama [Knockannemin?], which is his chief house. He is son to Lord Cahir,* and brother to the Lord of Cahir that now is. His living stands in the co. Tipperary, near the town of Clonmell.
3. Captain Edward Fitzgerald, son of Sir Thomas Fitz-Morris, of Lackagh. He is of the house of Kildare, and his living is in the co. Kildare.
4. Mr. Ceallaghaan McConoghoir, son and heir to O'Ceallaghain, chief Lord of O'Ceallaghan's "that stands in the co. of Cork, by the town of Mala [Mallow]."
These are all well known to those of the Council of Ireland that are appointed Commissioners to hear Irish causes and to divers other gentlemen of this land, such as dwell or have dwelt chiefly in Munster.
P. ½. in McCarthy's hand. *Endd.*: Sir Thomas Vavisor concerning McCarthy. *Ibid*, 106.
1604.
About
October. PETITION to the KING of SIR RICHARD PERCY,† shewing that:—
He prays for favour similar to that accorded to other officers of less service and, if he may say it, of less merit than himself.
P. ¾. For this see *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1603-6, at p. 591, where this document is already calendared, but the substance of the prayer omitted. *Ibid*, 107.
- About
1604. NOTE on the late QUEEN's charge in IRELAND.
Gives details of the expenditure in Ireland for the year ended 31 March, 1602, when the new money had its beginning.
Estimates that by payment in base money 60,563*l.* odd has been saved. To this is to be added the balance of the new money

* The first Lord Cahir died 28 April, 1596.

† Messrs. Russell and Prendergast calendared this and several other documents at the end of their volume for 1603-6; but did not insert them in the bound volumes of original documents for the years to which they belong. They were found by me at the end of *S.P. Ireland* 213, and are preserved there.

- About
1604. remaining in the Treasurer's hands on the determination of the account. Valued at one-fourth of its face value, this is 18,700*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*
Pp. 1½. *Endd.*: "Ireland." *S.P. Ireland* 213, 108.
- General
date
1606, Feb. DOCUMENTS relating to the case of SIR THOMAS WILLIAMS.
Petition of Williams to the King.
See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1603-6, at p. 591, where the document has been already calendared.
P. ½. *Ibid*, 109.
Note on the sums due to Sir Thomas Williams.
Gives details of the sums due to him in respect of the following items:—
1. Entertainment as commander of the force at Blackwater, at 10*s.* a day for 77 days from 16 July, 1597.
2. Remain of pay due to him and his company of 100 foot for 121 days from 2 June, 1597.
3. Remain of lendings due to petitioner and his company of 150 foot for 151 days begun 31 Oct., 1598.
4. Remain of pay due to his company of [150] foot for, 225 days from 1 Oct., 1603, and for a reduced company of 100 men for 41 days from 21 Aug., 1604.
Total, 631*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*
When these sums are paid the warrants of full pay and the reckoning or certificate of John Dudley are to be taken in [from Sir Thomas Williams] for the King's discharge.
I have made this certificate by warrant of the High Treasurer of England, dated 15 February, 1605-[6].
P. 1. *Signed* on 18 February, 1605-[6] by Francis Gofton, Auditor. *Endd.*, with note:—
It is agreed by the Lords that (if the King pleases) Sir Thomas Williams shall have a pension of 200 marks a year for life, to begin at Michaelmas last. *Signed*: T. Dorset. *Ibid*, 110.
1606.
30 March. The KING to the LORD DEPUTY, for JOHN GILBERT and THOMAS BOUTHBY.
See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1603-6, p. 592, where this document is calendared.
Pp. 1¼. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 111.
- 29 May.
London. JOSIAS BODLEY to — ANTHONY.
See *Ibid*, p. 592, where this document is already calendared.
P. 1. *Imperfect.* *Add.*: to Anthony, servant to Sir Thomas Lake, at Greenwich. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 112.
- 17 Nov. The KING to the LORD DEPUTY, for OWEN BREHONNE and GILLE GROME MCBREHONNE.
For this see *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1606-8, at p. 33, where the original, of which this is a draft or copy, is calendared.
P. ¾. *Endd.* *Ibid*, 113.

1605.
About
June.

The KING to the LORD LIEUTENANT.

We are given to understand that the Bishopric of Derry in Ulster, which we have conferred upon G. M., D. of N.* has [been impoverished, and not]† by any English who had right by law to claim the duties of those places, whereby the lands of those several sees have been usurped by the temporal lords in whose countries they lie. [They have obtained] grants of abbey lands, termon lands, and other temporal lands, including . . . much land belonging to the said sees. Such grants are contrary to our true intent, and tend to the overthrow of our religious purpose of planting paris[hes] in those parts. In order to prevent the desolation which, as experience shews, must follow, we declare our pleasure, to the temporal lords and others whom it may concern, that as these lands and possessions cannot be taken from the church, so it is not and never was [our desire to be]stow them on persons other than those ecclesiastics who shall discharge the duties of the place of those bishoprics. We have thought well to appoint a committee for finding [the title of?] all temporal lords to the use of the Church at the request of the said Bishop. You shall grant such a commission to indifferent persons, giving them power to inquire, and search and set apart all such lands and rights as do, or ought to, belong to the see. This commission shall be returned into our Court of Chancery there under the Commissioners' hands, and shall remain there of record for ever.

After the return of the Commission you shall take speedy order for settling the said Bishop in possession of the premises, and defending him against all persons that shall disturb him. We also direct you to make [delay] of passing any grant made by us to any person of any termon lands or abbey lands in the province of Ulster, and namely in the counties of Fermanagh and Monaghan, which have not passed the Great Seal there before the receipt of these presents. All future grants of abbey lands, termon lands, or other temporal land in Ulster which shall hereafter pass shall contain express words reserving out of them "all Bishopland" and all possessions and rights belonging to any bishopric, and further all lands and possessions belonging to any particular church. These shall continue in the possession of those to whose churches they were granted, "to the end that honest and hable men may be encouraged by competent reward and maintenance therein."

P. $\frac{3}{4}$, *written small* ; with a note signed by the Earl of Devonshire, and in his hand, recommending that the Deputy be directed to take from [those whilch shall be thought fittest by him and the Council, and to put Mr. Dean in possession of these . . . They [the Lord Deputy and Council] should also be required to suffer no lands belonging to the bishopric nor to any other to pass by particular grants.

In all p. $\frac{3}{4}$, the text and note much perished. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 114.

* George Montgomery, Dean of Norwich, appointed to Derry, Raphoe and Clogher, 13 June, 1605. See Colton's *Fasts*, iii, 350.

† The document is much perished. Square brackets contain what I have supplied to make sense.

1606.

2 Dec.* The KING [to the LORD DEPUTY,] for SIR LAWRENCE ESMOND.

Sir Josias Bodley has charge of the Castle, fort and ward of Duncannon during life, but is otherwise employed by us here, and has asked leave to surrender the place to Sir L. Esmond. His employment here will not allow him to perform his duty at Duncannon. We direct you to receive a surrender of his patents from Bodley, and to grant the command of the fort to Esmond and his sufficient deputy for life, by patents under the Great Seal of Ireland, as amply [details] as Bodley or any other officer before him held it.

P. 1. A further clause mentions Sir John Dowdall, Sir Cary Reynolds and Sir John Brocket, as well as Bodley, as previous holders of the post.

In all pp. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 115.

1609.

25 July. JOHN CORBETT to [the CLERK OF THE SIGNET].
Whitehall

The Commissioners for the Irish suits have made their certificates in the several "busynes" referred to them. Those to be dispatched from the Lords have been delivered to me, and those to be sent from the King I was commanded to send to the Clerk of the Signet, and which are enclosed.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$ (small). *Ibid*, 116.

The KING to the LORD DEPUTY, concerning MILER MAGRATH, Archbishop of Cashel.

We need not here repeat to you the reasons why the Archbishop of Cashel remains committed, but only signify to you our pleasure, on the report of Sir James Ley, late† Chief Justice there, made after reading the depositions taken against him. Sir James (whose opinion in law we value) thinks that, even supposing all the depositions should hold good it is doubtful how the trial would fall out, for the reasons which he has shewed us, which perhaps makes the Bishop so desirous to have his trial at law. We think it not fit to proceed that way with him, as well by reason of his great age as because he has often been employed heretofore between the State there and some rebels, "in which it was easy for him to commit some such error as in straight construction of law may reach to the nature of treason or, in his folly, utter some lew[d] words although without malicious disposition within." If he were tried and acquitted "it were a touch to the reputation of you and our Council; and if he be condemned no great advantage to us, but rather to the adversaries of religion to see a person of his sort publicly tried for matters unworthy of a temporal man . . . and thereby raise a scandal to the religion we profess."

* See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1606-8, at this date, where a different document to the same purport is calendared.

† Resigned December, 1608.

1609.

At the same time, as he has been publicly charged with such matters, and for the same convented by you and the Council, we do not think it right that he should pass away without any censure. Therefore we think fit, and, unless you differ from us, you shall take it as our pleasure, that he be convented before you and the Council there, and his faults laid open to him, "as well those which concern his proceeding in his employments civil as his unworthy behaviour in his function as an Archbishop." You shall warn him how far "his contempts might stretch," but say that in regard of his function as an Archbishop we have rather chosen in favour to pass over many blemishes than in justice to take hold of any, be it never so evident, "whereby in one of his coat we might scandalise the profession he is of." And so, upon such acknowledgment made by him of his errors as you think they deserve you may set him at liberty and suffer him to enjoy for the rest of his days such of his livings as he lawfully possesses, so as he provide sufficient maintenance for the incumbents.

Pp. 3½. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 117.

31 Aug.
Hampton
Court.

The KING to the LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND (Archbishop of Dublin and —), for SIR THOMAS RIDGEWAY.

The account of Sir Thomas Ridgway, Treasurer at War in Ireland, has been taken here by virtue of our commission to some of our Council. Such account begins 1 July, 1606, and closes 30 September, 1607, and has been perfected and allowed by them. We now send you the ledger thereof, containing 120 sheets of paper, to the end it may be delivered up on oath by Sir Thomas according to the due course of the Exchequer; and we further hereby authorise each of you to take his oath thereon, which having been duly entered in the book and subscribed by you, you shall then send it back to our Treasurer of England, to remain here to our use.

P. ¾. With sign manual. *Ibid*, 118.

1610.

3 April.
Westminster.

SAME to the LORD DEPUTY, for the EARL OF ORMOND and others.

At the suit as well of Thomas, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, our High Treasurer of Ireland, and one of our Privy Council there, as of Theobald, Viscount Butler, of Tullio-phelim, we hereby authorise you to accept of them and their heirs a surrender of Kilkenny Castle, the Lordships of Arclo [Arklow] and Tullio-phelim, and of all other castles, lordships, manors, lands, tenements, abbeys, priories, religious houses, and all other their and either of their temporal and spiritual possessions, rents, privileges, liberties and hereditaments whatsoever, whereof they, or any person to their use, is seized within that realm; (excepting the liberty of the county of Tipperary, and all Irish cheefries not allowable by the laws of England), and thereupon to make a grant or

1610.

grants in due form of law by the advice of some of our Council there from us &c. by letters patent under the Great Seal to them, or either of them, and their heirs and assigns for ever as well of the aforesaid Castle of Kilkenny and the lordships of Arclo and Tulliphelim as likewise of all other the castles, lordships, manors, lands &c. of them the said Earl and Viscount, except as before excepted, and saving all and every our subjects' rights, titles and interest in the premises according to such estates as the said Earl and Viscount hold the same; together with all felons, fugitives, and felons of themselves, their goods, court leets, deodands and wrecks of sea happening within the said premises and thereto belonging or appertaining, with such court barons, fairs and markets to be yearly and weekly holden and kept within the several manors parcel of the same premises at the will and pleasure of the said Earl and Viscount or either of them, their heirs or assigns, and at such places and times, as to you shall be thought fit and convenient, and with such other privileges, liberties, immunities and profits as in like grants are usual. They shall yield to us, our heirs and successors all such rents and duties as are due or accustomed to us out of and for the premises and every part thereof. To hold the aforesaid Castle of Kilkenny and the said lordships of Arclo and Tulliphelim only of us, our heirs and successors by knights' service in capite, and all the rest of the said castles, manors, lands &c. except as before excepted, in free and common socage, and not in capite nor by knights' service, as of our Castle of Dublin. We further will that there be no mention of the said Earl or Viscount's said surrender or surrenders in our said letters patents so to be granted of the premises to them or either of them or to any other, least that any insufficiency or defects therein might make our said letters patent to be defective. And whereas upon pretence that some of the said Earl's letters patents and title to certain lands which he held were defective, the same were passed upon several grants to others, we also require you to take present order that no part of the said Earl or Viscount's lands or possessions be hereafter passed or granted to any other, and that our letters patents contain such compositions, exceptions and savings as are usual.

Pp. 24. *Copy.* An unusually elaborate grant, and therefore given *in extenso*. Signed by Thomas Lake. *Endd.* S.P. Ireland 213, 119.

[13 Sept.*] The KING to the LORD DEPUTY, for WALTER WHITE.

By letters patents under the Great Seal, dated 23 June, 1608, we granted to Thomas Reade and Walter White the office of general Escheator in the Counties of Dublin, Wicklow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Carlow, Kildare, the King's and Queen's County, Louth, Meath, Westmeath and Longford, and in and through the Province of Leinster and all other counties and places wheresoever within the English Pale and elsewhere out of the Provinces of Munster, Connaught and Ulster, to have, hold and exercise the said office

* See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1608-10, p. 515.

1610-2.

to the said Thomas Read and Walter White and the longer liver of them, from the time that the same shall become void by the death or surrender of Nicholas Kennie, now our Escheator and Feodary, or by any other determination of the estate of the said Nicholas Kennie, during the good behaviour of the said Thomas and Walter and the longer liver of them in the said office. As some scruple or doubt may be conceived in law whether the said grant, being one entire office granted to two joint patentees, may stand good in law, and for that the said Thomas Read has by his deed released to White all his title therein, for the avoiding of all doubts as to the validity or invalidity of the said letters patents and for the making good of the said office, together also with the office of Feodary in the counties and places aforesaid to White, we accept a surrender at his hands of the said letters patents. Grant him, by new letters patent under the Great Seal of that our kingdom (without any mention therein to be made of the said surrender) the said office of general Escheator and Feodary in and throughout the counties before mentioned, and in all other counties and places whatsoever within the English pale, and in all other places in the said realm out of the provinces of Munster, Connaught and Ulster. To have, hold, and exercise the said office by himself or his deputy or deputies from and after the death, forfeiture or surrender of the said Nicholas Kennie, during good behaviour, with all the usual fees and in as large a manner as Kennie now enjoys it. Cause letters to pass accordingly, inserting the favourable clauses usual in such letters.

Pp. 1½. *Draft. Endd. S.P. Ireland 213, 120.*

1612.
About
Jan.*

The KING to the LORD DEPUTY for NEW ROSS.

Richard Archdeacon, Esq., agent for the town of New Ross, co. Wexford, has presented petitions and suits to us and our Council. In consideration of the antiquity of the town and the recommendation of its inhabitants sent us by you, the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, we authorise you to cause letters patents to be passed, without fine, to the Sovereign and Corporation of the said town, that it may be incorporated by the name of the Sovereign and Burgesses thereof. The letters shall contain our charter of grant and confirmation of all the former liberties granted to them and such further of the liberties and privileges named in the schedule hereto as you and the Council think fit. Nothing in the grant shall prejudice our right to the custom of poundage in that town which has already been granted by a lease, and which we intend to resume. When we resume it we will consider the town's claims favourably.

We desire you to favour the town all you may, because it is "of importance for our service, being strongly seated and well walled, besides it lieth convenient for trade and traffic and, as is credibly informed, hath been in former times the greatest and best peopled town in that our kingdom, though now almost decayed

* See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland, 1611-14*, p. 232.

1612-26.

and depopulated through the many losses sustained by them by the continual incursions and assaults of their rebellious neighbours."

Pp. 1½. *Draft. Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 121.

1623.

[SECRETARY CONWAY] to SIR FRANCIS BLUNDELL.

9 March.

See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1615-25, at p. 472, where this document has been calendared.

P. ¾. *Copy. Conway papers. Endd. : Copy of Mr. Secretary Conway to Sir Francis Blundell. Ibid*, 122.

About

1626.*

MEMORANDUM by FLORENCE MCCARTHY.

First I mortgaged to Sir Thomas Hewitt two ploughlands worth then 34*l.* and now 40*l.*; and took of him 100*l.*, with intent to have more money of him upon it. When he refused this I mortgaged to him again for 200*l.* [a rent of] 26*l.* a year reserved upon a lease made to Diermod Macfytne, a man of mine, and 20 marks a year reserved on another lease made by me to Mr. Fagge, a Kentish man, that sold that lease for 120*l.* to one James Roch, of Kinsale. Before I mortgaged this 26*l.* a year to Sir Thomas it was paid yearly by my said man upon my letter to an old Sussex man named Playsted, to whom I promised Mr. Herbert Pelham to pay it for a few years; but when Playsted, for Captain Skipwith's pleasure, hindered me of 200*l.* of my rent because he had not my promise to continue it [to him] nor nothing to show, I wrote to my man to discontinue payment and mortgaged it with the other twenty marks a year to Sir Thomas. On knowledge of this Playsted made a great moan, alleging that he had no other living, and he and Roche made means to Captain Adderly that he should not take those rents. *Other details.*

I mortgaged a little land to Mr. George Evelin, and assigned Sir Thomas to redeem it. Evelin left it in trust with Captain Adderly to be let for him, and when Adderly came to redeem it for Sir Thomas Evelin [*sic*] made him pay 20*l.* that he received of the tenants thereof while Mr. Evelin held it in mortgage. Sir Thomas challenged this of me, but said that he would not challenge it if Mr. Evelin would write to him and avouch as much. I send Evelin's letter to that effect.

When I was arrested Sir Thomas, who was to pay me 100*l.*, only paid me 3*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.* One Morphy, that dwells near the Counter, and came there to be my bail, can testify to this.

I send a note under the hand of Mr. Bonye, the attorney, shewing what his charges were. Of these Sir Thomas in his chamber in the Temple afterwards abridged him of about 7*s.*

Details as to the charges of Mr. Thwaites, the scrivener. He had much to do, as Sir Thomas, to deceive McCarthy, so often changed the writings. *Details* as to the difficulties experienced by McCarthy in getting money out of Sir Thomas Hewitt when he had made the mortgages. These were so great that McCarthy had to borrow 42*l.* of Sir John Fitzedmunds, and wrote to

* See *Calendar of S.P. Ireland*, 1625-32, p. 122.

1626-53.

Hewitt to pay Sir John, and Hewitt paid Sir John lest Sir John should become acquainted with his way of dealing with McCarthy. Later, before his imprisonment, McCarthy received further money from Hewitt [?] and has in all received from him 99*l.* odd.

Proceeds: I will shew how Sir Thomas has deceived me. After my last commitment I was in great need of money, and offered to mortgage to him that rent of 26*l.* a year, for which, when old Playsted died, Captain Adderly wrote to him to deal. Sir Thomas, knowing my poverty, invented the said devizes [devises] and sent them to be shewn to me, who never heard of them before. He offered me money for the said rent if I would allow him some consideration for the said devizes, thinking that I was so poor that I must accept any terms to get money. When I refused he used the devizes to keep from me money which is due from him to me. *Other details*. If Sir Thomas did not wish to deceive me he would pay duly at the ensealing, as he did several times before. *Other details*.

Details follow as to money negotiations with John Burrell and Captain Adderley. *Relates* the circumstances of his arrest and his appeal to the Council in England,* and the decision of the Council's referees that his tenants must pay him (and not his alleged mortgagees). *Relates* the attempt of Hewitt to obtain an undertaking from him that he would not act on the Council's order, or complain of his ill-treatment by Hewitt.

P. 1. *Written small. Conway papers. Endd.*: Florence McCarthy. *S.P. Ireland* 213, 123.

About
same.

COMPLAINTS† [by SIR THOS. HEWITT?] against FLORENCE MCCARTHY.

He sold me a rent of 39*l.* a year, for which I got nothing for sixteen months. He mortgaged a ploughland for 40*l.* which I was to redeem; but Captain Adderley had to pay 20*l.* more for my use or I could not enjoy it.

Other items given of legal charges incurred by complainant on McCarthy's behalf and of money lent McCarthy whilst in prison.

Note in margin: Show the evidence to support the items.

The total is 99*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.*

Complainant admits owing 23*l.* to McCarthy, so remains his creditor for 76*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.*

Other details. Asserts that [Hewitt] had McCarthy arrested on finding that lands which McCarthy had mortgaged to him as free from encumbrances were not so free.

P. 1. *Ibid*, 124.

1653.

CERTIFICATE by WILLIAM TIBBES.

Robert Sackey, by his will dated 20 May, 1645, constituted Josina his wife executrix and gave her all his goods and all debts

* See the reference mentioned in foregoing note.

† Apparently these are answers to interrogatories or to a demand for particulars made on McCarthy's behalf.

1653-5.

owed him by the State of England. The will was proved 8 July, 1645.

Afterwards Josina married Thomas Jevan, woollen draper, and when Josina died Jevan took out letters of administration with the will annexed. The administration was taken out on 16 July, 1653.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Signed* by William Tibbes. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 213, 125.

165 $\frac{4}{5}$.
26 Jan.

ASSIGNMENT by THOMAS CHAMBERLAYN, of London, Merchant.

For good consideration he assigns to Thomas Jevon, of St. Martin's, Ludgate, London, woollendraper (administrator of the goods of his late wife Josina, formerly the wife and executrix of Robert Sackey, of Scarborough, Yorkshire, deceased), 614*l.* odd, *i.e.* 602*l.* odd which is part of 1,462*l.* odd payable for the hire and freight of the *George Bonadventure*, employed to guard the Irish coasts in 1642 and 1643, and the residue due, being part of 47,000*l.* odd, payable for ammunition and supplies delivered in 1642 for the soldiers in Baltimore fort.

P. 1. *Signed, sealed and delivered* in the presence of William Cresse, in Coleman Street, in Swan Alley, and Ambrose Gilbert (mark), servant to the assignor. *Endd. Ibid.* 126.

Fragment of letters to the LORD DEPUTY and COUNCIL.

Containing words of warranty.

Six lines. Ibid. 127.

DR. MEREDITH HANMER'S COLLECTION OF MS.*

VERSES and NOTES on WATERFORD.

Doggerel history of the City of Waterford in the following metre :—

God of his goodness, praised that he be,
For the daily increase of thy good fame,
O pleasant Waterford, thou loyal citie,
That five hundred years receivest thy name
Ere the later conquest unto thee came,
In Ireland deservest to be peerless.
Quia tu semper intacta manes.

Therefore Henry the Second, that noble King,
Knowing thy prowess and true allegiance,
Assigned thy franchises and metes, naming
All thy great port with each appurtenance,
Commanding his son their honour to advance
With gifts most special for thy good ease.
Quia tu semper intacta manes.

* For some introductory remarks on these papers see the *Preface*.

The doggerel continues in this strain for 24 verses referring to the grants of various municipal privileges given to the City of Waterford by successive Kings of England from Henry II to Henry VIII, including the gift of a sword by Henry VIII.*

Pp. 4.

Notes relating to similar matters in the history of Waterford.
Pp. 2.

Draft of Commission granted by King Henry VIII to the Mayor &c. of Waterford against the Earl of Kildare and the inhabitants of the City of Dublin, under his Privy Seal.

Refers to the rebellion of "our rebel, the Earl of Kildare," in conjunction with the inhabitants of the city of Dublin. *Proceeds*: The Earl and the citizens are still rebellious. We thank you for your loyalty, and hereby authorise you to seize and arrest any such rebels as you may be able to lay hands upon by sea or by land, with all manner of their ships and goods which you find to be carried to Dublin for any other place, and to the parts thereabout. You may employ the same on behalf of the common weal of the city of Waterford. You shall continue to execute these commands until the Earl and the citizens aforesaid desist from their rebellion. All our subjects shall assist in this matter. Given under our Privy Seal at Warwick Castle, 23 October,† 1511.

P. 1. In all pp. 7. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 1.

Further EXTRACTS relating to the History of WATERFORD.

Copy of the Act procured by the Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and others of the North of Ireland to be passed in Ireland by the King's authority against Waterford and other cities of Munster in King Henry VIII's time.

Praying the Commons that whereas at the suggestion of the mayors and commons of Waterford, Limerick and Youghal, King Henry VII granted to these cities and towns by letters patents, inasmuch as their walls were very ruinous and their streets unpaved, not only their fee farms but all manner of King's customs, cockqueates [cocketts] and poundages within them, which were worth 1,000 marks a year to the Crown, and whereas the said cities &c. have made great profits in years past by the said fee farms &c. and are now well paved and walled and do nothing with the said revenues but distribute them amongst themselves, everyone striving every year there to be Mayor or ruler, so as to receive for his own use the said revenues, and whereas some times too little custom, or none at all, is charged upon merchant strangers, "to the intent to have all resort of merchant strangers to themselves, knowing thereby to have their merchandizes the better cheap at their wills, insomuch that whereas the greatest resort of strangers in time past . . . have

* See Smith's *History of Waterford* (1774), p. 128.

† Smith (*op. cit.*, pp. 122-3) gives the letter *in extenso*, but dates it 20 Oct., 1511.

been to . . . Dublin and . . . Drogheda and Dundalk, to the great refreshing of the King's English subjects within the four obeysant shires, now come thither few or no merchant strangers there, where they have to pay the King's customs," but continually resort to Waterford, Limerick and Youghal, which render the English citizens of Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk and the four obeysant shires destitute of salt, wine, iron and other merchandize which is brought from abroad ; and whereas they can have none of these except what they buy from Waterford ; moreover, [whereas] the men of Waterford &c. having the custom of the same by the King's grant to their own use, "do not only [not] forbear to buy and sell with the King's enemies, as Frenchmen, and others affirming themselves to have liberties by the King's grants so to do, but also do grant unto such enemies safe conducts to resort amongst them for trade of merchandize," which brought about great dangers and will bring more if not prevented ; and whereas the King and his progenitors have also made grants of the Royal manors &c. to sundry persons.—

Be it therefore ordered &c. by authority of the present Parliament that all such grants of the King's revenues, whether made by letters patents or by legislation or by release or confirmation to the said persons, by whatsoever name, since the last day of King Richard II's reign, be resumed, repealed and deemed void in law.*
Pp. 1½.

The Mayor of Waterford and his brethren to King Henry VIII, sent by Sir James Quemerford [?], his chaplain.

We pray for a continuance of the favour shewn by your noble progenitors to our city. King Henry VII, recognising our loyalty, confirmed our charter and gave us additional privileges, as well for the safeguard of this city as for the common weal of the inhabitants. We hear that your Majesty has been asked to give authority to the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Kildare, to hold a Parliament here. If permission for this is granted we pray that, if we "be not provided† in the grant of the said Parliament," your Majesty will send letters under your Privy Seal to the Lord Deputy and Lords of the same, commanding them not to attempt to proceed against this your city in any point contained in their charters, but to permit us to enjoy the privileges thereby granted as freely as in times past ; and also to send other letters under your Privy Seal to the Mayor and bailiffs of this city commanding us to retain all such revenues and grants according to our charter. Without these privileges we would not be able to maintain this great city and garrison in any wise, having no help in the same but God and your Majesty's grace, as the bearer, to whom we ask your Majesty to give credence in our behalf, will shew.

Written at Waterford, 13 January. *Copy.*

P. 1. *Followed by:—*

The King to the Mayor &c. of Waterford.

Advertises them of the permission given to the Earl of Kildare to hold a Parliament in Ireland and of the restrictions put upon

* This Act is not in *Statutes at Large (Ireland)*.

† i.e. made the subject of a proviso.

its legislation for the preservation of the liberties of the city of Waterford, as requested in the foregoing.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Copy. Dated: Greenwich, 28 February,*

The King [Henry VIII] to the Lord Deputy.

For staying of any Act of Parliament to pass against any of the liberties of the city of Waterford.

The heading sufficiently shews the purport of the letter.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Copy. Dated: Greenwich, 28 January, 1516. Followed by:—*

A “placcard” sent by the King [Henry VIII] to the Lord Deputy and Lords Spiritual and Temporal of Ireland for staying of Parliament against the city of Waterford.

This “placard” is addressed to the Lord Deputy, Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons and all others that have place in the Court of Parliament. It prohibits them from legislating against the liberties of Waterford—as the last document.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Copy. Dated as foregoing.*

In all pp. 4. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 2.

HISTORICAL and GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES relating to IRELAND.

A loose collection of notes. Deals with the following subjects:—

1. Gives a list of 70 havens of Ireland.*
2. Gives an account of the imposition of coyne and livery by James, Earl of Desmond, grandfather of him that now is about fifty year upon the King's subjects in his country. The rest followed “until they all came to nought, the King's laws being exiled and the subject no better than Irishmen.”

Gives an account of the power of the Lords of Ulster, of the imposition of coyne and livery in Louth, Dublin and Kildare, and of its devastating effects.

A “betagh town” [ballibetagh] contains 960 acres.

Gives number of cantreds and ballybetaghs in the various provinces of Ireland.

3. Gives names of the principal Irish chieftains in the various parts of Ireland—about 70 names.

List of Irish names of districts in Desmond, Thomond and Meath.

4. Relates the custom of electing chiefs, and how the chief divides the clan lands among the clansmen, who must maintain him, and from whom he takes whatever he pleases.

5. List of Englishmen who became Irish in Desmond, Waterford, Connaught, Ulster and Meath—about 32 names.

6. English counties which pay tribute to the Irish yearly.

Lecale Barony pays to the Captain of	l.	s.	d.
Clandeboyne.. .. .	10	0	0
Meath pays to “Conghar [Connor, or			
O’Conor] Ophaly”	300	0	0

* As to these see below, pp. 676, 677.

The County of Urill [Uriell] to O'Nele, called "black rent"	l. s. d.
.. .. .	10 0 0
The Exchequer to McMurrough	53 6 8
Co. Wexford to McMurrough and Art boy ..	10 0 0
Co. Kilkenny and co. Tipperary to Kerrall [Carroll]	10 0 0
Co. Kildare to O'Knohour [O'Connor] a black rent of	20 0 0
The co. Limerick pays to O'Breyne and to Brein Araghe, each	10 0 0
The co. Cork to Cormack McTeige.. ..	10 0 0

Total, 430*l.*

7. Notes on the power of the Irish in Ireland, the scarcity of people who obey the King's laws, the power and forces of the Irish chieftains. *Details* of their forces given:— Thus in Desmond McCarthy More can muster 40 horse, "2 battayle," and 2,000 k[erne]; McCarthy Renagh, Lord of Carbery, can muster 60 horse, 1 bat[tayle] and 2,000 kerne; McTeige McCormicke, Lord of Muskerry, 40 horse, 1 bat[tayle], 200 k[erne], and so forth. The country of the Earl of Desmond and his kin extends for 120 miles. They muster 40 horse, 8 ba[ttayles], 1 battayle of crossbowmen and gunners, and 3,000 kerne. His country has the King's laws, so they give no aid.
8. Notes on the conquest of Munster by King Henry II and its subsequent history. Describes the legislation of the Parliament of Kilkenny, *temp.* Edward III. Other notes on Irish history at this period.
9. Loyal Irishmen in Meath:
 - O'Melaghlin, calls himself Prince of Meath. Lord of Clincolman [Clancolman].* He has 24 horse and 100 kerne.
 - O'Molmory. Lord of Fercoill [Fercall]. Has 20 horse and 100 kerne.
 - Magohegan. Lord of B[a]lnaliagh [Ballynalagh, co. Westmeath]. Has 24 horse and 80 kerne.
 - Synnagh. Lord of Montirhagan. 6 horse and 40 kerne.
 - McCawle. Lord of Kalrie [Calry, co. Westmeath]. Has 4 horse and 24 kerne.
 - O'Brene. Lord of Brahone [Brawny, co. Westmeath]. Has 60 kerne.
 - McCoghlan. Lord of Delvin. Has 8 horse and 20 kerne.
10. A "battayle" of galloglass is 60 or 80 harnessed men on foot, with spears. Every one of these men has his knave to bear his harness, whereof some have spears and others bows. Every ——— hath a bow and a sheef [sheaf of arrows], or three spears, without harness, and every two have a boy to bear their necessaries. Every horseman has two horses, and some have three, a jack well harnessed, for the most part a sword, a "skene," a

* This was O'Melaghlin's country *bar* Clonloman, co. Westmeath.

great spear and a dart. Every horse hath his knave, and their chief horse is ever led, and one of his kernes ride[s] always and bears his harness and spears if he has harness.* They are for the most part good and hardy men of war, and can hard[i]ly suffer great misery, and will adventure themselves greatly against their enemies. *Other details.* These men hate the King's laws, and, notwithstanding any gifts, will on occasion do their best for their own advantage. They make themselves strong and take the goods of other subjects when they please, as their own proper goods.

When the lord dies the strongest succeeds: and the son seldom succeeds the father. "They get many children besides their lawfully begotten, whereof all be gentlemen." Their father's lands, purchases and farms are divided equally between them. They teach their sons to be men of war from the age of 16, and "continually practised in feats thereof." They provide for them benefices from Rome, though they can scarce read: the profit whereof they spend among us; but God sendeth constantly dissension among them."

11. Paces [passes] to be cut. List of some 33 places where passes should be made.

12. Breviate of the getting of Ireland and of the decay of the same.

This is an account of Irish affairs, beginning with the conquest by Strongbow. Explains the decay of the English Garrison, their falling into Irish habits &c. Considers the difficulty of conquering Ireland now as compared with that of the original conquest, and concludes that owing to the number of "castles and piles" which now exist, and the knowledge which Englishmen possess of the country, the task would be easier now than it was then.

The beginning of the reformation should be in Leinster, in the angle between Waterford and Dublin. Here the only Irish of importance are the Connaghes [Cavanaghs], of whom Mc'Moreghowe [McMorrogh] is captain, who cannot make 200 horsemen. The Byrnes and Tholess have about 100, "besides the Irish inhabitants of their countries, which be but naked men and Kernes."

Describes the country proposed to be reformed, its frontiers of Kildare, Kilkenny, Dublin, &c., its chief abbeys and manors.

13. Notes on the pedigrees of Fitzgerald, Burke, McWilliam and Darcy.

In all 14 long narrow pages. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 3.

REMEDIES [for Irish incursions], and the BENEFITS which will accrue from them.

1. Enclosures [must be made] with ditches and quickset hedges, so as the ways may all be brought to pass through the towns. These [should be] "fenced with turnpike" and watched by

* "His" and "their" are used alternatively here. The writer is evidently describing the armed horseman's outfit.

night, and also all the day times when any cry is raised, whereby thieves or suberne [?] roders [raiders] will be prevented from getting their prey out of such encumbrances. Thereby also the country, which is void of wood, will be supplied.

2. The King must order by proclamation that no landlord receive any Irishman as a tenant. Tenants of English birth or of English race, and not degenerate, will hire their land for rent and service reasonable, to be "arbitred" by the Lord Deputy or Lord Justice and Council.

3. The King must expressly order that "no such tenant of English birth or English race as aforesaid which hath or shall have bestowed [his]* travel in such sort of enclosure or in planting of trees shall be put off without the reasonable value thereof first recouped [?]* by the landlord or by the tenant next to succeed him, w[hich] was the order of the marches† of Callis [? Calais], extending also unto buildings." The value to be arbitred by the Lord Deputy and Council.

4. The Lord Deputy or Lord Justice and Council are authorised by statute to let at a rate such waste lands as the landlords, for greediness of great rents, do not occupy or let. The King's pleasure should be signified that they do so, and where[as] no husbandman dare manure such lands for neighbourhood of the Irish borders there should be a proclamation that any man who will dig and sow any parcels of such land with flaxen seed shall have his seed lent him on a contribution of the country.

5. There is excessive dearth in the Pale. Handicraftsmen and soldiers cannot live of their earnings. This is due to greedy taking up of land more than to the scarcity; and to the keeping stores needlessly in order to raise prices.

6. The Scots, if unable to support themselves in their own country, come over here and disturb the peace of Ireland, encouraging those that are willing to rebel. The timber of which their gallies are made comes chiefly from Wexford, Wicklow and Arklow. The men of these places either sell their timber directly to the Scottish merchants, or, if they fail, sell to merchants in Dublin, who "trock" the same to the Scottish merchants for Scotland. Some timber is sent to Carlingford and Carrickfergus to be sold, but not so much as in Dublin. It is easier for the Scots to get timber from Ireland than from their own isles.

7. For remedy of this, commissioners should be appointed to see the markets served, and no licence at all to be granted for carriage forth of grain or victual but as the statutes do licence. *Details* as to steps to be taken and penalties to be imposed to prevent the exportation of corn and of timber except for the making of fishing boats on the coasts.

In all pp. 3. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 4.

Note on the ABBEYS of CLANEBOY.

The Gray Abbey, a house of monks.

Moyvilly [Movilla or Moville], a house of canons.

The Abbey of the Newtown, a house of St. Dominic's order.

* The document is imperfect where the asterisk appears.

† An early suggestion of compensation for improvements.

1487. The Abbey of Bangor, a house of canons.
 The Cumber [Comber], a house of monks.
 Ardneknishe [Ardicnise, now Hollywood], a Franciscan house.
 All these are abbeys within the Ard [Ards].
 The abbeys below Balfershide [Belfast] are as follows :—
 The Abbey of Godborne [Goodbourne] beside Carrickfergus,
 a house of canons.
 The Friary of Carrickfergus.
 The Abbey of Mockomyer [Muckamore] in Moylynge
 [Moylinny], a house of canons.
 The house of Masrony, east of Loughneagh, is a Franciscan house.
 The house of Lynnbeg [Lambeg] is of the same.
 Inverlarne [St. Mary's, Glenarm], Glenarm Abbey and Bow-
 margie are of the same.
 The Abbey of Keallbeg [Killybegs], a house of canons.
 There is a friary at Cowlrayn [Coleraine].
 P. 56. With fragmentary notes on the Monastic Orders in
 Ireland. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 214, 5.*

1487. Account of the CORONATION of LAMBERT [Simmel] in Dublin.
 Lambert was an organ maker's son and was crowned in Dublin
 as King of England and Lord of Ireland. The Earl of Kildare,
 then Governor, with the assistance of all the lords spiritual and
 temporal and commoners of the north part of Ireland, assembled
 in Dublin Castle, crowned the same boy and proclaimed him as
 aforesaid. "The crown they took off the head of our lady of
 Dam.† and clapt it on the boy's head. The Mayor of Dublin
 took the boy in his arms, carried him about the city in procession
 with great triumph. The clergy went before, [then] the Earl of
 Kildare, then Governor, then Walter, Archbishop of Dublin
 and Lord Chancellor; and the nobility, Council and citizens
 followed him as their King. All the north of Ireland gave
 obedience to him. Shortly after the Earl, as tutor and protector
 of the King, wrote to John Butler, Mayor of Waterford,‡ and to
 all the citizens a strait charge to be prepared to receive their
 young King and Lord with all their forces, to assist him in his
 journey to Munster, where he and his Council were to take order
 in affairs of great moment. The Mayor, wishing to gain time
 for deliberation, said 'I will send you an answer by one of my
 own men.' Within a few days he, after deliberation, framed and
 sent the following answer :—
 "All loyalty and subjection to our Sovereign Lord Henry VII,
 King of England and Lord of Ireland; and health to your
 honourable person. With the advice of my brethren, having
 weighed in the balance of loyalty your imperial and peremptory
 command, with one consent and being directed by them that
 are experienced [and] well seen in the laws of both realms and

* Dr. Flood has helped me with several identifications in this document.

† See Gilbert, *History of Dublin* (1859), Vol. II, p. 1.

‡ This account tallies with that given in Smith, *History of Waterford* (1774), p. 121 *sq.*, but adds some interesting particulars and is therefore given here. Smith says Simmel was a baker's son; but this document says his father was an organ maker.

1487-97.

are not to seek much in Royal affairs concerning the time, this is what we have to say:—That he, whosoever he be, taking upon him the imperial crown or name to be King of England and is crowned in Dublin by a subject, the Earl of Kildare, and inhabitants of the City of Dublin, having no right thereto, the City of Waterford accepteth and denieth such a one, and all such as embrace and further such a coronation and proclamation made in Dublin, to be nude enemies and traitors and rebels to the right Prince and King of England.”

Proceeds to describe the hanging of the messenger &c. as described in Smith's *Waterford* (1774), p. 121, then the sending of the Earl of Kildare's herald demanding compliance of the city of Waterford, the bold answer of the Mayor, concluding with the words “and thou, Herald, get out of our sight!” States that the Mayor then sent messages to the Butlers and Brenys (Byrnes) and to the towns of Carrick, Clonmell, Callan, Kilkenny, Fithert [Fiddert?], Gawran, Balamackenden and Ross in Wexford, promising to support them in defending the cause of King Henry VII. The Butlers promised 500 horse and 1,000 foot, and more if required, at their own charge, to support King Henry. The Brenys offered all kindness, together with the aforesaid towns. When all were in arms and in great fear as to what would happen, a wind brought forces from England, which landed some at Skerries, some at Clontarf and some at Dalkey, which daunted the traitors; and the counterfeited King, the Earl his tutor, Walter Archer of Dublin and many others were taken and brought to the Tower of London to receive condign punishment.

During this pageant the city of Waterford, not daring to address the Deputy, wrote to Walter, Archbishop of Dublin, in English rhyme as follows:—

“O thou most noble pastor, chosen by God, Walter, Archbishop of Dublin —.

Pp. 2½. *Imperfect*. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 6.

Account of LAMBERT SIMNEL'S IMPRISONMENT.

Gives an account of Lambert Simnel's and Father Symond's arrival in Dublin, as in Ware, *Annals of Ireland*.^{*} Describes briefly the coronation of Lambert and his being carried to the Castle “on tall men's shoulders that he might be seen and noted, as he was sure an honourable child to look upon.” *Relates* the defeat of Lambert's forces at Stoke, &c. *Relates* briefly the attempt of the Earl of Lincoln to seize the throne [in 1487]. Other brief notes on Sir Edward Poyning's deputyship and Warbeck's capture and confession.

Pp. 2. *Endd*. *Ibid*, 7.

1497.

Account of PERKIN WARBECK'S VISIT to IRELAND.

On 23 July, 1495 [*sic*]†, Morice, Earl of Desmond, with the army of the Earl of Lincoln, of about 23,000, besieged Waterford

^{*} Ed. 1705. *Annals of Henry VII*, p. 4.

† Warbeck landed at Cork 26 July, 1497. See Ware's *Annals of Ireland* for that year. Smith gives the date as 23 July, 1497.

1497.

on the west side and continued the siege eleven days. During that time there arrived at Passage eleven ships of the rebels, ready for the sacking of the city. Robert Butler, then Mayor, is greatly commended for his valour and discretion. The citizens, securing such help as they could, skirmished with them daily and slew many of them. The enemy discharged two of their ships at Lumbard's wear and there landed many men, whereon the city sent out a band well armed, which foiled the enemy, took prisoners and slew many men. The prisoners were brought to the market place and their heads cut off and set up on stakes, "and when by reason of their stench, the number being many and the weather hot, they began to corrupt the air, they were taken down and cast into the town ditch, which, in remembrance of that act, now beareth the name."

Proceeds to relate the raising of the siege on 3 August, the retirement of Warbeck to Cork and his escape to Cornwall &c. as related in Smith's *Waterford*.*

P. 1. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 8.

List of MINES in IRELAND.

A mine of alum in McMoris' [?] country, 40 miles west of Limerick.

In the isle of Dorsay [Dursey], a silver mine.

At Glanneroghe, in the haven of Ardeghe in McCarty More's country, a silver mine.

At Bannentrie [Bantry] within Berehaven, copper.

At Mary, three miles from Galway, lead and copper mines.

Near Ardglass, a mine of lead.

At the fair of Forland [*sic*], a mine of lead.

In Donald O'Flaherty's country, eight miles from Galway, lead mines.

In Kildare, between Themalin [Timolin] and Leghlin bridge, divers mines unknown.

In O'Loghline's country, by his castle in Borrein, a silver mine.

At Clontarf, beside Dublin, a mine of lead.

At Moygrane, besides Malahide, a mine of lead.

At Killenboy, in O'Brien's country, divers mines of lead.

At an island called Lemcarrick, sixty miles N.W. of Galway, lead mines.

How to try mines of silver or gold.

To test for gold or silver you must "take thereinto a portion ten times as much of the filing of iron and of argyl, which is called iron [?] stone; and put there a four double portion of fine lead that holdeth no manner silver and a small portion of sandiver and muddle your mine. These gear well together. Set it upon your test, when that your said test is hot, driving clear in your said test. And thereby shall you know verily what portion of gold and silver your said mine doth bear and thereupon make your reckoning."

* (1774), p. 124.

1497.

Other details. The silver mine at Glanneroghe is three miles from the head of the haven of Athird in O'Sullivan's country, where there is a sufficiency of wood and water. O'Sullivan has in his country the following havens :—

Berehaven.	Dorsay.
Ardeghe.	Garinshe.
Bantry.	Agrome.
Loghane.	

Other mines in Ireland are as follows :—

In co. Wexford at Clonemene [Clonmines].

In co. Kilkenny at Killeghen.

In the co. Waterford :—

Against Waterford at the [*illegible*], a mine of silver.

A silver mine at Knockdrin.

In the Pohers' country at Dunhall [?], mines of lead.

Near Islandbrick, mines unknown.

At the Rock of Tristan, unknown.

At Ross and Inistiocke [Inistioge, co. Kilkenny], mines unknown.

At Girrepoint [Jerpoint, co. Kilkenny], a mine of copper.

In co. Limerick :—

Oaules [Oolahills].

Raghoe [Ragh].

Carrigkettel [Carrigkirrell].

—anyne [*imperfect*], *alias* Thomomonia, in O'Brien's country.

In Kerry there are two mines of silver and nine miles from Limerick there is a mine upon the river of Desmond's country.

At Kilmaloge [Kilmallock] there is a mine of lead.

At KnockKylleny [Knockilley] [and] Conniogh Tirrelagh, [Coonagh?] [in] O'Brien's land, one mine of silver.

Pp. 2, followed by an index [apparently] of notes on Irish and Anglo-Irish families.

In all pp. 4. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 9.

NOTE on the Conduct and Suppression of the BERNES.

On 18 March, 1593, Sir Pierce Fitzjames of the Geraldines was burned, with his castle, wife and children, within three miles of Athy by Walter Rewgh and the sons of Feach [?] McHugh. Such a one was accounted the most faithful of the Queen's subjects of Irish birth. He cold [*sic*] away with neither kerne, roge, rhymer nor wandering horseboys. He had done great service against Feagh McHugh, Walter Rewgh and divers rebels, and offered in his lifetime, with small aid of the Queen, to bring in the heads of these and such like traitors ; or, if he might have licence, he would, with the aid of the counties, drive them into the sea. It was refused.

The counties of [*blank*] offered to subdue them all if they might have leave, but it was not granted.

Sir Henry Harington, Sir Thos. Masterson and others, brave and substantial men, offered to take the land of Feagh McHugh of the Queen at 3*d.* an acre and on their own cost, with 100 men

1497.

of the Queen, to bring in his head or drive him into the sea. It would not be granted.

The City of Dublin offered to supply the 100 men in ease of her Majesty for a year; but it would not be granted.

The gentlemen of the Pale offered for 3*d.* an acre to subdue them; but it was not accepted.

Feagh McHugh is made Justice of the Peace and, when he comes to Dublin, is accepted and guarded with the Lord Chancellor's sons. He was pardoned [six] or seven times.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Endorsed* with notes on Irish chronicles, Alexander, Archbishop of Dublin (*temp.* Edward III), and to which is attached other rough notes on Irish history.

In all Pp. 2. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 10.

NOTE on the Lands of the ABBEYS in the ARDS.

Gives list of the temporal and spiritual possessions of the Abbeys of Bangor, — [illegible], the Grey Abbey and the Black Abbey.

P. $\frac{3}{4}$ (*small*). *Endd. Ibid.*, 11.

NOTES ON IRISH and ANGLO-IRISH HISTORY.

1. Refers to Pandar's work *Salus Populi*, written in the time of Henry VIII. *Mentions* the Irish chieftains in Meath, the rule of succession "by fortmayne and election," the distribution of lands, and the duties of the temporary owner to his chief, "so that the landlord is but a daily beggar and the tenant continually beggared."

2. More than thirty great captains of the English race at this day follow the Irish custom and make war and peace on one another at their wills, without licence of the King or Lord Deputy. These are the Earl of Desmond, the Knight of Kerry, Fitzmaurice of the same, Sir Thomas and Sir John of Desmond, Sir Garrott of Desmond and his sons of the co. Waterford, Lord Barry, Lord Roche, the young Lord Barry, otherwise called Barry Oge, the White Knight, the Knight of the Valley, the Poers of the co. Waterford, Sir William Burke of the co. Limerick and others.

3. I have to complain of many rebel families in Connaught. *Mentions* Lord Bourke "de Com. Kegholole" [Culeagh?], Lord Bourke of Clanricarde, Lord Bermingham of Anry [Athenry], Lord Nangle and others. *Mentions* as rebellious in Ulster Sir Rowland Savadge of Lechahill [Lecale?] and others; in Meath the Dillons and others. *Gives* list of counties which have no justice nor sheriff under the King. The English subjects would be loyal if they were protected against their Irish enemies. They are driven to join the rebels by neglect.

4. Many English counties pay to the Irish a tribute called the "black penny."

The barony of Lechahill [Lecale?] pays to the Captain of Clancheneboy [Clandeboy] or to O'Neale or whichever of them is strongest, 40*l.*

The co. of Uriell pays 40*l.* yearly to the Great O'Neale. Meath pays 300*l.* yearly to O'Conogher. [*List continues as above, pp. 664-5.*]

5. It grieves me to say that there are as many Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas and Barons of the Exchequer and as many ministers and clerks in each of the said Courts as have been since the land was under the King's laws; but that nevertheless the subjects are so vexed with the extortions of the said Courts that they sell their freeholds "rather than further endure the vexation after the example of the March where the King's laws are not obeyed, and rather than endure the extortion of conny and livery, the exaction of hosting, carriage and cartage, the King's annual great subsidy, the black rent to the King's Irish enemies, more exacted of the King's Irish enemies in cos. of Dublin, Kildare, Meath and Uriell than elsewhere, more by the sea-coast than in the March."

6. Can any nation under the cope of Heaven be compared with the commons of England for riches, freedom, prosperity and all hearts' ease? They increase the King's wealth, multiply in number, and his enemies, if any arise, are quickly subdued by them. "If he call subjects to aid, as the sands of the sea they sally to environ him. The crafty clergy are fed with the clouten shone [shoes]. Apes are fed with a bit and a knock; let the priest say the word, the plowman obeyeth. Say but *dirige*, *placebo* will follow. Let the priest say, *exaltabo*, the plowman is in his *de profundis*. Let the lawyer shave his beard he will be reputed a priest, that is his credit. Let him call the plowman to the law he will relinquish his right rather than be vexed with the course."

7. "Oh, Ireland, thou art far wide!" It is an old saying *Qualis rex talis populus*.

It is true in England, but in Ireland there are only petty kings and tyrants. "The strong hand holdeth up, the weak goeth to the wall; the commons savage, filthy, naked, hungry, the priest an ass, the people a beast. The holy woman Briggitt . . . inquired of the good angel of what Christian land were most souls damned. He answered, Of a land in the west of the world; for there is continual war, murder, shedding of blood, envy, malice, all manner of vice contrary to charity, and he shewed to her the lapse of the souls into hell as thick as hail showers."

There is much robbery &c. in Ireland and this is a sore incurable. The land was peaceful when first conquered by England, but has since been rebellious for near two hundred.

Let him who can search out some salve for this festered sore.

8. Cause of the Irish Miseries.

Some think that the pestilence has devoured the English race, for they fly not therefrom, but that the Irish by running away, escape it, for they increase and the others decrease. Others have noticed, and Cambrensis marvelled at it, Richard, Earl of Pembroke, William, Earl Marshal, and his sons, Sir John Coursy, Earl of Ulster, and such great

conquerors of this land died without issue male, and left the land, as it were by Divine providence, to the Irish septs to possess.

9. Some hold that the King is reckless and hath been this 200 years, having his hands full at home and abroad with France and foreign countries; and although he sent forces there to his great charge yet prevailed they naught,—served their own turns and returned, as many as the bogs receive not, as wise as they came; and left the land in worse case than they found it. This is an obvious fact which flatterers cannot conceal.

10. Some urge that the Lord Deputy is to blame, for whereas he formerly went about with a strong guard of spears and bows appointed after the English fashion he now goes with “Irish galloglasses, Irish kerne, Irish spears, Irish horseladdes, doing no service, sparing his purse (not the King’s treasure) with extortion of conny and livery, consuming the commons and devouring the King’s subjects.” It is also objected that he maketh great rodes [inroads] to the other provinces, drawing the King’s subjects with him by compulsion and compelling them to bring with them victuals for three weeks or more and carriage at their own charge, “licensing the nobles to take cess on the King’s subjects, taking the fine of the defect in the hosting of 100 or 200 absent to himself, returning without any hurt done to the King’s enemies and hurting more in the return by his oppression than in the going forth; his followers being so proud [?] that when ordinary fare would serve they must have chickens and when grass is plenty they must have oats or malt for their horses. . . . When they have all their desire they must have money. When they are best used then the good man, the good wife and the household folk are beaten if not worse used.”

11. Some say that the nobility of English race foster and marry with the English-Irish enemies, from which disadvantages arise. As the Lord Deputy does this himself he cannot punish others who do it.

12. Some say that the nobility, English and Irish, give themselves to extortions and all sorts of licentious life in Ireland, that they will not and cannot leave it, and that they hold their territories “tyranically by imperial sword,” not acknowledging, but in shew, any superior power.

13. Some say that the Deputy’s advisers are “corrupt men, bribers, flatterers, carnal and dissolute persons,” and who dares rebuke them but the Deputy who is of their own disposition? And so all tends to the ruin of the land.

14. Some people attribute these evils to the indolence of the beneficed clergy. None of these, high or low, English or Irish, ever preach, but only the begging friars; and as they are poor in outward show so are they simple lettered, feeding the people with tales. The clergy of this land study only the canon law, and care more for transitory lucre and the plow rustical than the plow celestial. Where there is no preaching, teaching or serving of God, there can be nothing but utter destruction.

15. Some say that these evils arise because the statute laws are not put in execution.

16. Some say that "commanders of countries and petty captains have so many horseboys, hoores and dogs following them in idle life that they do nothing where they come but like wolves raven, extort and spoil the country."

17. Some say that the King was wont to send 5,000 or 6,000 marks out of his treasure in England here besides the local revenue (which is at its worst) for the defence of the land and that the country of itself is not able to defend itself and that therefore it is meet that the Deputy and captains do use conney [coyne]. livery &c. and so every man must patiently endure this extortion.

18. Some say that never since the conquest have the King's enemies in arms—kernes, galloglasses, horse and Scots—been so many and so well armed as now. As [they say] the subject is not able to defend himself it is better for him to be cessed upon and defended than that the enemy should destroy him.

19. Some regret that the English who, after their country manner, used to use bows, arrows, swords, bucklers, jacks and salets and foil the enemy therewith have now abandoned these and use Irish bows and darts; where[by] the enemy, being far more now in number and more expert, speedily reduce the subject to a weak state.

20. To remedy these evils a man must have the help of God, the power of the King, "the brawn of man's arm and the dint of the sword. So far Pandar."

Pp. 4½. With fragmentary notes on old Irish history gummed on to the back. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 12.

NOTE touching the state of CONNAUGHT.

First, let your lordship have a regard for the confirmation of the Kellys' country, seeing that the end of the composition is at hand [and] almost expired, for the inhabitants are unable to pay such cess as they have hitherto paid, and are afraid to be "placed" with soldiers.

Also it is convenient [to question] of Bryen McDermody of Moylorige [Moylurge] what grievances he had with Mr. Thomas Dillon at Roscommon the 5th of this [-s month]* October, 1598 [or 1578], touching the conquest of the Denmarks, "alleging that the oppression of the soldiers is worse to them than the said Denmarks."

Four letters should be sent to the several sheriffs of the province of Connaught commanding that four of the best and chiefest gentlemen of the baronies come to your lordship to examine them touching the state of the country. Otherwise they are afraid to open their griefs except they be compelled thereto.

O'Rourke should be asked why he stayed the rent after it was reared [arreared].

* Document imperfect here.

Sir John Borek [Burke], otherwise McWilliam Eughterie, [would be of service] if authorised to correct Walter Fady's[?] sons and the rest of the rebels joining with them. Your lordship should step over and take their pledge for the observation of peace, otherwise, as "greyhounds do fight at the end of their victuals" they must fight by reason of the oppression of the soldiers.

The sons of Gilleduff were traitors at Galway about midsummer last. They bear greatly on* the Earl's sons and the fort which John Bourke made standeth upon [their]* land.

P. 1. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 214, 13.

SAFE CONDUCT given by the LORD GENERAL.

Desiring all whom it may concern to allow Richard Fitzgerald and the rest of the persons undermentioned† to pass them quietly and without hindrance during the period of [blank], they behaving themselves peacefully during the time and causing no burden to the loyal subject of the Pale, nor taking meat or drink from them contrary to their wills. This safe conduct shall not protect murderers.

P. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Copy.* Dated Dublin, 7 May, 1598. With notes on the O'Neales underwritten and on the back. *Ibid*, 14.

LIST of, and notes on, the HAVENS of IRELAND.

1. List of seventy havens.

This is a list of the principal and smaller havens in Ireland, beginning with Loughfoyle and the Bann and going successively round the east, south and west coasts of Ireland, finishing at Sligaghe [Sligo].

P. $\frac{3}{4}$. *Endd.*, with notes on the cess of coyne and livery by the Earl of Desmond and Ulster, divisions of land in Ireland, &c.

2. Notes on some of the ports mentioned in the foregoing list. Thus—*inter alia*,

Loughfoyle is a "royal flood west south west [flowing] 20 miles [in] to the land and a branch to the east. It divides the territories of O'Kan [O'Cahan] and O'Dogherty."

The Bann: Runs W.S.W. and is a barre [bar] haven. Great fresses [freshes] of water, fauling [falling] mountains and hills called an Irish [in Irish] "Assrouagh." "Salmons leaping and with nets taken afore they fall." Ships of 40 to 60 tons will lade themselves in two months with salmon. O'Dogherty and James McHenry have castles there.

Wolderfryth [Olderfleet]. Runs west six miles. James McSurley of the east side has a castle.

The Sound of Roughlen [Rathlin] consisting of two islands, right north of Ireland.

Carrickfergus. Flows twelve miles to a place called 'Beelfast' compassing three islands. The islands are called Topeman

* Document imperfect here.

† No names are underwritten.

isles, where the abbey of Banchorie [Bangor?] lieth. Yet Carrickfergus runneth west. Carrickfergus [is] the ancients [ancientest] castle and ancients [ancientest] manor in Ireland.

Strangford—a "real haven" wherein there is thought to be an island for every day in the year. Runs W.N.W. for 30 miles. On the north side is McNeale Oge's castle and on the south side the abbey of Dun Patricke [Downpatrick].

Ardglass—a crib for small boats.

Holyhaven—for small ships. An island in the midst.

Dounedrumme [Dundrum], for small boats and barks for timber and other commodities for Dublin.

Carlingford. Flows W.N.W. 16 miles up to Newry. Bagnall [has?] the Green Castle. On the north side a bayly [?] town.

Dundalk—a shole bay.

Kilclogh or Kilkeale—a key for fisher boats.

Dunany [or] the Kilclogher.

Drogheda—a bar haven.

Nanye—a bar haven for fishermen.

Old Patrick [Holmpatrick]—an island, being the key of Skerries, having three islands within belonging to it and right east a rock called Rock an Bell [Rockabill].

Rush—a key for fishermen &c.

Malahide—a bar haven: Rogerstown of the south side of Malahide.

Mentions Baldoyle, Howth and Braymore. P. 1.

3. Further list in continuation of and amplifying No. 1 above.

Pp. 4.

4. Further list of 40 havens. Adds no important information to the above. Pp. 2.

In all pp. 8. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 15.

Manuscript Book containing NOTES and INFORMATION on the following matters.

1. Captains or chiefs in Ulster; captains and districts in Leinster; chiefs in Munster; chiefs in Thomond; districts in Desmond; districts in Thomond; chiefs in Connaught; chiefs and districts in Meath. Pp. 1-2.

2. List of Englishmen in various parts of Ireland who became Irish. *Repeats* the Pohers of Waterford. *Further* notes, as in paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 of the "Notes" on pp. 672-3 above. Pp. 2-4.

3. Description of the power of Irishmen in the various provinces of Ireland. Pp. 4-9.

4. A breviat of the getting of Ireland and the decay of the same.

This contains a review of early Irish history from Strongbow's conquest to Edward III and the statutes of Kilkenny. Pp. 9-12.

Relates how the statutes of Kilkenny were not observed and of the evils which followed from this non-observance. Notes on Hugh de Lacy's pedigree &c. Pp. 12-14.

5. Genealogy of the Earls of Kildare, various branches of the Bourkes, Darcys &c. Pp. 16-17.

6. List (repetition) of Irish havens* and repetition of the other matters mentioned in this entry. Pp. 19-45.

In all pp. 45. *Endd. S.P. Ireland* 214, 16.

Also three copies of the "breviate of the getting of Ireland by Englishmen and of the decay of the same."

These copies are all somewhat fuller than the copy in the book calendared immediately above. The writer attributes the loss of the English power in Ireland to disrespect of the Statutes of Kilkenny, the lawless power of Butlers and Geraldines and the growth of coyne and livery. He refers to the loss of Connaught, after the death of Lionel, Duke of Clarence. It fell to the Burkes, who gradually fell to Irish order. The possibility of the recovery of English influence is discussed. Suggests the suppression of the abbeys of Dunbrody, Tyntern, Duske, co. Carlow, [Dousk or Griguenemanagh, co. Kilkenny], Greane [Grany?], co. Kildare, and the abbey of Baltinglass and giving them to lords and knights from England who shall dwell upon them. Suggests the building of numerous castles and 'piles' [details].

Pp. 7½, 7½ and pp. 17½, the first two adhering together. One is headed to show that the "breviate" was offered to Henry VIII. To the last of the copies are appended notes on the divisions and chieftains of Ireland. Pp. 4½. *Ibid*, 17, 18 and 19.

TWO MAPS OF LIMERICK.

These are very rough sketch maps. One shows the Bishop's Palace, Castle and St. Nicholas' Church, the Island, base town, Newgate, Bridgegate at the south and the Shannon on the west and a Key on it, also a bridge at the north west. The other shows the Key of Limerick, a bridge, the Shannon, the West Gate,† North Gate, New Gate and base town.

Pp. 2, with notes on the acreage of the Irish provinces attached and a list of the following prebends:—Donaghmore, Balicahan, Kilbeacon, Tolloughbracket [Tullabracky], Killydie, Croagh, Effinge, Desert [Dysert], Engus, Nichtany [Nantonan].

In all pp. 3. *Ibid*, 20 and 20A.

NOTE on the family of EUSTACE of CASTLE MARTIN.

Their descent from Eustace a son of Godfrey of Bouillon, the rule of the Eustaces in Sicily, their landing in Ireland and assumption of the name of Power on King John's arrival, "of whom they had great command from Dungarvan to Laghlen [Leighlin]."

Pp. 2. *Ibid*, 21.

Table of contents.

Relates to documents bearing various dates between 1515 and 1599. Pp. 2½.

* See above, pp. 676 and 677, for these.

† The West Gate is placed on the wrong side in the second map, which is a very poor representation. The first map is recognisable.

Further list of documents relating to Irish history. Pp. 2.

Notes on the O'Briens, Clanricardes, and list of persons of the kindred of Henry VIII, of the house of York, whom Henry caused to be attainted and executed. Pp. 2.

Historical notes regarding Ireland in the 13th, 14th and 15th century. Pp. 3.

Notes on martyrs and martyrology. Pp. 2.

In all pp. 11½. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 22.

Scrap notes on early Irish ecclesiastical history and on O'Rourke of Connaught. P. ¾.

Myth of the mark of St. Cataldus' head and of his healing of his mother &c.

Pp. 1½. *Ibid*, 23.

Note on Strongbow. Undertaking to keep the peace in Ireland, dated 30 Oct., 1598. Note on Henry VI's marriage; on Edward VI and Malachi, Bishop of Lismore and Malachi [same] Bishop of Connor. Pedigree of the Eustaces.

Six small pp. *Ibid*, 24.

St. Patrick's prophecy about Dublin. Notes for a sermon on *Acts* iv., 32, *sq.* Other fragments.

Pp. 2½. *Ibid*, 25.

List of chiefs and districts in Ireland.

P. 1. *Ibid*, 26.

Account of the battle between the Poers and O'Driscolls and the citizens of Waterford.*

Notes on the pedigrees of the Gormanstownns and the house of Decies.

Notes on the House of Kildare, Edward III's children, William of Wickham and the alleged illegitimacy of John of Gaunt, and the Fitzgeralds of Desmond.

In all pp. 8, with attached fragments or scraps. *Ibid*, 27.

Synopsis of Early Irish History and Legend.

Begins with the year after the Flood and ends in the time of King John, and with the marriages and portions of the daughters of William, Earl Marshal of England, and Isabel, daughter of Richard, Earl of Pembroke, and an enumeration of the Irish estates which were held by these daughters and their descendants and the taxes or Crown rents paid for them. Other notes on early Irish history.

In all pp. 45. The contents taken from the chronicles. *Ibid*, 28.

Notes taken from Giraldus Cambrensis, on Irish monasteries. Fragment on barony of Cahir.

* This account is similar to that in Smith's *History of Waterford* (1774), p. 113.

Notes for a sermon on Epistle to the Philippians, ii. 1—4.

Legend of the coming of three men and fifty women to Ireland before the Flood.

Other fragments. About pp. 5. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 29.

Extracts from Irish histories and other sources on early and medieval history of Ireland. Concludes with list of Lords Lieutenant and Lords Deputies and Justices from Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke (1174), to Loftus and Gardiner (1598), and with another list of these officers from 1403 to 1598.

In all pp. 25, with some blank pages. *Latin. Ibid*, 30.

Note for a sermon on the text, "I have found David my servant. With my holy oil have I anointed him." Pp. 1½. *Endorsed* with names of Kings of Scotland from Duncan to James VI.

Note on early life of St. Patrick. P. 1.

List of mythical Scottish Kings. Pp. 2.

Pp. 4½. *Ibid*, 31.

Note on the reform of government in Ireland, administration of justice, management of the revenue, obtaining sureties from landlords &c. List of passes to be kept open.

Dialogue on farming land, shewing that landlords are heavily taxed, whilst farmers make a good profit, and on other economic matters. Note on the taking of coyne and livery in Kilkenny and Tipperary: on the Earl of Ulster and his daughter's marriage to Lionel, Duke of Clarence.

In all pp. 7. *Ibid*, 32.

Note on the killing of Captain Mackworth, *temp.* Arthur [Lord] Grey; on Arthur [Lord] Grey's refusal to deliver the Sword, and on Sir Nicholas Malbie who "drove Desmond to rebellion." He "was the rarest Secretary in Ireland."

Calendar of Saints' Days [observed in Ireland].

Pp. 12½. *Ibid*, 33.

Division of Ireland into provinces and dioceses. P. 1.

List of Archbishops of the four Irish provinces, 1152–1600.

List of officers of the Exchequer. Thomas, Earl of Ormond, High Treasurer, Sir Henry Wallop, Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer at Wars, Thomas Molyneux, Chancellor &c.

Other fragmentary notes.

In all about pp. 6. *Ibid*, 34.

Chronological table of Kings of England, 1066–1558; with brief notes on the events in some of their reigns, their children &c.

Pp. 2¾ (*large*). *Ibid*, 35.

Pedigree [part of] of the De Courcys. Note on the De Courcy title to the kingdom of Cork.

Notes on Papists and Puritans or schismatics.

Examination of the assertions of the Conventiclors.

Notes and references to events in the reign of Henry VIII. Also another fragment.

Pp. 4½. and some blank pages. *Endd.* *S.P. Ireland* 214, 36.

Notes of legislation in 1413 and 1417 (I and IV Henry V) for sending Irish beggars out of the realm [of England] and for prohibiting the election of Irishmen to high ecclesiastical preferment in Ireland.

Account of the capture of O'Driscoll and his men by Simon Wicken, Mayor of Waterford, in 1413.

Similar to the account given in Smith's *History of Waterford* (1774), p. 114.* States that when the Mayor of Waterford arrived at the Castle and demanded admittance, the porter brought back word that he was welcome. The porter opened the gate "and himself by the Mayor was presently bound and put aside. The Mayor entered the great hall, where O'Driscoll, his kinsmen and friends sat expecting their supper, commanded O'Driscoll and his company not to stir or fear, that his determination was not to draw there any one drop of blood, but to drink, dance and so depart.

"The Mayor drank, led the dance, O'Driscoll and his son, the Prior of the Friary, O'Driscoll's wife, his uncle and three brethren followed. In the dance the Mayor commanded his men to lay hands upon them all and a carol to be sung; the which being effected, they took them all on ship board, and the Mayor delivered they should go with him to Waterford, sing their carol there and be merry with them that Christmas." They arrived at Waterford on St. Stephen's Day, "where they were with great joy and solemnity received, so that not only the houses but the churches opened and furnished them with lights."

Pp. 2. *Endd.* with notes on Henry V's reign. *Ibid.*, 37.

Notes on Waterford. Mentions Cambrensis' report; Hook and Crooke, York's bulwark, the weighhouse &c.

Notes of massing in every house, and on the sayings of different persons there—one that he would believe St. Jerome before any of the Evangelists; another that he would believe the Church before Christ. P. 1 (*small*).

Facetiæ Hibernensium. Notes of Irish stories. These are coarse, dealing with the love of a man of O'Rorke's for ale when he discovered it on going to the Parliament in Dublin, his making ale in a primitive way [described] when he got home, drinking till he was sick (over his mother), a tripe-eating match between a porter and another, in which the porter won by employing† a mastiff to eat for him P. 1 (*small*).

An Irish song, interlined with English translation, as follows :—

You and I will go to Finegall.

You and I will eat such meats as we find there.

You and I will steal such beef as we find fat.

* But differs in some respects from the account in Smith, and, so far as it differs, is given here.

† The document is imperfect here, but I think this is the sense.

I shall be hanged and you shall be hanged. What shall our children do?

When teeth do grow unto themselves as their fathers did before? P. $\frac{3}{4}$ (*small*).

Also other fragments of verse on Irish manners. P. 1 (*small*).

Antiquarian notes. The crown of Christ. The character of the Irish. P. $\frac{1}{2}$.

In all pp. 5. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 38.

Irish customs. These are taken from Spencer's view of Ireland or from the same source. Suggestions as to better government, for giving security to landlords, enclosure of lands to prevent preying on cattle &c.

Pp. 3. *Ibid*, 39.

Note on the order of entries when the Corporation of Waterford grant any farm. A number of specimen entries follow, recording the fact that certain persons have in the mayoralty of X. or Y, as in the first &c. year of this or that king, taken lands of the city to farm. P. 1 (*imperfect*).

Note on Sir William FitzWilliam's services as Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer of Ireland (*temp.* Edward VI), or as Lord Justice (*temp.* Elizabeth). Remarks on his five several appointments as Governor of Ireland. Pp. 2. *Endd.*

Speeches in verse of three brothers, of whom one is of the order of preachers, the second of the order of donkeys, and the third of the order of thieves.* A ribald rhyme. P. 1. *Latin*.

Notes on the Kildare pedigree, the family of Alonzo IX of Castile, and other matters. Fragments, much perished. Pp. 3.

Ribald rhyme denouncing Roman Catholic friars, nuns and canons, and rejoicing at the downfall of the abbeys. P. $\frac{1}{2}$.

In all about pp. 8. *Ibid*, 40.

Table of contents of a book containing notes, pedigrees, letters &c. relating to Irish history.

P. 1 (*imperfect*). *Endd.* *Ibid*, 41.

Fragmentary notes on Irish history, *temp.* Edward II. Edward Bruce's claim to the English throne. Fighting of Irish and Scots in Ireland. Pp. 3.

Estimate of the Papal tithe paid in Edward [II's] time by the dioceses of Cloyne, Limerick, Ossory, Ardfert, Waterford, Lismore, Killaloe and Cork, by the province of Armagh and the dioceses of Down and Connor. P. $\frac{3}{4}$.

Taxation of the benefices in the diocese of Kilmacduagh after its separation from the diocese of Tuam. Taxation of the benefices in the dioceses of Kildare, Clogher, Cloyne, Killaloe, the province of Armagh, and dioceses of Down and Connor. Pp. 5.

Note of ancient writers (Isidorus, Hegesippus, Bede and others) concerning Scotland and Ireland. P. $\frac{3}{4}$.

* The word here is "*briborum*." Cowell's *Interpreter* gives "*bribor*" as 'one that pilfereth other men's goods.' A rare word.

Notes on the Irish character, quotations from Bede &c. Notes on falcons in Ireland. Further notes on character and habits of Irish. Pp. 65.

In all pp. 20, *including some blank pages*, bound together. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 42.

Fragmentary notes on Irish history, 1320–1500. Pp. 3. *Ibid*, 43.

Book containing a number of Notes and Memoranda on Irish History.

1. "A consideration of peace."

This is a scheme for a speech or monograph on the above subject. The scheme consists of dividing and subdividing the subject until it is at last divided into a great number of sub-heads like the branches of a genealogical tree. Thus, to take a single branch, it is worked out as follows :—

In peace is to be considered of (a) the taking and (b) the defending.

(a) Taking. Here must be considered (1) offering conditions so as to avoid all offence and (2) accepting conditions made. (1) Offering : here must be considered (a) times, (b) persons, (c) the conditions themselves. Under (c) the conditions ; these must be neither (1) hard and intolerable, nor (2) proud and disdainful, nor (3) dishonourable.

The rest of the scheme is worked out in this elaborate way. Pp. 2.

2. List of the war cries of the Irish clans.

Butler Abœ	..	..	Ormond.
Crom Abœ	..	..	Kildare.
Shanytt Abœ	..	..	Desmond.
Galreogh Abœ	..	..	Clanricard
Lagh Yarg Abœ	..	..	Thomond.
Kerelader Abœ	..	..	Upper Ossory.
Gonlan Abœ	..	..	O'More.
Faliagh Abœ	..	..	O'Connor.
Choyk Abœ	..	..	O'Carroll.
Kinshelagh Abœ	..	..	Cavanagh.
Shilela Abœ	..	..	Byrne.
Fennock Abœ	..	..	Toole.
Puckansack Abœ	..	..	Shortall.
Pœragh Abœ	..	..	Le Poer.
Geraldagh Abœ	..	..	Decies.
Cloghechey Abœ	..	..	[blank].
Rochestagh Abœ	..	..	Roch.
Barragh Abœ	..	..	Barry.
Barnearegan Abœ	..	..	Slane.
Shuyrym Abœ	..	..	Co. Louth.
Ardechully* Abœ	..	..	O'Hanlon* [?].
Killele Abœ	..	..	Dowles [Tooles] of Arcklo.
Fynsheog Abœ	..	..	Delvin.
Keartlevarry Abœ	..	..	Mackena [Trough].
Pœr Abœ	..	..	Baltinglass.

* The document is perished here and one or two lines lost.

The names of Maguire, O'Rourke, the O'Ferralls, O'Reylie, McMahon and Clancarty are also given, but no cry given for them. Pp. 1½.

3. Notes of English legislation, *temp.* Henry III–Edward VI, for keeping order and peace, repressing robberies &c. P. ½.

4. Notes on the policy of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland. His views as a Lord of the Isles. His advice of dilatory tactics in fighting England. P. ½.

5. Fragmentary notes and verse.

6. Notes for a sermon. [The text is lost.]

7. How a bullock should be divided:—

The head, tongue and feet to the smith.

Neck to the butcher.

Two small ribs that go with the hind quarter to the tailor.

Kidney to the physician.

Udder to the harper.

Liver to the carpenter: a piece to the garron keeper.

Sweetbread to her that is with child.

Proceeds to allot all parts of the bullock to different people, apparently according to the Irish custom. P. 1.

8. Fragmentary notes. Coyne and livery. Habits of the Irish &c.

9. Note of Irish places to which English names have been given:—Lough Sidney, Mountnorris, Mountrussell &c. P. ½.

10. Fragmentary notes of events in the reigns of Edward IV, Henry IV, Henry VI, Edward V, and Richard III. Pp. 2½.

11. Note of conflicts between the mayor and citizens of Waterford and the Poers and O'Driscolls, who hated the Waterfordians with "an engrafted hatred." Describes an indecisive battle on 19 June, 1452, in which both sides lost heavily. Fowke Comerford, Mayor of Waterford,* and 31 citizens were killed, thirty-six Poers and O'Driscolls killed, and when night came on "no man knew his own safety."

Describes a similar battle in 1460.† The reason for the Mayor of Waterford's victory was that the O'Driscolls had had a drinking bout at Ballymacdavie and were surprised by the Mayor, who found them "no better than drunk."

Note of the statute 1 Henry VI, cap. 3,‡ for voiding out of the kingdom people born in Ireland, and repairing to Oxford.

Note on further anti-Irish legislation (c. 2 Henry VI, cap. 8). Pp. 2½.

12. Verses prophetic of English history. Pp. 3.

Extracts of prophecies of English history. Pp. 1½.

Verses as before. Pp. 5, with fragment.

13. Prophecies regarding Welsh history. Pp. 3.

14. Saints and prophets who have prophesied upon a king whose name is Edward.

Prophecies of Becket, Merlin, John the Hermit, D'Albion of Alman, Maligeus Abbot of Ireland, Sibbell, McThomas of Sorrye and others. Pp. 3½.

* He appears as Mayor in 1448 in Smith's *Waterford* (1774), p. 155.

† The account tallies with that given by Smith, in the year 1461, *ibid*, p. 117.

‡ *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 214.

15. Notes and descriptions of some English places : Pethrell Stone, near Carlisle ; Ravensbrook, near Newcastle &c.
Prophecies of the victory of the Red Rose over the White.

Prophecies regarding Welsh history. The uprising of Wales.
Pp. 1½.

16. Verses on the history of France [?].

The state of France as there it stands
Is like primire at my hands.
Some do vie and some do hold,
The best assured may be bold.
The King was rash without regard,
And being flush would needs discard.*
And first he post it to the goyes [*sic*],
And of nowght [?] straightway it vies.
Queen mother standing at the back
And taught them all to make the pack ;
And we that saw them at their play
Left them there and came our way.

Postscript :—

The Lords do crave all ;
The King accords all ;
The Parliament passeth all ;
The Chancellor doth seal [?] all ;
Queen Mother doth rule all ;
The Cardinals do bless all ;
The Pope doth pardon all ;
And, without God's help, the divill will have all.

P. ½.

17. Note of [Hanmer's?] writings and compositions, with dates, 1581, 1585, 1587. P. ¼.

18. Records of the history of Waterford.

In the same year† it was agreed that the Mayor and Council might make ordinances and statutes for the improvement of the city, and that these should be binding as if consented to by the whole city. Ordinances as to tallage are excepted.

Mayoralty of Robert Lincoln, 13 Henry VI‡: ordinance that citizens and denizens bought merchandize from strangers and did not pay the Mayor, bailiffs should pay the denizens and recover from the defaulter twice the sum so paid, or, in default, imprison the debtor.

William Lincoln§ Mayor, and Milo Sawt and William Rope bailiffs. Ordinance made regarding evidence in litigation [*details*]. In the same year ordinances made restricting the sale of goods by retail by Waterford merchants in Carrick, Clonmel and Thomastown. [*Details*.]

* The writer uses metaphors taken from card-play, which gives some interest to the doggerel.

† Probably early in Henry VI's reign (*see* next paragraph). The paragraphs are numbered with large numbers, but the first entry is numbered 27, as though the copyist took up the record at that point.

‡ Lincoln was Mayor in 1428. *See* Smith's *Waterford*, p. 155.

§ He was Mayor in 1426 and 1449. *Ibid*, pp. 155, 156.

20 Henry VI. William Lincoln, Mayor, and John Corre and Nicholas Molgan, bailiffs. Further ordinance as to rights of litigants at Waterford. [*Details.*]*

Robert Lincoln, Mayor, and Nicholas Molgan and John Corre, bailiffs. Ordinance forfeiting goods sold by strangers to strangers in Waterford. If a citizen sells (as agent) one stranger's goods to another he shall forfeit his liberty, and shall pay 40s. to the reparation of the city walls. The informer to have one-third of the goods.

Same year. Ordinance forbidding any citizen to maintain a stranger in an action against his [the citizen's neighbour]. No citizen to receive any strangers in pledge unless he has them in his house and custody. They shall [in such case] not walk in the city.

Fulk Quemerford, Mayor, John May and John McGilmor [?], bailiffs, 27 Henry VI.†

Ordinance as to recovery of debts. After judgment, if the judgment is not answered, the Mayor and bailiffs shall pay it; and the plaintiff shall be put to no oath if there be so much owing to him or no. Other regulations made as to covenant, trespass and account. [*Details.*]

Nicholas Gogh, Mayor,‡ William Lincoll and Peter Hunt, bailiffs, 24 Henry VI.

Ordinance regarding those who give refuge to fugitives for debt. Those who receive such fugitives may be charged with the debt.

Proceeds with many further extracts from the records of the ordinances of the city of Waterford similar to those given above. The last ordinance entered in the book was passed when Patrick Rope was Mayor and Fulke Comerford and Thomas Sheth, bailiffs, in 5 Henry VII.§ It ordained that all foreigners dwelling in the city should "wear gowns and go still in English array," on pain of 6s. 8d. fine for each offence; and that no landlord should let any house in the city to any foreigner without he first present him to the Mayor to be sworn to the city, and that he [the foreigner] go in English array. Penalty: forfeiture by the landlord to the Crown of the rent due from the foreigner up to the date of the offence. Pp. 23, partly in *Latin*.

19. Notes on Irish history.

Pestilence of 1390. Visit of Richard II in 1392. Murder of Thomas Butler, brother of the Earl of Ormond, by O'Shane FitzThomas at Waterford in 1396.

Other brief notes of earlier and later events. Pp. 4½, very much perished.

The whole book [divided above into 19 heads] is 88 pp.,|| some of which are blank. S.P. Ireland 214, 44.

* The document is partly perished here. As to the Mayoralty the writer is in error. Sattadel was Mayor in 1442 and Molgan or Mulgan in 1443.

† Quemerford [Comerford] was Mayor in 1448.—See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

‡ He was Mayor in 1441. *Ibid*, p. 155.

§ Rope was Mayor in 1491. *Ibid*, p. 156.

|| The pages had been separated into two parts, and one or two of them severed by some person since the document was written. I have replaced them for binding according to their original numeration, which is apparently contemporary with the contents.—*R.P.M.*

Notes on the customs of Ireland, witchcraft, the Brehon laws &c.
Children delivered to mares, cows, sows or sheep to nurse for increase to half.

References to Stainhurst and Strabo.

They condition, when they let houses to English, that they should build no chimneys. Smoke. Men and women, especially of the common sort, look old quickly. They fare hard, lie on the ground, and keep smoky houses.

Wicked customs and observances.

On May Eve they drive their cattle upon their neighbours' corn and eat it up. They were wont to begin from the East, and especially upon the English churl . . . Unless they do so upon May Eve the witch will have power over the cattle all the year following. The churls will steal and eat up an Englishman, and when they let and set [?] to the Englishman and the English have planted a while, they suddenly attack him and rob and spoil.

Passing [?]* of doors upon May morning to keep the fairies away.

Notes on the Brehon laws.

They intercept letters. They are so idle that they constantly ask news. Note on the custom of Tanistry, the election of a successor to a dead chief &c.

About pp. 1½. *S.P. Ireland* 214, 45.

Note on St. Patrick's Purgatory.

Notes for a sermon on 2 *Cor.* iv, vv. 3 and 4. P. ¾.

References to Bede and Stainhurst.

Note on Sir Hugh Lacy, the marriage of his daughter with Walter de Burgo, who was then Earl of Connaught in his own right and of Ulster in that of his wife. Note on their issue. P. ¾.

Note on the size of Ireland, which is said to be larger than England, the chief lords, the overlordship of the King of England. Possibilities of a revenue to be drawn from Ireland if it were conquered. P. ¾.

Notes on the Statute of Absency, on the name Dundalk. The giant [?] Dealken [?] built a mound or fort there, which is in Irish, Dune; others think the name comes from another giant.† Note on the counties of Ulster, Munster and Leinster, and Meath. Note on the towns, &c. in the Nore and Barrow. Pp. 2.

List of geographical divisions of Ireland, and of some Scottish counties and places. Pp. 2.

About pp. 6. *Ibid.*, 46.

* Document imperfect here.

† The writing is much obliterated here.

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